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THE
CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

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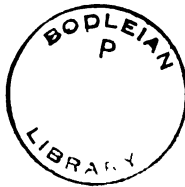
Members of the Established Church.

FOR

THE YEAR 1861.

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PREFACE.

IF we could hope that our pages, in the last twelve months, have fairly represented the progress of events and the course of opinion on religious subjects, we might flatter ourselves that we sat down to write a posthumous Preface to a volume of no inconsiderable value. Stirring as the times and impetuous as "the rush of thought" have been for a whole generation, yet it seems as if each year added to the excitement, and gave to speculative minds additional energy and greater daring. So rapid are the changes, that it is only in a periodical work that they can even be noted down. Yet they ought not to be overlooked. Some of them for good, and others for undoubted evil; but all of them, as the materials out of which those who come after us may gather lessons by our experience, deserve to be recorded. This is the service which periodical literature renders to society. Frivolous or grave, catholic or sectarian, scriptural or infidel, it serves at least this useful purpose; while it either aggravates what is bad, or gives firmness and purpose to the better tendencies of its own age, it transmits, with more accuracy than any other form of literature, to a future generation the features of the past.

A religious periodical work undertakes a task second in importance only to that of the Christian ministry. Its aim is to a great extent the same; it is the *edification* of the Church of Christ, giving to that term a wide significance. At least it will not be denied that, if its influence for good is sometimes over-estimated by those who are interested in its success, it is scarcely possible to over-rate its power of mischief.

Such reflections naturally force themselves upon us as we review the history of the Christian Observer for the sixty years which are completed with the volume we now close. That it may have betrayed many faults, is highly probable. But we believe that its purposes have been always honest; that its conductors have been christian men, of whom less cannot be said than that they proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them by two generations of many of the best, the most learned, and wisest men of whom the church of England has had to boast. It has maintained, through storm and sunshine, the doctrines of the gospel, and enforced a higher tone of Christian practice than the world has ever been willing to receive. It has done something, too, in correcting those errors of judgment into which the

best may fall; and in general literature, in our darkest days, Lord Byron confessed the power of its rebuke; and our best writers have never been reluctant to acknowledge the value of its approval. It has done something towards purifying the literary atmosphere, and has helped to restore a purer, as well as a more vigorous, tone both in the pulpit and in religious literature.

Glancing over these sixty years now passed, we cannot fail to see that religion in the church of England has presented itself under several different aspects. Within the space of the *Christian Observer's* existence, we have witnessed four different conditions of the church of Christ in this land.

It does not require any great exertion of the memory to bring before the mind's eye the position occupied, between the beginning of this century and the year 1820, by those members of the church of England who honestly received the doctrine of the Articles, and who carried out the preaching of St. Paul, of Augustine, of Luther, and of Bradford, Jewell, and Hooker. They were, as of old, "everywhere spoken against." They were a proscribed class. When political friendship had induced Lord Liverpool to select the brother of Lord Harrowby for a bishopric, the Primate of that day protested against the elevation of one who, he said, "had preached in a conventicle!"—that conventicle being, in point of fact, St. John's chapel,—the pulpit of Richard Cecil and of Daniel Wilson. And this was the state of things during the whole of the first quarter of the present century.

But it was discovered, after a time, that this policy was not prospering. The establishment of the Thornton and Simeon trusts, on the one hand, and the rapid growth of the Bible and Missionary Societies, on the other, showed that Evangelical religion was gaining ground even in spite of the disfavour with which it was regarded in high places. The appearance of Dr. Ryder, and soon after of two other names, which we need not mention, on the episcopal bench, marked the dawn of a new state of things, and between 1820 and 1835 the previous alienation between the "Orthodox" and "Evangelical" parties in the church seemed to undergo a change, and there were even signs of an approaching union. When the Church Pastoral Aid Society was founded by the Evangelical party, there were amicable approaches on the part of bishop Blomfield, and even of Dr. Pusey; and if one or two difficulties could have been surmounted, a fusion of "High" and "Low Church" might have taken place on the platform of that Society.

No doubt worldliness had crept into the bosom of the spiritual church; and the old self-denying maxims of the Scotts, and Newtons, and Cecils fell into disuse. Wealthy men began to profess a sort of

semi-Evangelical faith; luxury and ostentation increased, and a great lowering of the tone of Christian profession took place. But meanwhile the various societies for home and foreign missions expanded; and worldliness, though it increased, did not extinguish the inner life of Christ's church. A new policy seemed necessary to the great enemy of the truth; and, in fact, the "peace policy" was never anything more than a stage of transition.

The third plan took its rise, ostensibly, from the alarm excited by the Dissenting movement consequent upon the Reform Bill of 1831. The church was thought by many to be doomed; and when Lord Grey, in the House of Lords, advised the bishops to "set their house in order," it was assumed that he meant to imply all that was expressed in Isaiah: "Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live." A small committee was formed in Oxford, for the defence of the Church in its peril; and, distrusting the support of the government, it was resolved not to aim at the maintenance of the "Establishment," but to advance with firmness the claims of "the Church."

This was a fundamental error, and it led straight to popery. The series of publications, called "Tracts for the Times," which emanated from the Oxford committee, soon grew more and more "mediæval," more "Catholic," and, at last, "Romish." One after another of their authors began to discern the logical termination of their main argument, and they honestly accepted the results. The great majority of those who prepared and sent forth the "Tracts" are now dead, or in the bosom of the church of Rome. Only some two or three have shrunk from the admission of the legitimate consequences of their own arguments:—they have become silent, but have not relinquished their preferences. Still, as a living, prospering system, Tractarianism may be regarded as a thing of the past. Multitudes of Tractarians, indeed, remain, and propagate a semi-Romanism in their parishes. But their literature, so rife and so formidable twenty years ago, is now *effète*, or even apparently dead.

All errors, however, when they pass their meridian of popularity, produce, not a return to truth, but a re-action to a corresponding error on the other side. The suppression of a living Christianity in France, and the triumph of an infallible church, led to a pestilential infidelity; and infidelity, ripening into rebellion, disorder, and anarchy, ended in the establishment of a new and more powerful despotism. The Tractarian writers of 1844-5 insisted upon the credibility of Roman miracles. A new Oxford party has risen upon their fall, denying the credibility of *any* miracles, scriptural or popish. The real *animus* was at first, and is still, a rooted dislike to evangelical truth. Not a few there are who, zealous Tractarians in 1845, are now zealous Rationalists.

One of the Seven Essayists, it is well known, was the friend and supporter of Mr. Ward in the struggle which ended in the expulsion of the author of the "Ideal" from the University of Oxford. He is now the associate of the Baden Powells and Rowland Williamsses! But in this there is nothing new; the days of Louis XVI. presented many similar instances, of men who vibrated between superstition and atheism; the greatest name in French literature being, perhaps, the most prominent example.

And now, at last, while the whole episcopal bench, and eight thousand of the clergy, have publicly expressed their disapproval of the Seven Essays, a knot of men, not unknown to fame, have come forward to inform the public, that they neither sympathize with the Seven Essayists, nor with their opponents. For a dozen years past, this, the most recent of our theological parties, has been chiefly known by this characteristic,—that it disliked the High Church, and the Low Church, and the Tractarians, and spent its time for the most part in showing that nearly all the world was in error, except some few teachers and their followers,—the late chaplain of Lincoln's Inn being the acknowledged leader. In conformity with their established practice, we are now informed, that while the Seven Essayists are in error, the eight thousand clergy are equally, or even more, in the wrong; and the Evangelical party are, of course, more to be blamed or pitied or despised, than either of the other two.

Thus matters stand at present. If firmness, vigilance, and charity were ever wanted, they are wanted now. If the wisdom that teaches to "discern things that differ" was ever needed, it is needed now. It is under this conviction that we prosecute our task, and we foresee that it is not likely to be an easy one. But of the result we cannot entertain a doubt. The Church of England has passed through grievous perils, and we believe she will outlive this "windy storm and tempest." In our minds the conviction is deep and strong that when the church of England perishes, the greatness of England dies with it. We wish to make no ungenerous reflections; but we cannot avoid the contrast with another country where our own Protestant faith is professed, and where the want of a state church, with its independence in the pulpit, and in every walk of ministerial life, may, in this gloomy hour of civil war and national distress, be distinctly traced. But one thing we know. Whatever may become of the Church of England as an establishment, the council of the Lord that shall stand; the gates of hell may pour forth their armed legions, but against the church of Christ they shall not prevail. We labour for the church of England with a good hope,—for the church of Christ, with a perfect confidence, that all will be well at last.

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[1861.]

FORGETFULNESS OF GOD.

It is remarkable how frequently in the Book of Deuteronomy, when God is giving his final summary of instructions to the Israelites, the warning is repeated, that the Jewish church forget not God and His dealings with them in connexion with their deliverance from Egypt, and their wanderings in the wilderness. Such warnings strike us the more forcibly, because the people to whom they were addressed had come into the closest contact with God, and had been favoured with the clearest visible evidences of His presence in the midst of them. We are conscious, in our own case, of a painful forgetfulness of God; He seems so far off from us; we cannot get near to Him; we are inclined to say with Job, "Behold, I go forward, but He is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive Him; on the left hand where He doth work, but I cannot behold Him; He hideth Himself on the right hand, that I cannot see Him;" and hence we look upon our forgetfulness of God as a consequence of that more spiritual dispensation under which we are placed. We are called to walk by faith instead of by sight. What wonder that we fail in the attempt, when we can none of us, like the beloved apostle, speak literally of "that which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life!" To have seen Jesus in the flesh, to have heard His words of grace and love, to have witnessed His miracles, these would have been privileges, the memory and impression of which could have never passed away; having once actually seen God in the person of Jesus Christ, we could never have been forgetful of Him again.

Now all such reasonings are mere self-deception; they have, through the subtlety of Satan, injured many souls, and turned them away from that life of faith which constitutes the highest and closest communion with God. That there is a

deep fallacy involved therein, is manifest from the fact that the Jewish church, which had the most abundant ocular demonstration of God and of His power, is so repeatedly cautioned against this forgetfulness of God. When the Israelites were assembled in the plains of Moab to hear the last charges of God by His servant Moses, they could not only in the case of all who were then and there present, take up the exclamation of the psalmist in later days, and say, "We have heard with our ears, O God; our fathers have told us what thou didst in their days, in the times of old;" but many of the number had in their own persons passed through those remarkable scenes in which Jehovah manifested himself to the Israelites. The sentence of destruction during the forty years' wandering was graciously limited by God to those who at the time of the report of the spies, and consequent unbelief of the people, had reached the age of twenty years, "all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me, doubtless ye shall not come into the land concerning which I swore to make you dwell therein...as for you, your carcases, they shall fall in the wilderness." All who at that period were from ten to twenty years old might retain a vivid impression of scenes such as man had never passed through before. They had walked, or been led by a parent's hand, through the Red Sea as by dry land, and their eyes had gazed upwards upon the towering waters which were as a wall to them on the right hand and on the left;—they had quaked beneath the thunderings and lightnings and trumpet-peals of Mount Sinai, when the mountain burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness, and the Lord spake out of the midst of the fire;—they had seen the earth open her mouth and swallow up Korah and his company, and had fled in dread from the tents of those wicked men, and on the morrow had witnessed the desolating plague as it carried off fourteen thousand and seven hundred of those that murmured against the Lord;—and they had been present at that other murmuring against God, which the apostle tells us was against Christ, and had seen the divine wrath manifested in the plague of living serpents; in some cases, it may be, they had themselves been bitten, and had writhed in agony as the burning poison of the venomous fang circulated through their veins, and only found healing as their eye turned to the appointed remedy, the uplifted serpent of brass.

Of these and many other similar scenes no inconsiderable portion of those to whom the charges of the Book of Deuteronomy were addressed were eye-witnesses, the rest received the narrative of such wonderful things from the very lips of eye-witnesses; if they were not yet born, or were too young to

know and observe what was passing, their own fathers and mothers took part in these events, and in the tent doors in the wilderness, in the cool of the day, had related and depicted every circumstance of wonder or of horror to their listening children. And yet these are the persons to whom God says by Moses, "Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thine heart all the days of thy life, specially the day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb." We may seem to have dwelt too long upon this introductory part of our subject, but the time will not have been lost if these remarks prepare the reader for the great truth to be deduced from what has been said, which will form the basis of this paper, that forgetfulness of God is one of the characteristics of our fallen nature—that it is not to be accounted for or excused upon the ground of the spirituality of the gospel dispensation; that it will manifest itself under every variety of outward circumstances; and that it is to be treated as a part of that infirmity of man's fallen state, by reason of which the memory is indisposed to retain clear thoughts of God and of His dealings, just as the other faculties of our mental and bodily constitution are alienated from Him and His service.

With this fact impressed upon our minds, it will be profitable to consider the ways in which forgetfulness of God displays itself. This tendency will be perceived in respect to God himself. We acknowledge that it is in God that we live and move and have our being; none would deny that it is to His sovereign power we owe our continued existence, and to His fatherly care the daily provision for our wants; yet we rarely find a sustained recognition of God. The appeal to Jehovah by the prophet may be addressed in its full force to us: "I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man who shall be made as grass, and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth?" We do not walk day by day as seeing by the eye of faith Him who is invisible. What an importance would it give to life could we attain to that deep sense of the consciousness of God's immediate presence and majesty, which is implied in the brief but full description of the spiritual life of those of whom it is recorded, that they walked with God. Here is the remedy against the fear of man, and the antidote against the ensnaring influence of worldly-mindedness; here is the source of conscious dignity, and the secret of spiritual strength. The very lowest point to which man can sink is, when it may be said of him that God is not in all his thoughts, and there can scarcely be a higher one than

when we can adopt as our own experience the psalmist's words, "I have set the Lord always before me."

But, besides this forgetfulness of God in His abstract nature and perfections, we trace this evil in a similar forgetfulness of Him in His operations. God in His glorious majesty dwelleth in the highest heavens, but in His operations and providential dealings He is ever as it were coming down to earth and meeting us closely and continually in the pathway of our lives. Every comfort is held out to our acceptance by the hand of God ; in every trial we may trace the discipline of God : in our joys, in our sorrows, in our difficulties, in our temptations, and in every single circumstance of life, the voice of God is speaking to us, and calling us to the exercise of gratitude, and hope, and expectation, and confiding trust. But this we overlook : human agency, second causes, personal effort, self-dependence, come in between us and God. Backsliding Israel at length reached this point, that they knew not that it was God who gave them their corn and wine and oil, and multiplied their silver and gold, which they prepared for Baal. Our forgetfulness of God in the daily circumstances of life tends in the same direction ; our ordinary provision is received as a matter of course ; the thanksgiving for our daily food is a mere form. Our homes and our children, our health and our strength, our peaceful times and fruitful seasons, our national blessings and our spiritual privileges, are given us that we might set our hope in God and not forget the works of God ; but this end is now imperfectly attained, and the most observant of God's operations amongst us has reason to rouse up his languid spirit with the exhortation of the psalmist, "Bless the Lord, O my soul ; and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits."

Forgetfulness of God also displays itself in respect to that covenant which He has made with us in Christ. The Jewish church had a special warning upon this head : Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the covenant of the Lord your God which He made with you. A covenant with man is not disregarded nor trifled with ; we note down, in order that we may bear carefully in mind the terms of our agreement, the bond wherewith we have bound ourselves, the manner in which it is to be fulfilled, the penalties which attach to the breach of it. We are less scrupulous with respect to God. Our covenant with God goes beyond that of the Jewish church, in that it brings Christ before us in His finished work, and no longer veiled in types and shadows. All that God can give to sinful man is our covenant portion in the Son of His love, the Lord Jesus Christ. Converted and renewed by the Holy Spirit, adopted into the family of God, receiving continually fresh measures of light, and fresh degrees of edification, as we grow in

grace and attain to a closer union with Christ, we might expect that our minds would be ever reverting to and dwelling upon that covenant of grace whereby alone we become the recipients of these spiritual blessings. The counsels of the Eternal Trinity, the manifestation of God's love in Christ, the covenant well ordered in all things and sure, its confirmation by the blood of the Son of God and the solemn oath of Jehovah, our own obligations and responsibilities commensurate with the privileges offered by God, the vows which are upon us by virtue of our dedication to God in baptism, the renewal of those vows at confirmation, and the repeated oblation and consecration of ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto the Lord,—these, surely, are things of such deep interest and absorbing importance that memory should store them up in her inmost and safest treasure-house. On these it should ever dwell, and upon these exercise its highest and most active powers. Conscience, however, will testify that, excepting in cases of special care and prayerful watchfulness, the habitual state of the ordinary Christian is one in which the words of the wise man apply to him in full force,—“he forgetteth the covenant of his God.”

Another painful feature of this infirmity is to be found in the forgetfulness of the Lord Jesus as our Saviour. It is noted as one point in the sinfulness of Israel, that they forgot God their Saviour, who had done great things in Egypt. The almighty power of God, as developed in the salvation of His people, was the lesson to be learned from those scenes wherein, by a mighty hand and stretched-out arm, God rescued his oppressed church from Egyptian bondage. The Passover was to be the means of maintaining a devout remembrance of this deliverance: “This day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord throughout your generations. . . . Ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever. . . . And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say it is the sacrifice of the Lord's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when He smote the Egyptians and delivered our houses.” In like manner, the Lord's Supper was to be a commemorative ordinance to keep ever before the minds of His people a lively remembrance of their greater deliverance by the death and sufferings of the Redeemer. Do this, says our Lord, in remembrance of me. So needful was it, under both dispensations, that provision should be made against man's indisposition to exercise his memory upon spiritual things. The grace and condescension, the tender love and never-failing compassion of the Saviour, his sufferings, and agony, and death, fade from our recollection. It is not that the Saviour is altogether unknown or uncared

for or unserved ; but there are seasons when He is not present to the mind,—long periods when our thoughts of Him are unreal and fitful ; and in many cases there is seldom, if ever, that clear view, and vivid perception, and enduring apprehension of the Lord Jesus, which are demanded alike by the consideration of the depths of misery from which he has rescued us, and the height of glory to which he has advanced us. Is not forgetfulness of the Saviour, His grace and love, one of those wounds wherewith He is wounded in the house of his friends ?

We may notice one other form of this forgetfulness of divine things. In addition to those ordinary influences of the means of grace upon the soul which the believer experiences, there are some occasions of special blessing. Some striking or alarming providence of God brings us, as it were, into His immediate presence ; under the preaching of the Word, or in the prayerful study of it, the mysteries of spiritual truth are opened to the mind ; or, on some occasion of agonizing pleading, God meets the soul, and reveals Himself wondrously to it ; it is a time of bright light, of quickened affections, of holy aspirations, of heavenly communion with God. In the moment of such ecstasy we feel how good it is to be here, and imagine that we shall go forth with the holy influence of such a season abidingly with us. It is a new era in our spiritual life. We can never be again engrossed, as in times past, with the vanities of time ; we can never sink down again to the low level of our former course. Yet the memory here again betrays its trust. Fallen and impaired, like the rest of our nature, it neglects to keep up any vivid remembrance of the blessed things with which it was once so strongly impressed. Forgetfulness of the heights which we have reached lowers the tone of our spiritual life ; coldness creeps over the soul ; and it is well if we escape the state of backsliding Israel, when she "went after her lovers, and forgot me, saith the Lord."

This forgetfulness of God cannot be confined to any one period of life ; it meets us everywhere. As we look back upon the sins of our youth, this rises up as one of the most overwhelming. Amidst the buoyant spirits of our early days, and the cheerfulness of home, and the freshness of our first affections, where was God ? What place did He occupy in our minds and in our hearts ? The season of health, and strength, and joyousness is one which, in most cases, excludes serious and impressive and profitable thoughts of God ; so that the warning of Holy Scripture seems to have in view this very tendency when it says, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth." But as years pass on, and manhood succeeds to youth, other objects engross the thoughts to the exclusion of God. The cares and anxieties attendant upon the start in life, the turmoil of business, the ceaseless hurry of engagements, the engrossing and en-

snaring contact with the world,—these present no atmosphere favourable to the cultivation of habitual converse with God. As compared with the former period, circumstances are altered; but the difficulty is not removed; and forgetfulness of God is the characteristic of early and of riper manhood. Nor, if we follow on our search into advanced life, do we find it otherwise. Grey hairs and decreasing strength would seem to give a sufficiently solemn warning to prepare to meet God; but it is remarkable how entirely indifference and insensibility to divine things mark an old age which succeeds a manhood of worldliness and a youth of thoughtlessness. The child is said to be the father of the man; and so the man, in the last stage of life, falls back upon the scenes and employments of his early years, and, finding no trace of God there, has nothing in such a retrospect to rouse and quicken the deadness of his heart and the languor of his imagination in respect to that which is divine and spiritual. Thus does forgetfulness of God accompany the worldly man through every period of his earthly life; and, in the case of the believer, the danger is equally present, and forms a main element in the severe conflict of his inner life.

But, though sin has introduced this infirmity into our fallen nature, God has not left us without a remedy. The evil may, through grace, be counteracted and overcome; and in order to this, the following suggestions are offered to the earnest Christian.

1. Realize the danger. This is the first essential point. Understand that the memory has a tendency to betray its trust, and neglect its duty in that which relates to God. There are many circumstances in our ordinary life which never pass away. Let a man be exposed to shipwreck, or to a railway accident, the horrors of the scene, the terror and consternation of all around, the shrieks of the wounded, the convulsive throes and maimed forms of the dying, would be ever before him. There are many scenes of domestic interest which never lose their freshness. But it is otherwise in our spiritual life; and we should know it and feel it. Many an Israelite probably thought that he never could forget the passage through the Red Sea, or the terrors of Mount Sinai; but they did forget them, and in their forgetfulness rebelled against God, notwithstanding these exhibitions of His power and majesty. And so we think that the strong impression and deep conviction is to abide with us, that it is stamped indelibly upon our minds to be an ever-enduring stimulus to action, a consolation under trial, a source of strength in weakness. Or we think, perhaps, that though gone for a while, it is only hidden in some secret place of memory's storehouse, and when needed will be produced again. But we are mistaken; and when we sit down to recall the past dealings with God, memory retains little beyond the bare fact;

all the lesser yet perhaps more striking and instructive peculiarities of the dispensation are lost.

2. With this danger realized, we next observe the need of much diligence and pains to counteract it. The natural faculty of memory differs greatly in its power in different individuals; but when weak, either generally or in any particular respect, we have recourse to certain means and helps for assisting and strengthening it. A careful and systematic classification of events, or the aid of a *Memoria Technica*, or a well-arranged common-place book, will go far to supply the deficiencies of memory. Men will think no pains too great which will enable them thus to master the events of history or the facts of science. But when we pass from the subjects of human learning to the record of God's dealings with the church and our own souls, all such efforts on our part are deemed useless and superfluous. The men of this generation prove themselves, in this as in other respects, wiser than the children of light. In order to counteract our natural forgetfulness of divine things, we must be more careful as to the way in which we read or hear God's word. "Understandest thou what thou readest?" and "Take heed how ye hear," are two precepts bearing upon this point. We must read or hear, not with a view to the mere act, but for the purpose of remembering what is brought before us. The apostle enforces this upon the Hebrew Christians when he says, "Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip,"—run out as leaking vessels. (*Margin.*) We must be careful, too, in carrying out into corresponding action any impressions which have been made upon our minds, so as to fix them in the character by habits resulting from them. And we must note any dealings of God with us in providence or in grace which seem calculated to bring us nearer to Himself, in patient dependence or in grateful love. Our heavenly Father condescends to say that a book of remembrance is written before Him for them that fear the Lord, and that think upon His name; whereby He implies the pains, if we may so speak, taken to prevent the possibility of the smallest circumstance being forgotten which affects their eternal welfare. We may well employ a book of remembrance to assist our treacherous memories in preserving the record of God's dealings with our souls. God, too, provided for His Jewish church, in order to produce and preserve a spirit of humility and contrition amongst them, that there should be a remembrance made of sin every year. In like manner, we might hope to find a remedy against forgetfulness of God in appointing certain solemn seasons of retirement for the purpose of bringing clearly before our minds a full and comprehensive view of those particular mani-

festations of God's grace and goodness which make up the sum of our spiritual experience.

3. In the use of these and like helps, it is necessarily implied that the soul will be seeking by earnest prayer the effectual aid of the Holy Spirit; but this point must be specially insisted upon. We have viewed this forgetfulness of God as an inseparable consequence of our fallen nature, and one which no amount of outward and sensible evidence or impression can of itself obviate, as the case of the Israelites fully proves. A similar, and even stronger, proof is presented in the case of the apostles. They had enjoyed unrestrained intercourse with our blessed Lord for several years; there must have been something in the look, and voice, and tone, and character of Jesus eminently calculated to command and to impress. His conversation, His teaching, His expositions, never could be forgotten. Yet the mere moral and physical effects of this teaching would be counteracted by the weak and treacherous nature of human memory; and hence our Lord promises a direct and specific operation of the Holy Spirit to remedy this infirmity: "The Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." It was by this divine aid that the disciples remembered the saying of Jesus respecting the resurrection of His body, and the figurative entry into Jerusalem of Sion's King, sitting on an ass's colt.* The same divine aid qualified them to prepare the narrative of our Lord's life and actions. Many a fact in that history had doubtless been forgotten and unrecorded but for this suggesting and reminding influence of the Holy Spirit. The gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit are still essentially the same; and he that would understand aright God's word and dispensations, and lay them up in his memory, and have them ever rising up with freshness and power to instruct and comfort, must look to the Holy Spirit for His operation in this particular respect. Thus it was He brought about the conversion of Peter, by causing him to remember the words of his Lord; and, in the remembrance of them, the tears of penitence began to flow. And so with us. There is many a lesson of God's past dealings with us hidden in the depths of our experience which the Holy Spirit alone can give life and force to; and there is many a warning, an exhortation, and promise of the Word, working from time to time upon our hearts which, without the Holy Spirit's aid, will soon be forgotten and unimproved. We are passing, it may be, through dispensations so solemn that we think their sacred influence must abide with us for ever; but they will vanish as a dream when one awaketh, unless the Holy Spirit rivet them upon the tablet of our memory. With such infirmities we need caution

* John ii. 22; xii. 16.

and diligence, and much watchfulness over ourselves. But our very infirmities are the subject-matter of the Holy Spirit's operation. His strength, like the Redeemer's, is made perfect in weakness. He can overcome our natural tendency to forgetfulness of God, can renew and refresh our minds and memories day by day, till we enter upon that state where God's presence and glory will be ever with us, and to forget Him, even for a moment, will be an impossibility.

W. C.

BASHAN ; AND THE CITIES OF MOAB.*

Uses of far deeper value and moment than were formerly contemplated, are now subserved by the researches of travellers in Scripture Lands. Until quite recently it was thought enough if they were employed to confirm the accuracy, or to explain the allusions of an inspired writer : the interpreter's concern with them was ended when he could bring forward the place, or the custom alluded to in an obscure passage, and when he thus enabled us to read this intelligently and confidently, with a clear perception of the spiritual lessons that might be educed from it. And so extensive have these researches been, and so diligently have they been thus made use of, that, in fact, very few pages of the Holy Volume have been left unexplained by this kind of illustration.

With great diligence have they been gathered, and most profitably have they been so employed. Still this use of them only enabled us to look on the sacred delineations at a distance. We saw clearly, and perhaps vividly, the occurrences related in the Bible : the import of the sacred narrative was unfolded, and it grew life-like, and became familiar, as we gazed on it. Still it stood before us only as a picture, and it lay in remote distance. So far as living intercourse with the objects and beings brought forward in scripture was concerned, it seemed that we must necessarily stand apart from the scenes which it unfolded. And now, indeed, some of our recent biblical interpreters have told us that just so it was intended that we should look on the inspired delineations. According to these teachers, such delineations *are* only pictures, or pictorial embodiments of thought : historical ideas, or theological conceptions, are depicted in these Eastern forms : they were not, nor were they ever intended to be recognized as actual events and living men whom we have been looking on. This has been affirmed ; and

* Scripture Lands in connection with their History, &c. By G. S. Drew, M.A., Incumbent of St. Barnabas, South Kennington. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.
Five Years in Damascus. By Rev. J. L. Porter. Murray. 1855

as the so-called historical philosophy has advanced, its professors have boasted that they, one after another, had divested our sacred records of its literal significance. Now, against statements of this kind, the confirmatory, illustrative use which the old commentators made of travellers' researches was wholly ineffective. All they had accomplished was to prove the accuracy of the sacred narrative, and its true adjustment, as if it were authentic history, with the framework that surrounded it. But not only was this view compatible with the sceptical theory, it even strengthened the confidence with which that theory was put forward. Another use, one far more deep and searching, of observations in Bible lands was needed, and this has been made opportunely, we may say providentially, just as this new form of scepticism has become most threatening and destructive. For now our Bible travellers, with deeper views of their work, and with far greater facilities of investigation, aspire rather after the reproduction of scripture life, than its simple illustration: they now give us in coloured stereographic views, rather than in surface pictures, the result of their investigations. We no longer look on scripture scenes at a distance, but we actually live amongst them: their vicissitudes of climate, the changing aspects of their sky, the hues and shadows of their landscape, the objects seen by the men of scripture, the sounds they heard, are known to us: we not only witness, but almost share in, the life of Bible times and men: our "newly-awakened historical consciousness" is in the very scene and platform of its movements. No one who has familiarized himself with Dr. Robinson's exact descriptions, with Stanley's glowing illustrations of them, and especially with Mr. Grove's recent contributions to the topography of scripture, can fail to recall numerous examples in illustration of these remarks. And in each case this vivid realization has been effected with no purpose of mere vindication, or even with the set design of illustrating the Bible history in the accustomed form. The truth of scripture has been assumed, and it has been read trustingly on the scene of its occurrence. An "evidence of congruity" has hence arisen. The sense of agreement and conformity with facts has been so strongly felt, such an intense consciousness of the presence of truth has been awakened, that, while a deeper insight into the meaning of the sacred writers has also been obtained, their historical verity, the literal and objective accuracy of their statements, has been so established, that the myth professor, the "philosophical historian," might as well attempt to vaporize the substantial facts around us, as to convert into the thin exhalations of his theory these historical details of the scripture narrative which have been thus illustrated and confirmed.

The importance of this use of Biblical travel, and its providential adaption to our present need, will be instantly recognized by all who understand the ground on which the Biblical

controversy has lately moved. As Mr. J. Taylor, the Editor of Dr. Traill's Josephus, has remarked, "What seems just now to be needed is, not so much any new presentation of the Christian argument, as the bringing back upon the mind of the educated classes a firm, healthy, rational regard to the certainty of history—a deference to evidence as opposed to the baseless theories, the myths, the mystifications, by means of which, of late, the public mind has been abused, and the edge of the most conclusive reasoning turned aside. There is needed an everyday familiarity with the scenes, with the persons, and usages and costumes, with the minor incidents, as well as with the leading events of the Christian epoch. The times of the gospel history are indolently thought of by many, as if the clouds and mists of the remotest ages had settled down just upon that spot of time, or as if the rolling flood of years had there taken a sweep through an impenetrable gloom; and hence they have allowed themselves to listen to the wild conjectures of erudite pantheists."—These remarks are even more applicable at the present time than when they were first published; and we may here observe, that few have done more than this accomplished writer himself in meeting the need which he has so forcibly expressed. His "Notes" in the above-named work abound with the means of that vivid realization of scripture incidents which he has described. They suggested some of the uses which, in a former number of this journal, we made of the knowledge that has recently been collected respecting what we called the "subterranean Jerusalem." And now, it is from the same point of view, and with the purpose of subserving the objects which he has so clearly indicated, that in this article we propose to give some detailed account of another field of discovery recently explored, which furnishes means of vivid realizations of scripture history that are not less remarkable than those above alluded to, though they are less familiarly and accurately known.

The regions to which we now allude are the provinces of the ancient Bashan, and the widely-extended plains immediately on the south of them. They are still comparatively unfamiliar; and this may be explained by the form in which descriptions of them have hitherto appeared, as well as by the comparative brevity of those portions of scripture which they illustrate. Neither Burckhardt, nor Porter, notwithstanding their high merit as accurate observers, have attempted any of that scenic picturing which gives the pages of Stanley and Grove their great charm and use. And the late important researches of Mr. Graham in this region are only known from the detached and hastily-written papers in which he has attempted nothing more than an outline of his discoveries. Those who have given us our stereographic revivals of Bible life have hitherto employed themselves on the more familiar incidents of holy writ which occurred in the better-known and more frequently trodden paths

of Western Palestine. Yet none of their delineations are more impressive than those which pens like theirs, guided by their methods and in their spirit, may present us with in the country we have just indicated ; and the following outline may, at all events, indicate the nature and the amount of the materials which can in this manner be so employed.

It was in the beginning of the present century that the modern investigations, from which we obtain our only trustworthy accounts of these regions of Eastern Palestine, were commenced. Seetzen, the Russian consul at Damascus, was the first explorer, but he only reached the towns on the northern borders ; and the chief use of his journey was to stimulate Burckhardt, who, in the year 1810, penetrated into the interior, and reached the southernmost border of this then unknown land. Burckhardt's researches were carried forward with his usual care and accuracy ; and his Report of them, edited in 1822 by Col. W. M. Leake, still forms one of our best sources of information. In the year 1819, Buckingham followed him, and afterwards published an account of his observations. But it is disfigured by frequent inaccuracies, and little more of value was added to Burckhardt's narrative until the year 1853, when the Rev. J. L. Porter, then residing as missionary at Damascus, took advantage of the favouring circumstances of the country to examine it even more thoroughly than Burckhardt had done. He has given the results of his journey in his "Five Years in Damascus." No new ground, however, was explored by him, nor had any fresh discoveries been made since Burckhardt's time, until the year 1857. In the autumn of that year, Mr. Graham, with a rare union of enterprise and of good fortune, explored the country as far east of the limit which Burckhardt had reached, as that limit is itself distant from the mountain boundaries of the Jordan and its lakes. No discoveries of greater importance than his have been made in Scripture Lands since Dr. Layard's excavations in Nineveh. In fact, he has just doubled our information respecting the country we are now speaking of ; so that the mountain range which had formerly been regarded as its eastern boundary, should now be figured on the maps as running through the middle of it ; as again, in its south-western regions, he was the first to visit and examine some of the many towns that come in view from the castle of Bozrah, not one of which had been previously examined.

From these sources an extensive and, in some degree, an exact knowledge of the region in question may be obtained. And here, for the purpose of giving some definiteness to our description of it, we cannot do better than imagine ourselves placed on the upper tower of the castle of Sülkhad, which is built on the southern slopes of that Haurân range that runs

north-west and south-east through about the middle of the scene of our inquiries. There we are somewhat north of the middle point of its lower boundary. South and south-west, as far as the eye can reach, the country extends in an undulating fertile plain, and at intervals are many deserted towns and villages :—

“To the south-east runs an ancient road, straight as an arrow, across the fine plain.... Our guide informed us that this road extends to Būṣra on the Persian Gulf: the same statement I afterwards heard from others; and the historian Ibn Saïd, cited by Abulfeda, says that from this castle a king’s highway ran to Irak, and that by it Baghdad may be reached in ten days. (Mr. Graham followed the road for about ten miles.) On the plain extending from the south to the east, I counted fourteen towns or villages, none of them more than twelve miles distant, and almost all of them, so far as I could see by the aid of a telescope, still habitable, like Sūlkhad, but completely deserted. (All these towns Mr. Graham visited.) The houses in some of them I could distinctly see standing perfect, as when recently finished; and those strange square towers, so conspicuous in all the ancient villages of the Haurān, are here too.”*

This is the southern view from the commanding point we are supposed to occupy. And now turning round, and looking first on our left side, *i. e.*, north-westwards, the whole of Bashan lies before us. Due west, its furthest boundary is the high ground rising up into the mountain wall, which comes in view on the other side of Jordan, and this is about one hundred miles from the Haurān range, at the extremity of which we are now standing. The whole of the southern portion of this surface is made up of undulating downs, whose fertility is attested by the numerous ruins which, in this direction, also come within our farthest range of sight. Looking up along the mountain slopes on this side the Haurān range, we see traces of numerous forests, thick with the Bashan oaks, which are as characteristic of this region as the cedars are of Lebanon. Volcanic traces are everywhere discernible; and just beyond the limits of our prospect, is the dark waving line of the southern boundary of a district that lies almost midway in the upper provinces of Bashan, and which might be regarded as the fortress of that ancient kingdom. This is now called the Lejah. It is the Argob of the Old Testament, and the Trachonitis of the New; and is one of the most remarkable districts in the world. It appears to be the deposit of a great volcanic eruption, in an extremely remote period; and it may be described as a volcanic island of an oval shape, being about twenty-two miles long by twelve wide :—

“Its general surface is elevated from twenty to thirty feet above the surrounding plain; . . . and its border is almost everywhere as clearly

* Porter’s Damascus, Vol. ii. p. 183.

defined as the line of a rocky coast, which, indeed, it very much resembles, with its inlets, bays, and promontories. . . . It is wholly composed of black basalt rock, which, in past ages, appears to have issued from innumerable pores of the earth in a liquid state, and to have flowed out on every side until the plain was almost covered. Before cooling, its surface was agitated by some fearful tempest, or other such agency; and it was afterwards shattered and rent by internal convulsions and vibrations. In many places there are deep fissures and yawning gulfs (especially on the western side), and so rough and rugged is the country, so deep the gullies and ravines, and so lofty the overhanging rocks, that the whole is a wild labyrinth, which none but the Arabs can penetrate.”*

Both the nature of this district, and its central position in the Bashan kingdom, marked it as the fortress settlement of the inhabitants, and it is accordingly filled with towns, where they were—as in fact the present inhabitants of the same place are—inaccessible to ordinary invaders. The country beyond this district, on the west and north-west, subsides into the plain that stretches away towards Anti-Lebanon, as, on the north and north-east, it melts into the desert country that encloses the Ghûtah, or valley of Damascus.

Such is the western side of the province towards which we look from our station on Sûlkhad. Another and very different prospect spreads out before us on the north-east. This half (speaking roughly) of the region in question presents an aspect utterly sterile and repulsive, and, in fact, it soon passes into the desert regions which reach to the Euphrates. Yet, barren as this side of the country is, it is neither trackless nor uninhabited. There are two broad roads, evidently formed at great cost and labour, running straight across it; one, to which we have before alluded, running south-eastwards from our position to Bûzra, on the Persian Gulf, and the other towards Palmyra, connecting Bozzah with that city. Numerous towns are scattered over the country through which these roads pass in the outset of their course; and while, in its stern bareness, it is wholly unlike the country on the west of our dividing range, it resembles that country in enclosing a volcanic district remarkably similar to the Lejah, which we have just described. This is called the Safâh, which is marked, even on recent maps, as a single tell, or eminence, but which, in fact, is a long mountainous range, extending lengthways, almost due north and south, for upwards of forty miles, and being in some parts between twelve and fifteen miles in breadth. While its elevation is far greater than that of the Lejah, in its physical formation and its aspect, it is said to be almost identical with that district. Mr. Graham describes it as “a sea of basalt, intersected with cracks and fissures which are often quite impassable.” The

* Porter's *Damascus*, Vol. ii. pp. 240—242.

country on the north of it melts into and blends with the desert region above described as surrounding the Damascus valley, while on the east it is soon lost in the wastes which border the Euphrates.

It would be across those wastes, and moving in a south-westerly direction, that the first company of emigrants from the primæval settlements in western Asia made their way towards those rich provinces of Syria and Egypt, of which they might have heard from some adventurous explorer, or which, even more probable, their antediluvian traditions may have made known to them. In those early ages the stream of emigration would continually pour itself across the upper fords of the Euphrates, through the Tadmor oasis, and over the rich Damascus plain ; and one company after another would stay and settle on the resting-places which they found in their long way. Thus were formed the communities at Tadmor and Damascus ; and, later, the region we are now concerned with came to be occupied by races designated as the Emim, the Zuzim, and the Rephaim. We are unable to locate these races accurately on their respective settlements ; and, in fact, except in some undeciphered characters found by Mr. Graham in the neighbourhood,* no traces exist which give any intimation who they were that occupied the towns around the Safáh, and in the region called El Harrah, which extends into the desert on the east of it. With this part of the region we have been reviewing, history is connected only by suggestions or by inferences. But of the Rephaim (*i.e.* Giants), we know that, as might have been expected, they established themselves and built their dwellings in that fortress settlement, as the Lejah may be called, which indeed none but such a race could then have occupied. It is plain that, if ever inhabited at all, it could only have been by people of gigantic prowess, who had reasons for establishing themselves in such an inaccessible position, and who had immense force at command for the erection of their dwellings in it. Such would be our conclusion, supposing no traces remained of the dwellings they actually erected. But many of them are still extant, and have been carefully described by the explorers of this region. In some instances they are covered over by the works of later occupants of the territory ; in others they stand as they were originally built ; and they present the most ponderous and massive instances of domestic architecture of which we have any knowledge. Their solid walls, upwards of four feet in thickness, are raised of large blocks of squared stones, placed one on the other without cement ; their roofs are formed of enormous slabs of the same material, the black basaltic rock of the country, which is almost like iron. So also are their doors and gates, some of

* In *Jour. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. xvii., Mr. Graham has given some specimens of these inscriptions.

them being nearly eighteen inches thick, and secured by ponderous bars, the recesses for which can still be seen. "They are just such structures," says Mr. Porter, "as a race of giants would rear up; and are in every way characteristic of a period when architecture was in its infancy, when manual labour was of little comparative value, and when strength and security were the great requisites." And Mr. Graham, who visited the country shortly after an extensive tour in Upper Egypt, and after he had examined some of the most remarkable specimens of the massive Phœnician structures around Mount Hermon, remarks:—"They are unlike any other buildings we have seen, or even heard of. . . . If we had known nothing of their history, we should have been forced to the conclusion, that the people who had constructed them were not only a powerful and mighty nation, but that, individually, they were of greater strength than ourselves."

Now the unerring Record tells us that the original colonists of these regions were just such men; and, entrenched in their fortress homes, they would soon subject all the adjacent country to their control. It is probable, however, that their number was not considerable when Abraham passed on the west of them in his journey along the borders of their settlement. After emerging from the Damascus valley, he would descry their gloomy and inaccessible abodes far away on his left hand, and hurry on, as we may imagine, as quickly as he could, from their dangerous neighbourhood. But that they were then few in number, may be inferred from the defeat which they soon afterwards suffered from the Chaldean forces, "which smote the Rephaim in Ashtaroth Karnaim," one of the border towns that were built as above described. It is indeed possible that this discomfiture of the Giants took place in some outpost skirmish, and that Chedorlaomer's troops did not venture to attack these formidable men in their rocky fastnesses. Be this, however, as it may, they soon became the paramount tribe in that region, as might have been expected, and as may be unmistakeably inferred from the Egyptian monuments. And when, long after the time of Abraham, his two grandsons met at Mahanaim, they too were on the very borders of this territory of the Rephaim. Jacob had doubtless paid them the customary tribute exacted from the caravans which travelled past their settlements; while Esau, the powerful chieftain of the Seir mountains, was probably the only prince in the neighbouring provinces who could venture to come so near them.

For nearly three centuries after that conference between the two brothers, history is silent respecting the country. It appears, however, to have been traversed during this time by the Egyptian armies, whose successes and frequent conquests over the Rephaim, and in their neighbourhood, had hindered this

mighty race from subjecting the surrounding nations to their rule.* The Ammonites, on the south of them, had been replaced by the Amorites (*i.e.* mountaineers) from the other side of Jordan; while the Moabites and Edomites, still further south, yet held peaceful possession of their territory. So far as can be ascertained, the Giants were confined to their rocky enclosure, while, at the same time, they held sway over the provinces immediately bordering upon it on the south, and the forest region which stretches on the south-east as far as the slopes of the Haûran. In their inaccessible retreats, protected there by the mighty bulwarks which the volcano had built up around them, they were a continual occasion of dread to all the neighbouring tribes, even to those who were yet exempt from their control. Og, and his chiefs, armed with iron missiles, and entrenched behind those mighty bulwarks, in those intricate and inaccessible fastnesses, were indeed terrible neighbours, and enemies dreadful to encounter in aggressive war. Nor had any of the adjacent powers ventured to assail them. Indeed it is probable that all which even the Egyptian armies had accomplished in their much-vaunted exploits against the Rephaim was to drive them within their fortresses. But now they hear of approaching hosts which awaken unwonted fears in them. For these hosts are in possession of all the Egyptian implements of war; and, besides being stronger and more valiant than the mightiest of the neighbouring tribes (for had they not just vanquished the powerful Amorites, who had held their own for so many generations?) they had all, from their youth up, been severely trained by generals to whom the modes of Egyptian warfare were familiar.

On the Paran uplands they had received that soldierly training and discipline from men who were well able to conduct it. Joshua and Moses, and the nobles of the people, were familiar with the warlike science that had won such famous victories for the dynasty which was then supreme in Egypt. They had resources which enabled them to obtain from that country the war implements and machines which its science had invented. When they left their settlement in Paran, they marched forward under the inspiration of the loftiest hopes and promises. And half way on their journey, their army had been purged of those who would have discouraged and encumbered them. Moreover, when they reached the borders of Og's territory, they were flushed and exultant with reanimated hopes, for the mountaineers of Gilead had just been defeated by them. And so, as the history intimates, they advanced without any misgivings to their encounter with the terrible chieftain, and with the mighty forces that were controlled by him.

* Osborn's "Egypt," &c.

We know The Presence Which was advancing with them, and Whose aid furnishes the reason why, in this instance also, they proved irresistible. Their Divine Helper, however, wrought through and by means of their own valour and strenuous exertions ; and as no visibly miraculous interposition is mentioned in this instance, we may confine our attention to the secondary causes that may be discovered in their defeat of the Bashan chieftain and his forces. All which the researches we are now dwelling on, has disclosed of his power, and of the strength of his position, may be accepted as testimony to the valour and discipline of the Israelites, and to the resources in their possession at this time. They must surely have been very different from a mere wandering host of Bedouin shepherds, as they are sometimes represented, when we find them going forward to the attack of such a formidable adversary, so entrenched and guarded. And their reasons for their valiant confidence were justified. They "smote Og and all his people:" "none" of all his gigantic force "was left to him remaining." "All his cities," also, which were fortified "with high walls, gates and bars," built of that same basaltic rock, and on the same scale of massiveness, which is now visible in the private dwellings, "they took" at that time. There was not one of the "three-score cities (of which the ruins of thirty are now visible from Tell 'Amârah, on the south of the Lejah,)" which they took not," besides the unwalled towns on the undulating plain south of their main settlement. And there, in those gloomy massive homes, the Manassites at once established themselves. For the defence of their families, in such a position, it was sufficient for them to leave a small detachment from their tribe; while the great body of them went, in fulfilment of their compact with the brethren by whom they had been just aided, to help in the completion of the conquest on the other side of Jordan.

And if now, or if immediately after their return, they had perfectly finished their work, and wholly extirpated the foes whom they had defeated, they would have been impregnable in their new settlement. But, like their brethren on the west, they allowed many of the people whom they should have utterly driven out, to remain among them. All the forces of Og were vanquished, as the sacred writer expressly states. "But," it is added, "they did not expel the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites: but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwelt among the sons of Israel" (i.e. in the north-east corner of the volcanic district above described), and in time the Manassites, like their brethren on the west, reaped the fruits of their short-sighted policy. Mingled with these heathens in their dwellings, they "learned their works." And their children were plundered and subjected by the very people they had defeated. This same region was among those which had to be recovered, and restored to Israel, by David in his conquests. And we must picture to ourselves another conflict here

between his valiant troops and the dwellers in these wild retreats, that he might reinstate the faithful Manassites in their settlement. These rock cities, with those around the Safáh,* would then form some of the strongest fortresses by which David held his eastern dominions in subjection. There, too, were those garrisons of Solomon which protected the extensive commerce he carried forward by means of the frequent caravans to Damascus and Palmyra, and which added so much to his renown and opulence. And meanwhile another aspect would be gradually thrown over the rude stern dwellings. Midway between the architectural splendour of Jerusalem, and the luxurious dwellings of Damascus, some of their iron ruggedness would be clothed, softened, and adorned by the luxurious culture of the people.

Such was the condition of the country during the brief period of the Hebrew ascendancy ; and, as it gradually passed away, while the Syrian power was encroaching on the territory which yet remained to Israel, this was one of the positions of which the Damascus monarch would naturally strive to get possession. This he soon accomplished, and here in fact he was garrisoned, and established as on a fortress outpost, during his control over the trans-Jordanic tribes. In fact, it was one of the chief defences of the Syrian king on the south-west of his territory, as the Lebanon ranges were on the north and direct west, and as the Great Desert was on the east. His territory was not extended southward beyond this limit, except perhaps once for a brief period. For now, advancing towards this southern border was the enlarging kingdom of the Moabites. While Syria was encroaching on the province of Manasseh Moab was absorbing those of Gad and Reuben, and this power was in its zenith when the rule of Assyria was paramount. Thus Moab held all that territory which, increasing in richness as we approach the west, comes in view on either side of the southern prospect from Sülkhad. No part of Syria is more fertile ; none was more thickly peopled than those wide-spreading downs which stand blank and naked on our maps ; and the Moabite kingdom, which included it at the period we have now reached, must have been exceedingly powerful and wealthy. It was this kingdom which was the subject of Jeremiah's denunciations ; and one of the most interesting results of Mr. Graham's researches is found in his account of Um-el-Jemál, "the ancient Beth Gamul, a very large city, and to be compared almost with the modern Jerusalem. It was very perfect" Mr. Graham continues ; "and as we walked about among the streets, and entered every house, and opened the stone doors, and saw the rooms as if they had just been left, and then thought that we were actually in the private dwellings of a people who, for 2000 years, had ceased to be a people, we

* See Mr. Graham's account of them in *Jour. Geog. Soc.* Vol. xviii. p. 237.

felt a kind of awe, and realized, in a manner that we never perhaps could feel elsewhere, how perfectly every tittle of God's word is carried out. . . These cities of Moab, which are still so perfect that they might again be inhabited to-morrow, have been during many centuries unpeopled. The land about them, rich and fruitful as any in Syria, has long ceased to produce aught but shrubs and herbs, the food of the camel and the antelope."*

If Um-el-Jemâl may be taken as a specimen of the numerous cities on the south which come in view from Sûlkhad, we gain an impressive conception not only of the Moabite kingdom at this time, but also of the previous opulence of the Hebrew tribes who had owned this territory and occupied these cities, while at the same time they had exercised rule, as lords paramount, over the Moab and Edomite communities in their neighbourhood. Let us fix our attention steadfastly on their numbers and extent, on the ample resources of their vast provinces, and then connect with this view of them the strong fortresses on the north, which were held by their compatriots, and our conceptions of the national importance of the Israelites, and of the fitness of the ground chosen for the transactions of their great history, will be indefinitely heightened. This ground was over its whole extent, what the highland country on the other side of the Jordan valley was only in its choicest provinces. Rich streams of commerce were continually pouring through the cities built on it, as they flowed on from the Red Sea ports to Damascus and Palmyra, or again from the west, through Bozra, along the road which, as we have seen, led thence to the Persian Gulf. Here, on those broad and fertile pastures, on those richly-wooded hills, beside those sparkling streams, with those great highways running through their cities, was the richest portion of Israel's inheritance. Here some of the most momentous parts of its "mission in the world" were to be fulfilled. Provinces like these were needed for the development of some of the characteristics of the Hebrew nature, for the fulfilment of some of its appointed work. And the entire significance of the history of the chosen people cannot be understood, if they are not distinctly taken into account in our survey of the scene where that history was carried forward.

In this point of view all these regions are full of the deepest interest, and we may gladly welcome the recent additions to our knowledge respecting them. Another use of them is found in the illustrations which they furnish of some of the predictive portions of scripture ; but this use must be made in a method differing from that which has been customary. And it must be borne in mind, that we rather infer the fulfilment of

* *Camb. Essays* for 1858. See also *Jour. Geog. Soc.* Vol. xxviii. p. 250—252.

those predictions from the general aspect of the country, than actually witness it in what is seen by us. This distinction will go far to remove many of the difficulties which have recently been suggested (as in Stanley's *Sinai and Pales.*, chap. vi.) in respect of the uses which some expositors of prophecy have made of the actual condition of Scripture Lands as illustrative of the inspired predictions. Let it be granted that the ruins and desolations we now look upon are not those which were in view of the inspired seer—and this must be acknowledged, for they betoken the overthrow of races far later than those to whom his denunciations were addressed—yet his words are illustriously verified by them. The existing ruins imply, or we may say they exhibit, the very overthrow which he predicted. As we have already intimated, much of that massive ponderous architecture which we assign to those early days the Scriptures speak of, does not meet us on the surface: the works of later ages are superimposed on them. The Roman builders, for example, who afterwards wrought here, frequently erected their princely structures on what was a field of ruins when their works were carried forward; and in those ruins, the waste and desolation amidst which their temples and palaces and theatres were raised by them, we discern the fulfilment of the inspired predictions. We think there is reason to regret that commentators on prophecy have not observed this distinction; an element of weakness will be withdrawn from their argument when it is regarded.

For their use, as well as for the help of those who apply themselves to the embodiment and vivification of the history of Scripture, abundant materials are supplied by these late researches upon ground which was formerly almost unknown. It is true that, at present, it has only been roughly and generally surveyed, and indeed more than this has been hitherto impossible. Travel in some parts of this country is still impracticable, and it cannot be accomplished in any part except with risk and peril. It is now overrun by the most lawless of the Bedouins, and for many generations it will be liable to their incursions. As the "corsairs of the wilderness," they will hang upon its coasts for a long period. But under that improved government of Syria, which cannot be delayed much longer, the land itself must be reclaimed from them, and the traveller will be as secure against these outrages as he is now in western Palestine. Those roads which run directly through their territory show that their ancestors were tamed, or at least made amenable to discipline, as indeed the present generation of them was, in a large measure, during the late Egyptian occupation of the country.

When this is again the case, and the country is thrown open to the deliberate inspection of observers, duly accom-

plished and gifted like those we have above named, we shall have its history revived, as that has been which was transacted in the familiar scenes of Judæa and Samaria. And thus will be completed a proof overwhelming in its power of demonstration on him who duly investigates it, that the sacred writers wrote what they knew, and testified what they had seen; and that no historical record in our possession is more authentic than that through which we have received the Revelation of the mind and will of God.

DR. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE; AND HIS CONTRIBUTORS.

WE have received from the Rev. Samuel Clark the following letter, which, desiring to give him no ground of complaint, we print as we received it:—

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Battersea, Nov. 20, 1860.

SIR,—Your reviewer of Dr. Smith's Biblical Dictionary has thought it worth while to select my article on the Day of Atonement for stern rebuke, and has given three quotations from it on which he mainly grounds his charges. As I cannot help thinking that his treatment of the article is peculiar, I trust that you will give me space for a statement which shall be as short as I can make it.

The opinion of Origen, Spencer, Gesenius, Ewald, and Hengstenberg, noticed in the first passage—that the Hebrew word *Azazel* is the name of a personal being, to whom the scape-goat was sent away, is indeed stated at some length. But objections to that opinion, which I regard as valid, are also stated. In the next section, the interpretation of the word is given which appears to me to be most probable, and which is approved by Drs. Thomson and Tholuck. According to it, the inscription on the lot of the scape-goat signified, "*for complete sending away.*"

Philo's view of the Day of Atonement, referred to in the second quotation, is called "nobler:" not as being a complete or true one, but as compared with the notions of the Talmudists mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

For the third quotation I have neither apology nor explanation to offer. It expresses the only meaning of the white garments and bodily purification of the high priest with which I am acquainted. I would, however, ask that it should be read, together with the reviewer's remarks, in connection with the concluding passage of the article. After giving the arguments in favour of taking the two goats as figures of one and the same substance, and stating that Cyril and others have applied this view so as to make one goat represent the death of Christ, and the other His resurrection, the paragraph proceeds:—"But we shall take a simpler, and perhaps a truer view, if we look upon the

"slain goat as setting forth the act of sacrifice, in giving up its own life for others 'to *Jehovah*,' in accordance with the requirements of the divine law; and the goat which carried off its load of sin '*for complete removal*,' as signifying the cleansing influence of faith in that sacrifice. Thus, in his degree, the devout Israelite might have felt the truth of the psalmist's words, 'As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our transgressions from us.' But for us the whole spiritual truth has been revealed in historical fact, in the life, death, and resurrection of Him who was made sin for us, who died for us, and who rose again for our justification. 'This Mediator it was necessary should, '*in some unspeakable manner, unite life and death.*' " *

Then follows a list of nine books, of which I made principal use in the composition of the article. Of these two only are modern German works: and from neither of them am I conscious of having derived any "follies of German interpretation," with which the article is said to be largely intermixed. I believe that I have not adopted a single opinion which is peculiar to either of them.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

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SAMUEL CLARK.

We feel no inclination for a war of words with Mr. Clark, and shall therefore leave his explanations to have their full weight with our readers. We feared, on our first perusal of the paper in question, that Mr. Clark was a follower of Mr. F. D. Maurice. We drew this conclusion, not merely from his reference to that author, but from that mistiness and indistinctness—that apparent but not real recognition of fundamental truths—which pervades all the writings of Mr. Maurice, and from which Mr. Clark's article on the Day of Atonement is not altogether free. Let our readers examine carefully the passage to which Mr. Clark appeals in his own justification, as given above, and they will see how nearly we may approach the truth, without actually touching it.

However, we have the assurance of those on whom we can rely, that Mr. Clark is a sound and pious divine; and we rejoice to hear it. Other excellent men, some of whom occasionally write in the *Christian Observer*, have also contributed papers to Dr. Smith's dictionary. As it was intended only "to comprise antiquities, biography, geography, and natural history," we are by no means surprised they should have done so. Some of them have written to us to say that they wish to be held responsible only for their own contributions. But we must suggest to them that something more is due, both to their own characters and to the cause of truth, than explanations addressed to the editor of the *Christian Observer*. They must send their indignant remonstrance, not to us, but to the editor of Dr. Smith's dictionary. They must publish this remonstrance to the world. And they must do it in such *out-spoken* terms as to make the

* These eight words are taken from Maurice on *Sacrifice*, p. 85.

public understand that their indignation bears some proportion to the mischief they have innocently been promoting. We should have thought Mr. Clark's explanation more satisfactory, if he had wound up with a sentence or two to this effect.

But the subject is too solemn, and the interests at stake are too important, for us to permit it to degenerate into a personal affair. We must seize the occasion to re-open, to a certain extent, the questions at issue between ourselves and the friends and followers of Mr. Maurice.

Let it be remembered, that Mr. Maurice himself asserts and maintains a doctrine of the Atonement,—speaks of Christ's sacrifice,—acknowledges that Christ died for us, was made sin for us, and offered Himself to the Father for us; and yet, with all this, Mr. Maurice utterly rejects that doctrine of the Atonement which the Bible teaches, and which the church constantly maintains. And what Mr. Clark's letter, as given above, is chiefly deficient in, is, a clear and distinct avowal, whether he holds with Mr. Maurice, or with the Bible and the church.

I. Mr. Maurice tells us, in his *Theological Essays*, "I must give up archbishop Magee; for I am determined to keep that which makes the Atonement precious to my heart and conscience."

Now, whether Mr. Maurice chooses to keep to archbishop Magee, or to give him up, may be of small importance. But the archbishop's name here stands for a certain DOCTRINE which Mr. Maurice says he "must give up."

II. What, then, is this doctrine which Mr. Maurice thus rejects? We will give it in the archbishop's own words:—

"As the Atonement under the Law, or expiation of the legal transgressions, was represented as a translation of those transgressions, in the act of sacrifice in which the animal was slain, and the people thereby cleansed from their legal impurities, and released from the penalties which had been incurred;—so, the great Atonement for the sins of mankind was to be effected by the sacrifice of Christ, undergoing, for the restoration of men to the favour of God, that death which had been denounced against sin; and which He suffered in like manner as if the sins of men had been *actually* transferred to Him, as those of the congregation had been symbolically transferred to the sin-offering of the people." (Abp. Magee on the Atonement, Vol. i., p. 62.)

III. Such is the doctrine which Mr. Maurice "gives up," or rejects. Now, let us quote, in his own words, some of his reasons for so giving it up. In his *Theological Essays* he says:—

"If we speak of Christ as taking upon Himself the sins of men by some artificial substitution, we deny that He is their actual representative."

"Those who say that the law must execute itself,—must have its penalty, should remember their own words. How does it execute itself if a person, against whom it is not directed, interposes to bear its punishment?"

"How can we tolerate that notion of God which would represent Him as satisfied by the punishment of sin; not by the purity and graciousness of the Son?"

We see, then, and Mr. Clark may see, wherein lies the difference between the two systems. There is an important fact,—a vital principle, asserted by archbishop Magee, and denied by Mr. Maurice; and that fact is, that the death of Christ was an EXPIATORY SACRIFICE. Now, we might remark, that the archbishop started no new doctrine; founded no sect or party in the church, (as Mr. Maurice has done); but merely stated anew the doctrine which had been preached by Luther, Cranmer, Jewell, Hooker, and all the great divines of our church, down to his own time. But we prefer to confine ourselves to one question.

IV. What says the church, of which Mr. Maurice is a minister? Is the doctrine of the *Expiatory Sacrifice* of Christ held by her, as it was by archbishop Magee; or rejected, as it is by Mr. Maurice? A very few passages from the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies, will answer this question.

1. The Articles tell us, that—

"The Son of God truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men." (Art. ii.)

"The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone." (Art. xxi.)

2. The Prayer Book tells us, that—

We receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, "in remembrance of His meritorious cross and passion, whereby alone we obtain remission of our sins," &c.

And that, "Christ suffered on the cross for our redemption; and made there, by His one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."

3. The Homilies tell us, that—

"God sent His only Son our Saviour Christ into this world, to fulfil the law for us, and, by shedding of His most precious blood, to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends to His Father for our sins, to assuage His wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same." "He for them (that believe) paid their ransom by His death: He for them fulfilled the law in His life." (On Salvation.)

"To appease the wrath of God, and to satisfy His justice, it was expedient that our Mediator should be such an one as might take upon Him the sins of mankind, and sustain the due punishment thereof." (*On the Nativity.*)

"Christ did put Himself between God's deserved wrath and our sin, and rent that obligation wherein we were in danger to God, and paid our debt." . . . "Without payment, God the Father could never be at one with us." . . . "The dearly-beloved Son of God was thus punished and stricken for the sin which He had not done." (*For Good Friday.*)

"Herein doth it appear how filthy a thing sin is, since it can by no other means be washed away, but by the blood of the only-begotten Son of God." (*On Repentance.*)

Such is the teaching of the Church, in her Articles, her Liturgy, and her Homilies. Now turn back to Mr. Maurice's language,—
"How does the law execute itself, if a person against whom it is not directed, interposes to bear its punishment?" "How can we tolerate that notion of God, which would represent Him as satisfied by the punishment of sin?" Is it not as clear as words can make it, that while he talks of "giving up archbishop Magee," it is the doctrine of the Church of England which he gives up, or rejects? And that this doctrine is wholly drawn from Holy Scripture itself, is a fact which, at this time of day, we need hardly take the trouble to prove.

Such, then, is the alternative which we put before Mr. Clark. In connexion with some others whose orthodoxy is after all, we trust, unimpaired, he has brought himself into question, by quoting Mr. Maurice, and by adopting his style and modes of thought. We have now shown them what is involved in all this. If they place themselves on Mr. Maurice's side, they thereby place themselves in opposition to the fundamental doctrines of the church of England. If they come again before the public, let them state with explicitness whether they side with Mr. Maurice or reject him.

We are thus plain and emphatic, because we have recently seen several lamentable proofs, that this departure from the great central truth, of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice, is largely yielding its natural fruit, of positive Infidelity. Various instances of this have come before us in the course of the last two or three months,—the latest of which we will briefly describe.

A young man had allowed doubts and sceptical thoughts to creep into his mind, as they creep into the minds of many, from the study of Tennyson's and some other poems,—from Kingsley's writings, and similar works. He resolved to hear Mr. Maurice for himself, and became a regular attendant upon his preaching. He soon avowed himself a willing disciple; and could talk of "the monstrous notion that God could be satisfied or pleased by the punishment of sinners; or that the death of

a spotless being was necessary, to reconcile sinners to God." The idea of the endless punishment of sinners he held to be horrible, and altogether to be rejected. Thus he fully embraced Mr. Maurice's system. But then he carried it to its legitimate results. *He utterly rejected the Bible.* For, he said, "Although I cannot for a moment admit the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice, or of eternal punishments, I cannot deny that both of these doctrines, or facts, are plainly asserted in the Bible;—and therefore, I will have nothing to do with the Bible. I believe that it gives us a false idea of the character of God."

And, speaking of Mr. Maurice himself, he expressed his wonder, that a man who saw things so clearly, could continue a minister of the Church of England. "I cannot account for it," he said, "to say the least, it is very *inconsistent.*"

We have here simply narrated facts of very recent occurrence; and we leave Mr. Clark to draw his own inferences from them.

Again: a friend of ours, who had a curacy vacant in the neighbourhood of London, was waited upon one forenoon by three young clergymen in succession: they all of them rejected the inspiration of the Bible; they smiled contemptuously as they spoke of the myths and fables of the Old Testament history; one of them avowed that if he found doctrines which did not commend themselves to his judgment, clearly laid down in St. Paul's writings, he should still say that Paul was mistaken, and that he himself was right; in fact, he had been preaching in a country parish for some time in this style; the minds of the people, it was true, were a little disturbed at present; but that was of no consequence; in a short time, he had no doubt, ninety-nine out of every hundred would quite agree with him. We have a certain kind of satisfaction in adding, that one of the three has since become a Unitarian minister. In the presence of such facts as these, we leave it to our readers to consider whether we show too much warmth in our treatment of the Maurician heresy; or much jealousy in watching its movements and those of its abettors.

RURAL DEANS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—I should like to see, discussed in your pages, the amount of authority possessed by Rural Deans. When I promised at my ordination to "obey my ordinary and other chief ministers of the church, and them to whom the charge and government over her is committed, following with a glad mind and with their godly admonitions,"—did I bind myself to obey the injunctions of my Rural Dean? I believe not, and yet there are many who seem to think that such obedience is obligatory: it is time to set the matter at rest. The

tone in which many rural deans address their brother clergy has an assumption of authority in it. I have known a rural dean talk of "my clergy." I have known a country vicar snubbed by his rural dean for daring to set a-going a clerical meeting without consulting him, and reproved for disrespect of his bishop for such misconduct. There are, I believe ruri-decanal meetings summoned to discuss subjects selected by the bishop of the diocese, the result of such discussions being reported to him, together with the names of all the clergy who venture to be so refractory as not to attend. Certain religious societies follow the division of the country into rural deaneries in organizing their operations, and thereby push into notice the rural deanery system; and a new society just forming has taken a step further;—I mean, "the Church Institution," which professes for its object to combine the clergy and laity in defence of the church, and which lays down laws for "ruri-decanal chapters" to follow; while many consent to be leagued under this institution. The archbishop of Canterbury, in his faint praise of the institution, demurs to the phrase "meet in chapter," and observes that "chapter meetings are commonly confined to cathedrals." I can imagine a great deal of mischief likely to arise, if a rural dean, surrounded by a few clergy of his own opinions, reports their conclusions as those of the clergy "met in chapter," and if all the clergy who do not choose to recognize such *chapters* be held responsible for what emanates from their rural deanery.

You must have perceived that recently the bishop of London has introduced rural deans, four in number, in the metropolis. It seems high time, then, to have it settled, "what is the authority of a rural dean?"—Is it true, as I have heard it said, that the original office of a rural dean was to collect Peter's pence? Has a rural dean any more authority, because nominated to such office by a bishop, than a district visitor has, when nominated by an incumbent,—authority to *offer* his services as an adviser or a helper to his neighbour, who may choose to accept such services?

I do not at all mean to say that the system might not be productive of much good, if judiciously carried out. But it may produce much evil too; and I am not sure that it is consistent with the genius of the church of England. Much of the high position of the church of England I believe to be due to the fact, that each incumbent is unfettered by his neighbours in the management of his own parish; and if this independence be infringed by a quasi-representative of the bishop having authority to intermeddle with his brethren, there must be a different race of clergy from those which now occupy the parishes of England.

Let me beg your attention to the subject, Mr. Editor.

W. S. D.

THE SCHOOL OF THE ESSAYISTS, AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

It is a grievous injury to the church of England that some of her ordained ministers deny the inspiration of the holy scriptures, and boldly and contemptuously repudiate the atonement, scorn-

ing the thought of its being a propitiatory sacrifice for sin. The case is scarcely made worse by that happening which is the necessary consequence of destroying the foundations; the whole superstructure of Christian truth is deliberately pulled down, man's necessities as a sinner, the work of grace in the heart, the only true way of justification, and, in short, everything that is precious in God's revelation of his grace in Christ. Nothing is likely to remain, if this advancing school of rationalists should prevail, excepting an inherently feeble system of morals, shorn of the help of all the motives which the gospel brings into action, and independent of divine grace.

Many prominent members of this school are clergymen. We will not dispute their believing that they may still retain their right to minister in the church; some of them have deliberately and boldly claimed to do so without reproach.

But under such circumstances it is important to consider and settle a somewhat larger question, which at the same time will include their whole case, namely, what really is the extent of the comprehensiveness of the church of England, and where the limits of that comprehensiveness are definitively fixed.

The liberality of the church of England in this respect is often extolled, and sometimes reprovèd. The recognition, by too many, of the principle of non-natural interpretation has practically increased the latitude which already existed when that method of dealing with the language of the church was introduced. Further, men of advanced views, in various and opposite directions, are actually in holy orders, and from this it is inferred and argued, that their position is lawful and tenable.

Such being the case, we believe that the plea of necessity may be urged for repeating what is already obvious to many of our readers, and as familiar to some of them, perhaps as tedious, as a thrice-told tale.

We proceed, then, to define, by means which all ought to acknowledge to be conclusive, what are the limits within which there is liberty conceded to the clergy for difference in doctrine, by the church in which they have received their orders. We believe that we can place the landmarks with a certainty which may defy any legitimate attempt to remove them. The boundaries will be narrower than the existing discipline practically leaves them, but broad enough to admit of much diversity of judgment,—as broad as we think consistent with the maintenance of divine truth, and not more so. We shall treat this subject as a matter of conscience, not of law; but the ground we select will be precisely that on which the law would take its stand, were any appeal made to it for a decision of the case.

In considering on what conditions a clergyman exercises his ministry, or is to be regarded as having a right to fulfil any of

its functions, we begin with the requirements which preceded the solemn act of his ordination.

In the presence of the bishop, he was required to subscribe the following declaration :—

“I, A. B., do willingly, and from my heart, subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of religion of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to the three Articles in the Thirty-sixth Canon, and to all things therein contained.”

Could anything be stronger than this thorough and cordial acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles, as exponents of the principles and judgment of him who signs it? *Willingly, and from the heart!* Such a form of words could never have been prepared or proposed in the sense of the person being just able, by mere ingenious straining of the expressions away from their natural meaning, to persuade his conscience to consent to his taking the pen and recording his name thereto.

But with the same willingness and heartiness every clergyman once professed to subscribe to the three “Articles,” as they are called, in the 36th canon, and to all things therein contained. The first of these Articles is an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, with which, in this paper, we are not concerned. The second relates to the Prayer Book; and the third to the Thirty-nine Articles. We shall take the latter first, as being a sort of supplement to the declaration already noticed.

It seems, at first sight, remarkable that, after such a declaration, another word on the same subject should be added. We can only attribute it to the importance attached to the soundness in the faith of him who is to be admitted to the office of teaching, and premonishing, and otherwise ministering in the congregation. The Thirty-nine Articles were agreed upon, in the only recognized council of the church, for the express purpose of *avoiding diversities of opinion, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion*. Hence unusual precautions might naturally be taken to shut out those who do not truly accept and agree with them; and therefore every one who is admitted into the ministry of the church of England, has previously declared that he “willingly,” and from his heart, subscribes “all things” contained in the following (third) Article :—

“3. That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord 1562, and that he acknowledgeth *all and every* the articles therein contained, being in number nine-and-thirty, besides the ratification, *to be agreeable to the word of God.*”

Plain language enough, and only a little more definite than the foregoing declaration. Observe, *all and every the Articles,*

and then notice the ground of their reception, that they are agreeable to the word of God.

An attempt has been made to weaken the force of this Article by torturing the word "alloweth" into something equivalent to a mere toleration. It is hardly worth while to waste ink upon such a plea, in the face of (1) the words, "willingly and from my heart," already noticed as subscribed at the same time; (2) the obvious use of this word of old in a stronger sense than that which it now bears: *Ye ALLOW the deeds of your fathers* (Luke xi. 48); *That which I do I ALLOW not* (Rom. vii. 15); and (3) the subject, *He alloweth the Book of Articles, &c., and acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein contained . . . to be agreeable to the word of God.* Let any one take the word "alloweth" in what sense he will, he cannot really weaken the force of the whole sentence, as a complete acknowledgment that the Thirty-nine Articles rest on the most conclusive authority, that of God's own word.

Such is one of the preliminary engagements into which every candidate for holy orders must enter, as a condition of his being admitted to that sacred and responsible office. It is good for clergymen of all schools to keep it constantly in mind that such are the obligations which they laid upon themselves when they were on the threshold of ordination, and without which they could not have been ordained. Whatever latitude there may be must be found *within the range of these Articles*; and no man can be justified in speaking of himself as a "true churchman," a "real churchman," or, in any proper sense, a "high churchman," whose mind is not in thorough harmony with the Articles which, if he professed truly, he *willingly and from his heart* subscribed, because his mind entirely agreed with them.

So far, our attention has been fixed on one only of the conditions of admission to holy orders. Another is contained in the second of the Articles in the canon, and is as follows:—

"2. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully be so used, and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer, or administration of the sacraments, and none other."

As the stipulation hereby made relates to practice and not to doctrine, it does not immediately concern our present inquiry. We only say, that it is as much a condition of admission into holy orders as is the former part, to which our observations are at present to be more immediately directed. The expressions are peculiar: *nothing contrary to the word of God*; and *that it may lawfully be so used*. Here is nothing to interfere with those who think that improvements could be made, and who may desire to have them carried into effect; but

such liberty ceases at the point where any one judges that there is, in the Liturgy or Ordination Service, anything *contrary to the word of God*, or that it is not *lawful* to use them. A clergyman may think that certain changes would be desirable, or he may wish that certain truths had been differently expressed; or, on the other hand, he may deprecate any such treatment of the Prayer Book. But none can have properly presented themselves for holy orders, unless they were satisfied that the book in question *containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God*, and that it *may lawfully be so used*.

In these preliminary conditions of admission to holy orders, there is one point on which we shall have to say more when we come to the Thirty-nine Articles themselves, but which, in these days, must have attracted the attention of many of those who have followed us thus far, and which claims particular notice.

The Prayer Book is subscribed as containing nothing contrary to the *word of God*. The Articles are acknowledged as agreeable to the *word of God*. The test is not reason, precedent, or tradition, but the *word of God*; an expression which itself makes the authority to be wholly distinct from the word of man. A quibble has been raised out of the expression, "Holy Scripture," in the 6th Article. We believe we shall be able to show that it is merely a quibble, and one which falls to pieces at a touch. But those who raise the quibble seem to admit that this other expression, *the word of God*, when applied to the books of the Old and New Testaments, would settle the whole question of inspiration, as far as the doctrine of the church respecting that point is concerned; and here we have it repeated twice, in the most important relations, amidst the conditions of admission to holy orders. The doctrines of the church are subscribed as doctrines derived from inspired sources, *agreeable to the word of God*, and the Prayer Book as containing in it *nothing contrary to the same*.

From the signing of this covenant, by the candidate for orders, privately, in the bishop's presence, and from his consequent admission, on the assumption that he is acting in all faithfulness, let us proceed to enter the cathedral; and, as members of the congregation, let us listen to what passes between the bishop and this same candidate, just before the solemn act of laying on of hands.

It would seem as if either enough security had not even yet been taken, or as if it had been judged at the Reformation that the pledge, privately given, ought afterwards to be renewed openly, in the face of the church, as well as in the sight of God. The latter is probably the true explanation of what is appointed to be done. The candidate has to answer several important questions. Amongst them he is asked, "Do you unfeignedly

believe all the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testaments?"

He answers, "I do believe them."

Here is a profession which any straightforward honest Englishman, who hates subterfuges, must necessarily regard as a declaration that the man who makes it believes that the canonical scriptures are not the word of man but the word of God, given by inspiration.

But now a year has passed; and how careful is the church! The selfsame declarations are to be repeated. Has he faltered in the mean season? Has he drawn back? He is tested. The conditions are renewed; the covenant is signed once more; and we are again amongst the "good people" in the congregation, listening to the exhortation addressed to him who is seeking for admission to "the work and office of a priest in the church of God."

Amongst other momentous words, these are spoken to him:—

"And seeing that you cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work, pertaining to the salvation of man, but with *doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures*, and with a life agreeable to the same, consider how studious ye ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures," &c. &c.

We have yet to hear other weighty questions, and the answers to them binding as an oath:—

"Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures?"

"*Answer.* I am so persuaded, and have so determined, by God's grace."

He is further asked, if he will "minister the doctrine and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as *the Lord hath commanded*, and as this church and realm hath received the same, according to the commandments of God?" and he promises so to do, by the help of the Lord. He also promises (it is only for the sake of brevity that we do not give the words in full) to "drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to *God's word*;" to be diligent in reading "*the Holy Scriptures*;" and to frame his life, and that of his family, "according to the *doctrine of Christ*."

Soon after, he is exhorted: "Be thou a faithful dispenser of the *word of God*;" after which, when he is kneeling, a Bible being placed in his hand, the bishop gives him "authority to *preach the word of God*."

We cannot be mistaken in considering that, both in the declaration which is subscribed before the ordination, and in the Ordination service, the Holy Scriptures are so acknowledged to be of divine authority as to leave no room for culling out this statement or that, and pronouncing it to be purely of man, and not inspired, till at last the person has created for himself a situation, in which that only need be acknowledged as of God which he likes to accept, and all the rest may be pronounced human and fallible. The solemn engagements of ordination are made in distinct and express terms. The Thirty-nine Articles are willingly and heartily subscribed, and are declared to be *agreeable to the word of God*. The Prayer Book is acknowledged to contain *nothing contrary to the word of God*. The minister binds himself to preach nothing for truth which has not the authority of God's holy word. Is not this enough?

At this point two questions arise; we cannot say that they occur naturally, but we know that they are asked.

1. In what sense are the Thirty-nine Articles to be understood and taken? We answer this by asking again, Can there really be a doubt on the subject, in any mind that is not warped and biassed by its own previous wishes? Surely there can be no question as to the meaning intended to be conveyed by the Articles. As they were drawn up for the avowed purpose of establishing "*consent touching true religion*," so there is no real vagueness in them; and diverse meanings can only be forced upon them by a process of torture, which they resent in a way which puts their adversary to shame. Nor will the *orthodox terms* suffice without the orthodox doctrine which they were designed to express. When the terms of the contract are robbed of their proper sense (which must necessarily be the sense of the church), the contract is violated, and the breaker of it has done himself dishonour. We gladly avail ourselves here of the language of the bishop of Oxford, in his recently published Addresses to Candidates for Holy Orders. His Lordship says:—

"If you have a doubt as to her (the Church of England's) true character, if you are conscious to yourself that you are about to sign her Articles in a sense of your own, and one which really differs from that in which they are proposed to you, and the condition of receiving your credentials, you are most truly obtaining the office of a teacher under false pretences, and cannot expect God's blessing on your course." (Addresses, p. 11.)

Such distortion of the Articles is further, in effect, condemned by what the bishop says of the like distortion of the word of God, on this wise:—

"Each successive teacher of error does, more or less, what Tertullian tells us Valentinus did of old, who 'spared the text of God's word from

mutilation or alteration, because, inventing a meaning of his own for Scripture, he had no need to invent a scripture for his meaning.'"

2. The second question is, Whether the declarations made before ordination, and the answers given in that solemn service itself, are mere conditions of admission, attended with no further obligations, or are co-extensive in duration with the clergyman's life, or at least with his exercise of ministerial functions?

This is a question on which no doubt can justly arise. The object to be attained by the subscription is not of a transient nature, it is prospective as well as present; and the time can never come, while life lasts, to which it was not intended to reach. Nay, the questions themselves look into the whole future of the clergyman's ministry; and wherever the spirit of their engagements is departed from, a contract is broken,—there is a violation of faith. We again avail ourselves of the vigorous representations of the bishop of Oxford, when he is speaking of the word of God as the rule of the clergyman's faith:—

"But remember, also, that the decisions of your church must settle the question for you as her minister. You hold your commission of a teacher on this condition, and you must, as an honest man, lay down that office if you cannot fulfil that condition. She, for instance, has distinctly condemned all the peculiarities of Roman doctrine; you have subscribed to their condemnation as the condition of receiving a commission to be one of her appointed teachers; if you now approve of what you then condemned, you cannot honestly continue to execute an office which you hold on the presumption that you are always ready, without qualification or reserve, to renew that first subscription." (Addresses, p. 72.)

What is here said of the consequences of embracing errors which the church has condemned is equally applicable to the rejection of the doctrines which the church, by her Articles, has plainly declared and propounded as her faith.

We think we have now fulfilled what we undertook. We have shown that the Thirty-nine Articles (together with the three Creeds, since they are made integral parts of the Articles) are the authorized exponents of the theological system of the church of England; that every clergyman has declared his willing and hearty consent to them, and that the church requires him to take these Articles in their original and grammatical sense; that this declaration of full agreement with the Articles was a condition on which he was ordained; that he still holds his right to minister, subject to his honest adherence to what was so stipulated; and that he is guilty of a breach of faith when he forsakes the doctrine of the church, without renouncing his right to exercise his ministry in her sanctuaries.

What the doctrine of the Articles is lies on their very surface. It cannot be said that their statements are cloudy, and that their meaning cannot easily be discovered. They are only difficult to

deal with when it is wished to twist them into saying some new thing abhorrent to their intention. We therefore judge that it would be a waste of time to draw out their doctrine in full. There they are, at the end of our Prayer Books, speaking plainly for themselves. There is only one of them on which we feel called upon to make any observations; and that, not because the meaning of it is really uncertain, but because advantage has been taken of what it is alleged that it does not declare. We refer to Article VI., "Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation." It is alleged that neither in that Article, nor anywhere else, is the inspiration of Scripture made a doctrine of the church. Let us see.

1. The evident intention of the Article is to make the Scriptures the ultimate and conclusive appeal, because they are of divine authority,—God's word.

2. The expressions "holy scripture," "holy writ," and "the word of God," are employed in the Articles as equivalents (compare vi., viii., xvii., xviii., xix., xx., xxi., xxii., xxiv., xxvi., xxviii., xxxiv.); and by calling the canonical books "*the word of God*," in many of these, the church "begs the question," (see Essays and Reviews, p. 175,) that is, expresses her own doctrine on the subject; settles, for herself at least, that the Scriptures are inspired.

3. In all reference to Holy Scripture in the subsequent Articles, it is in a sense that regards the Scriptures as conclusive, because divine.

4. The Liturgy is in perfect harmony with this understanding of the Article. (See the Collects for St. Stephen's day, St. Andrew's, St. Mark's, St. Peter's, and that for St. Simon and St. Jude.) But, further, who that believes Scripture to be a human composition, full of errors, can dare to say, even to man, "the Scripture moveth us in sundry places to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness"? Much more, who could induce himself to say, "Blessed Lord, who *hast caused all Holy Scripture to be written* for our learning"? or to ask that all bishops, priests, and deacons may be illuminated with true knowledge and understanding of *God's holy word*; and that all God's people may receive from Him an increase of grace, to hear meekly *His word*, and to receive it with pure affection; and further to request that all who are praying to Him may be delivered from contempt of *His word* and commandments? The lips ought to be paralysed by the thought of uttering such words in unbelief of their truth.

But, 5. Ought it not to be enough to settle this point that the clergyman, who has signed his willing and hearty consent to this Article, has also, if in priest's orders, declared his persuasion that "the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ;" that he is determined to instruct the people according

to that authority ; to enforce, as necessary to be received, that only which may be "concluded and proved by the Scriptures ;" to make the Holy Scriptures the rule of life for his people, for himself, and for his family ; and to drive away all doctrines which are contrary to it ? There is here no qualification, no distinction of fallible and infallible ; the whole word of God is treated with reverence, as being of conclusive authority.

Whatever, then, may be the comprehensiveness of the church of England with regard to the tenets of her ministers, it does not extend to any dissent from the doctrines contained in her Articles, or to any disregard of the engagements indelibly fixed by her ordinations. There are boundaries openly planted ; and beyond these her ministers may not wander, unless they have first resigned their commissions. It may be urged upon any of her clergy,—

If, instead of willingly, and from your heart, declaring your belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the church, you now deny it ; if you question the miraculous incarnation, or the vicarious sacrifice and the resurrection of Christ, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, any of the doctrines of the Creeds, the corruption of man's nature, and his helplessness without grace, his justification as only attainable through faith, and the value of good works as depending on their being the fruits of faith ; or if, instead of denying, you hold the Romish doctrines of purgatory, pardons, worshipping of images, adoration of saints, transubstantiation, or the existence of any other satisfaction for sin but that of Christ alone ; if you hold anything which the Articles condemn, or reject any of the doctrines which they assert ;—you are not only not a true churchman, but you cannot minister, except in violation of your engagements, and without breaking a contract which you have solemnly made ; there is no place for you in the ministry of the church of England, excepting by wrong-doing and covenant-breaking !

This may be called narrow-mindedness ; but, if so, it is demonstrably the narrow-mindedness of the church of England, which leaves no place open within her pale for the Rationalist, and none for the Romanizer.

We believe that there never was a time when it was more important to look to our landmarks, and to resist all attempts either to break them down, or to provide facilities for over-leaping them.

PUBLIC MEETINGS FOR RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES, AND HOW
TO CONDUCT THEM.

In the year 1860 about two thousand five hundred meetings were held, in various parts of the United Kingdom, in aid of the Church Missionary Society; two thousand nine hundred and fifty for the British and Foreign Bible Society; and many besides, for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and other religious associations.

Some of those were well attended, interesting, and profitable, both to the societies in whose behalf they were held, and to the audiences assembled.

Some were thinly attended; and so dull and uninteresting, that those who were present departed without profit; and the necessary expenses of printing notices, and the travelling of deputations, swallowed up the meagre collections; so that nothing in the way of gain remained for the special objects contemplated.

Surely there must be something wrong here—either this mode of collecting money is not good, or there must be a screw loose in the machinery, local, or moving, which interferes with the proper working of the plan. We intend to look into this matter, and to glance, first, at the necessity for holding provincial public meetings; secondly, to inquire into the causes of failure; and thirdly, to give a few hints, founded upon the experience of “old hands,” which may serve, with the Divine blessing, to increase the interest generally felt in the public advocacy of our great religious institutions. First, as to the necessity for holding public meetings. Some worthy people assert that this is not the right mode of collecting money; and that we ought to copy the apostolic model,—“upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.” And we have heard of a congregation mentioned at the Conference on Missions in Liverpool in last May,* which does conform to this model; and the result has been £650 annually. But, while we highly commend this successful application of the apostle’s injunction, and wish that nothing more was needed to fill the treasuries of religious societies, we cannot help regarding it as an exceptional case; and we fear that the plan would not answer generally, unless we had apostolic authority to command, and an apostolic spirit in the masses of our people, constraining them to give. Nay, we are convinced, that if this plan were generally adopted—forced on, before the religious state of congregations would warrant it—Bibles for the poor would again be sold at book-

* Conference Missions, p. 176; Nisbet and Co.

sellers' prices—populous places must forego the aid of additional curates—and England's foreign mission, instead of continually extending, like the beautiful banana-tree, dropping down the branches of Christ's church to grow and bear fruit in foreign lands, would be dried up at the roots, and unable any longer to put forth those "leaves" which are "for the healing of the nations."

We therefore believe that public meetings, well conducted, are necessary in the present state of home congregations; that they are very beneficial, and that they do receive "the blessing of the Lord" which "maketh rich," in money to expend, and in spiritual fruit to be gathered in.

Time was when certain religionists refused to entertain the notion of such meetings; when rigid churchmen gave the reply to diligent canvassing secretaries, "We never allow any societies to be advocated in our parishes unless when we receive a King's letter authorizing the collection to be made." And even in the transition state of feeling upon the subject, so great was the opposition still in some well-meaning quarters, that a venerable prelate, who has passed away from the scene of his labours here below, is said to have been rebuked by a celebrated baron of the Exchequer, because, in committee, he advocated the admission of females to public meetings; and actually had the daring to enter one, of which he himself was president, with a lady of his family leaning on his arm! * Happily that time is only a matter of history, as well as royal letters in behalf of three or four exclusively favoured societies. And now churchmen of every shade, as well as the nonconformist bodies, admit the necessity for, and benefit resulting from, public meetings.

The pulpit is doubtless a powerful engine for the furtherance of good; and the legitimate influence of the pulpit is great. We sincerely wish that "the advance" in the great cause of missions at home and abroad was sounded in every pulpit in the land; and we feel persuaded that, with a little christian boldness on the part of the clergy, this might soon be accomplished. But the pulpit is not sufficient: there is not time in a sermon to say enough upon such special topics. The great themes of the pulpit are, salvation by grace through Christ our Redeemer, and the urging upon believers to live "unto Him which died for them and rose again;" and although a bible story, or a missionary fact, comes in most appropriately in illustration of any great principle, yet there is not time, nor is

* We remember a public meeting for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (or Christian Knowledge Society) in the diocese of Chester, at which the bishop) Dr. Blomfield, afterwards

bishop of London) presided, when, as a special favour, a few ladies were allowed to be present—but they were carefully concealed *behind the organ*!—EDITOR.

it the place to enter into those points of detail in the working of a society, as to its management, finance, organization, encouragements and difficulties, which the public ought to know in order to appreciate and support it. In addition to all this, the pulpit is exclusively clerical, and we desire to see the lay element extensively employed in the public pleading for, as it happily is in the government and executive of, our religious institutions.

But public meetings are beneficial in another point of view—namely, to those who compose the meetings. How often is the spirit refreshed by the stirring address of some earnest advocate of God's work, or by the simple statement of a missionary from Palestine, from Africa, or from Hindostan: a Samuel Crowther pleading for his swarthy African friends; a Leupolt telling of his journey through Allahabad, and by the fatal well of Cawnpür, to open the new and interesting work in Lucknow; or a Herbert Edwardes boldly standing forward in defence of the gospel, and avowing, in reference to the late mutiny in India, "at Peshawur we derived our safety from the presence of the Christian mission, like an ark among us."

Many a child of God, actively engaged in his Master's service, can testify to the refreshing showers of grace poured upon him while listening to addresses such as we allude to—and many a faithful pastor can speak of the reflex benefit of religious societies among his flock. For, the finest sympathies of the heart, bursting forth, for the first time, at the recital of God's dealings with His people in other lands, often entwine themselves around home objects as well: and the gifts of Christian love sent from a congregation at home, for the spiritual benefit of the ignorant abroad, are not unfrequently returned in blessings again. "The liberal soul shall be made fat: and he that watereth, shall be watered also himself."

Secondly. We inquire what are the causes of failure in the meetings of some of our best societies, and in the meetings of nearly all in some particular places?

Doubtless there are causes, quite beyond the control of chairmen or speakers, committees or officers, which operate against as full an attendance, and as deep an interest, as formerly. And one is the frequency of assemblies of this kind. When Legh Richmond, and the late bishop of Calcutta, and Mr. Pratt, first acted as deputations, they held a meeting in the county town, or some large market town, and friends of the good cause, squires and rectors, vicars, curates, and others, flocked in from all the villages around; while the novelty of the thing attracted even men of business from their bureaux, and shopkeepers from their counters; and then, those eminent men went on to another county town, or large market town, or other place of note,

leaving behind them an impression, and a savour which lasted till the next religious meeting, which probably was not till the end of six or twelve months. But now, each village around has its own meeting, and the friends of the cause, with few exceptions, prefer to give their attendance and their offerings at their own little assembly; the county town, owing to the multiplication of religious societies, instead of its one or two meetings in the year, has now its one or two in the month; and neither men of business nor shopkeepers appear disposed to comply with the increased demand upon their time. Then there is not only a multiplication of religious societies, but there are also meetings for almost everything—soirées of literary institutions—lectures on “The natural history of coals and candles”—and “How to make homes happy”—“The spider”—“The chalk formations”—and “Penny readings for the working classes;” all which, however good they may be, must, to a certain extent, interfere with the attendance at religious meetings.

But we wish to deal with the operating causes which are, very much at least, subject to the control of deputations, chairmen, and committees.

And one cause of failure is, the want of punctuality in the deputations advertised to take part in the proceedings. They have been *printed and published*, and never make their appearance! This disheartens the promoters of the meeting; and the society is charged with want of truthfulness, and *want of business habits*, and the audience, having no faith in the promises made, are careless about coming the next time.

We look upon it as a solemn obligation upon a deputation never to disappoint a meeting, unless the hand of God evidently interferes: illness, an accident, sudden domestic affliction, may be accepted as a sufficient excuse; very little else should be. This is too lightly regarded by some few. “Oh, I forgot that I had promised to go elsewhere,” said one; “Three meetings out of the five broke down, and it was not worth while going for the remaining two,” said another; “You had plenty of local help, and did not want me,” said a third.

A barrister would lose his practice if he acted thus. A medical man would speedily be deprived of his patients, and an officer of the army or navy would be put under arrest, or superseded for such conduct. And ought a religious layman or clergyman to be less punctual, merely because no penalty attaches to his offence? We would treat this subject with all kindness: we know how many circumstances arise, sometimes, between the engagement and the meeting, which make it very inconvenient to attend, but we urge the importance of punctuality. Deputations for religious societies ought to have before them the bright example of Him who never held back from inconve-

nience or suffering, in His appointed labours for our redemption : "I have glorified thee on the earth, I have *finished* the work which thou gavest me to do." They should remember that many eyes are upon them, and in punctuality at least, they should rise up to the description given by the Psalmist,—“who sweareth to his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance.”

Another cause of failure is to be found in heavy, uninteresting speakers. Some places there are, where the same dull speakers address every meeting every year : and the speeches seem to be stereotyped in their memories ; there is such a sameness in them, and always about—nothing, we had almost said. We have seen three or four such speakers called upon, one after another, the weary audience dropping out quietly one by one, till at least half had left the meeting before the deputation was called upon to speak. Such speakers may be high in social, or ecclesiastical position, good in private worth, and useful in their several vocations, but those are not sufficient reasons for imposing dullness upon a meeting, and consequent loss upon a society. A clergyman once remarked to a plain working-man—alluding to some speakers of high social position who had addressed a meeting—“Well, John, you had some speakers of weight last night.” “Of weight, sir?” said John. “Yes, sir, weighty enough ; as heavy as a sack of flour ; spoiled the meeting, sir.”

It is all very well in a village meeting, to call upon a village notable to speak, however dull he may be. He is known and respected, the very sound of his voice is perhaps recognized by many of the villagers as that of a benefactor, his influence does good, his mistakes are overlooked, and his friends are gratified. Just as on a garrison field-day, the senior regimental lieutenant-colonel, whatever his strategic talents may be, is often turned into a brigadier, or even a commander of the forces, for the occasion. But when Delhi is to be stormed, or Lucknow to be relieved, or an army to be marched into Peking, we select our men—Henry Havelocks, or Colin Campbells, or Nicholsons, or Hope Grants—to do the work. So, in a meeting where we want to attract and influence intelligent educated people, dull and heavy speakers ought not to be thrust upon the audience.

But we believe the chief cause of failure, is the want of local care, and of local exertions. The mere announcement of a meeting to be held at a specific time and place is not enough, except the advertisement contain the name of at least one of the universally popular speakers of England ; and even with such a name it will often fail to attract in the smaller towns and villages.

The success of a meeting is almost always, as far as human

means go, in the direct ratio of the local attention given to it. If, for instance, a clergyman is himself interested in the good cause, recommending it from his pulpit, enforcing the moral obligation of supporting it, and keeping alive the interest among his flock by information on the subject regularly imparted, there will generally be a good parochial meeting. And the same rule will apply to the aggregate of clergy, and the local committees in the larger places. We know of several towns and villages where this system is pursued, and the meetings always succeed. Some towns we could name, where, on the Sunday previous to the meetings of our principal religious societies, sermons in aid are preached in almost all the churches; while the friends of the society, clerical and lay, *make the cause their own*, and invite their flocks and friends to attend the meeting. And the sermons, far from injuring either attendance or collection at the meeting, are among the chief means of filling the spacious halls with an attentive auditory, and of causing the full flow of Christian benevolence, the mark of a decided heart-interest in the work. We know some places, too, where large meetings assembled at first, but after a while they dwindled down, till now they can scarcely be held. And why is this? There is no longer the attraction of novelty; no care was taken, and the seed sown at the early meetings *has worn itself out*. In this respect, as in others, congregations may be compared to arable land. "We are labourers together with God: ye are God's husbandry;" or, more literally, "God's cultivated ground;" and the "cultivated ground" requires constant culture to make it yield "the kindly fruits of the earth in due season;" if left without culture, weeds would speedily multiply, and the hardened and impoverished ground would no longer yield the corn. A story is told of a traveller, in a distant clime, shaking out a bread-bag near to his hut, and being much surprised, the following year, to find a good crop of wheat on the spot, the produce of some grains of corn which happened to be in the corners of the bread-bag. But that same ground, *untilled*, would not continue to yield serviceable grain in future years. The plough must turn the sod up to the action of the pure oxygen, the harrow must break the clods, and the richness must be given back to the earth upon which the plants have fed. So must a congregation or a community be cultivated. They must have it clearly proved to them that it is God's work: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me." The prejudices which existed at first, or which have arisen from the insinuations of opponents, must be overcome by full and frank explanations; and the generous impulse, the gift of God, which led to the first contributions to the cause, must be kept alive by His blessing on authentic information on the subject. A first meeting in any

place may be good, or even a second, like the corn from the bread-bag ; but congregations must receive spiritual culture, *and of this kind*, in order to bring forth fruit at public meetings.

Thirdly, we give a few hints and suggestions as to the conducting of meetings, and respecting deputations. Where there are several good local speakers, it has been found beneficial to ask two or three *beforehand* to be ready to take part, at the same time assigning subjects to them. For example : let one take the general subject of working for the Lord ; another, the organization of the society ; a third, *the power of prayer*. Many subjects, equally good, or even better, will probably be suggested in the local committee meeting ; but the last should never be omitted. If there is a deputation present, it will be most conducive to the interests of the society to leave the details of the plan and operations to them. This division of labour will add greatly to the interest of a meeting, and will prevent repetition and confusion of thought. How often is the remark made by speakers, when commencing their addresses : " I had intended to speak about India ;" or " about the remarkable success attending the sale of Bibles in Sardinia ;" or " about the degraded condition of the poor in our large towns, but the previous speaker has taken away all my ' facts,' and now I have *nothing to say*." And although he does *speak* for twenty, or perhaps *forty*, minutes, his speech is, in nine cases out of ten, uninteresting, because rambling and unconnected ; and, in fact, he proves the truth of his first position, namely, that, although he did *speak*, yet he *had nothing to say* !

If there is a report to be read, it ought to be *very brief*, and not filled with facts taken from the annual report of the parent society. This will most likely interfere with the intended speech of the deputation. An abstract of the report of the parent society can always be stitched up with the local report for circulation among subscribers.

It is not good to keep up a meeting *too long* ; the length must depend greatly upon local circumstances ; but it should never extend to such a length as to weary an audience, or to interfere with general family arrangements.

If, as is sometimes the case, there is a difficulty in obtaining suitable local speakers, a lecturer, advertised as such, may with advantage be substituted at an annual meeting.

One more suggestion we venture to make to the managers and promoters of meetings ; it is, that prayer be largely an element in all their plans and arrangements. How many difficulties might be avoided ;—how many rough places made plain ;—how many causes of offence removed ;—if prayer were brought more into the ordinary preparation for meetings ? How wondrous is the power of prayer ! Jacob found it so when going to meet his brother Esau. Moses found it so while Joshua

fought with the Amalekites in the valley. Cornelius found it so when Peter was sent to show him the way of salvation more clearly. And Paul and Silas experienced its power, as they prayed at midnight in the inner prison, and "sang praises unto God," when an earthquake shook the foundations of the prison, and "all the doors were opened, and every one's hands were loosed," and when the jailer himself cried out, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" At this time, when so many prayer-meetings are held, and so many answers to prayer vouchsafed to the people of God, on both sides of the Atlantic, we need not quote particular instances of success; but let it ever be borne in mind, that, of ourselves, we can do nothing; and if we desire successful, profitable, public meetings, we must look for that success and that profit to Him who has said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth;" and who has declared, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son."

We now turn to Deputations. The first requisite for a good deputation is to have their hearts in the work. "Send us a man," said a New Zealand chieftain, "who out of his heart will speak into our hearts." We have no faith in deputations who, *without this*, offer to go and plead for our societies in the Lake district, or North Wales, or in the Highlands of Scotland, just to get an agreeable holiday. Such men will not care very much whether the meetings are good or otherwise, nor whether the reasonable demands of local friends are complied with.—He has "climbed up Helvellyn," or has been "the whole morning rowing upon the lovely lake of Windermere," or he has taken a rapid journey to see "the wild beauties of Wast-Water." He had "no time to prepare a speech, and is very tired," and he hopes "the meeting will excuse dulness."

This class of deputations is now, we hope, extinct—if any present themselves again, they ought not to be accepted. But it is possible for a deputation, without the excuse of the wild scenery of Wast-Water, or the fresh breezes of Helvellyn, to go through his work in an unsatisfactory, *perfunctory* way. He arrives at his destination by rail, steamer, or coach in good time; he calls upon the local secretary, makes his neat, well-arranged speech, and goes off by rail, steamer or coach again—but he has accomplished nothing. His call on the secretary had no heart in it, and therefore he made no impression there. He never inquired into the local organization, whether good or bad—no encouraging of active friends—no word of advice to friends in a difficulty—no reviving of a decayed and perishing association. His business was to speak, he promised no more, and he did speak. The speech was all true,—"*recent intelligence*" and all. The speech was well worded, well put together, neither

too long nor too short ; but when he left the meeting and went home by rail, steamer, or coach, *the speech went with him*,—no part of it remained with the audience, because it had no heart in it. The impression left was like that made by an unengraved seal—a polished surface, but without anything in particular for the eye to rest upon. We consider it a matter of the first importance for a deputation to have their hearts in the work.

An active, diligent, hearty deputation will occasionally make up for the want of local zeal, or even of local friends. Some years ago we were spending a few days in one of those charming retired Welsh watering places, where the good bathing, and bracing air, attract many of the upper classes in the month of September ; lodgings were in request, and the two hotels were full. The foliage in the squire's well-wooded park, close by, was mellowing into the tints of autumn. The tide was gently washing the pebbly beach, and the mountains were covered with that soft, thin, gauze haze, which photographers so much dislike, but which painters love to look at. A deputation from the —— society happened to be there during a little break in his appointed tour. Seeing the beach crowded with loiterers, and idlers, he conceived the idea of telling them, if it could be managed, of God's wondrous works of grace in —— . He called upon the worthy vicar, an old gentleman, benevolent and kind, but whose mind was moulded in other times, when meetings were scarcely known. Permission to hold a meeting in the large room of "the —— Arms Hotel," was asked. The vicar, who, unquestionably, would have given a polite refusal to a written application, seemed at first perplexed ; his opinion was, that meetings were not required in his parish, but his better feelings soon prevailed, and leave was granted. The deputation first hired the large room—then he found out where the printer lived, and gave orders for notices to be struck off, and ready in three hours' time ; and before the night closed in, the said notices were posted in public places, and left at the hotels, lodging-houses, and principal shops in the town. The next evening the large room was quite full, and a collection was made, at least equal to the average of collections in places of the kind.

We do not mean to say that zeal like the above is always needed, nor is it desirable even, for a deputation *to meddle* too much in local affairs, except under peculiar circumstances ; but he ought to have his heart in his work—be ready *to act* on an emergency—and leave the impression of his visit and of his speech behind him when he goes. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might : for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither thou goest."

We now turn to the speaking. In the first place, it is neither courteous nor wise to be too long. We are sometimes so much pleased with our own voices, that we forget to stop at the right time, and there may be other speakers to follow too. A very young man once came into a committee room where many persons were assembled previous to a meeting. "I want two hours for my speech," he said; "I have so much to say, I can't well do with less." "My good fellow," said a straightforward friend, "there are seven of us to speak, including the chairman, and if we take two hours each, the meeting will not be over for fourteen hours!" The young man saw the force of the rebuke, and spoke nicely for fifteen minutes, instead of two hours, as he had intended. There must be a wise and sound discretion as to the length of a speech—a great deal will depend upon the number of speakers, and the real wishes of local friends; but a deputation ought to be able to *feel the pulse* of both chairman and meeting; he should never give occasion to the former to hold up his watch before him; or to pull him gently by the coat; or to give him a little bit of paper with the words, "Tis time to close the meeting," pencilled upon it;—all of which hints to stop, we have seen given to speakers on several occasions. Again, in order that a speech should not be too long, extended prefaces, and sermons at the end, should be avoided. A sensible and well-put-together exordium, just enough to catch the attention of the audience, is desirable, but nothing more, and after that, the sooner the deputation gets *in medias res* the better.

There are some speakers who cannot get to their own subject without first speaking for some twenty minutes on three or four other subjects. Some always allude to the season—it is "seed-time," or "harvest,"—and they work out an illustration; others allude to "the sacred building close by"—There is an old Norman castle in the county of —; and we have heard several speakers remind the townspeople at the meetings, of "the time when Norman William landed on our shores;" and speaking well—very well, upon that particular epoch of English history; an interesting subject in itself, but it took up time and was not connected with the matter in hand: far better for the society, for which the meeting was held, to have had its claims advocated, and its operations seriously detailed.

Once more, let the tone of the speech be solemn. We do not at all object to a fair missionary anecdote, descriptive of manners,—such as the amazement of the South Sea Islander at the first message in writing which he saw responded to,—a message written with a pencil on a chip of wood—and his declaring that "the English could make even their chips to talk;" or such as the Irish convert boy thinking for a moment, when asked the meaning of the word "plenty," and then replying

“a houseful of praties,” or, a fact of interest told in some quaint provincial-peasant dialect, which may perhaps provoke a smile; but we think it is trifling with the time at disposal, and perhaps trifling with the subject too, to tell stories about “Neddy and me,” a boy and his donkey, or about the farmer making a cow’s horn into a missionary box, and writing poetry on it, which the speaker quotes, and gravely says “it is *not* from Chaucer.”

“ This horn once grew
on the head of an ox,
but now, tis turned
into a missionary box.”

Some may think us too fastidious; but when we consider our object, the advancement of Christ’s kingdom, and when we consider the subject, souls perishing for lack of knowledge, and the best means of instructing them, a holy solemnity should surely overshadow our speeches; and this we are persuaded of, that while an audience will sometimes laugh, and laugh heartily, at absurd and ridiculous stories told on platforms—and will applaud them too—it is nevertheless *not* the style of speaking which is calculated to attract an audience to a meeting again; and as to collection, the money part of the business, people will give much more when a speech has the effect of bringing a tear from the eye, than when a trifling manner, or ridiculous stories, cause them to laugh.

Far better, then, for deputations to seek that “unction from the Holy One,” to speak of the wants of the ignorant, and the happiness of those brought through grace to the knowledge of “the truth as it is in Jesus.” Let them tell of hundreds of thousands of professing Christians, through the means of religious societies in India, in Burmah, in Africa, in America, and in the islands of the Pacific, and Austral oceans; let them tell of the sunny plains of Italy, and the valleys of the Apennines just opening to the Gospel; and let them give glory to God for all that has been done, and that shall yet be done, till “the kingdoms of this world” shall “become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ.” For, “Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts,” shall the work be done.

THE EARTH AND ITS HISTORY.

THERE are few subjects more interesting or more important, to one of the human family, than the inquiry, How the race to which he belongs first came into existence, and what is the real history of this earth, their abode? And we accordingly find,

as we might have anticipated, that in every nation which possesses any ancient writings or traditions, a prominent place is given in those traditions to some account of the origin of man.

But, amidst all these various attempts to satisfy man's natural curiosity, we shall find, at last, only two sources of information which are of any reliable value. It has been truly said that "Scripture and Observation are the only sources from which we can derive any real knowledge of these matters."* We have, indeed, traditions of the Creation from every quarter of the globe,—from the Chaldeans, the Goths, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Etrurians, the Hindoos, the Greeks, the Chinese, and many others; but although we have amongst us believers and unbelievers of almost every possible kind and degree, we have none who profess to give credit to any of these traditions. Hence, when we have searched through all antiquity, we are forced to return at last to this one conclusion,—that to Scripture and observation we must have recourse, if we desire to gain any solid information on these subjects.

And these two sources of knowledge are clearly distinct and apart from each other. The word of God and the works of God should each be studied; but the kind of knowledge derivable from the one is quite different from that which may be obtained from the other. The word of God deals with the history of man, and with the interests of the human race; and leaves all other subjects to be investigated by the human intellect. Man can measure the distances of the stars, can explore the bowels of the earth, or the depths of the ocean, but he cannot "by searching find out God;" nor can he penetrate into the mysteries of the human soul, its origin, its history, or its destinies. Hence, with the material world around him, man is left to acquaint himself by observation; but he is helped to the knowledge of his Creator, and of himself, by a Divine revelation, penned, preserved, and disseminated among mankind, by the special care and interposition of a Divine providence.

In the matter now before us,—the past history of this earth and its inhabitants,—we shall find that both these sources of information are required, and are available, to form one complete history. Scripture, limiting itself to man and his interests, furnishes us with the past history of the human race, and of the earth so far as the human race is concerned. But if we require to know the number of the planets, or the size of the moon, or the nature of the laws of the solar system, Scripture declines to furnish us with any information. Or if we ask whether this globe began to exist when the human race was produced, or whether it had a yet earlier history, Scripture is equally silent. The divine record stoops not to gratify curiosity, or to give instruction concerning merely material things. Its grand subject

* Lardner's *Cyclo.*

is, the creation, the fall, and the restoration, of man ; and to this it is firmly restricted. Man has been furnished with the means of observation and investigation, and he is left at liberty to prosecute inquiries on the questions which geology and astronomy propound ; only remembering that the word and the works of God have the same wise and gracious Author, and that they can never *really* contradict each other.

Putting aside, then, all the traditions of the heathen as fables, or perversions of the truth, we take up, first, Holy Scripture, the earliest portions of which, and those which deal with the earliest part of man's history, were written by Moses. And, over and above the testimony of St. Paul, that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God" (2 Tim. iii. 16), we must admit that this great prophet has a peculiar claim to be heard and believed in this matter, both from his own averments, and from our Lord's testimony to his character. He himself assures us that, on one occasion, he was called up into the cloud, and dwelt in the Divine presence for forty days and forty nights (Exodus xxiv.) ; and in another place he adds, that "the Lord spake unto him as a man speaketh with his friend." (Exodus xxxiii.) Thus he was qualified beyond all other men, to tell us how the world was made, by having had free and lengthened communications with Him who made it. And that he was a true man, and no deceiver, we may assuredly gather from the fact, that "on the holy mount" he was presented to the wondering gaze of the disciples as the friend of the glorified Saviour ; as well as from our Lord's own language, "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them" (Luke xvi. 29), and from His reference to "Moses and all the prophets" (Luke xxiv. 27), in proof of His own mission.

Moses, then, writing unquestionably under the Divine command,* and purposing to record for man's instruction the history of the creation, commences his narrative in this majestic and befitting style :—

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

And the earth was without form and void ; and darkness was upon the face of the deep :

And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

It was plainly necessary that, at the outset, in the most simple, plain, and emphatic language, the great fact should be stated, that "by the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth ;"† that "by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water."‡ But is there any further meaning in these brief sentences ?

When read in a cursory manner, men are apt to consider

* 2 Tim. iii. 16 ; 2 Pet. i. 21 ; Exod. xxiv. 4 ; Numb. xxxiii. 2 ; Deut. xxxi. 9.

† Ps. xxxiii. 6.

‡ 2 Pet. iii. 5.

that they are here perusing the history of *one period*; and that "the beginning" of the first verse was immediately followed by the "chaos" of the second; and by the moving of the Spirit of God, of the third. But careful students of Scripture have seen, in all ages, that this is nowhere stated in the text. Nearly fifteen hundred years ago, Augustine and Theodoret remarked, that the words of Moses allowed room for a wide interval between the first creation of the earth and the beginning of the six days' work recorded by Moses. And, among ourselves, nearly two centuries ago, bishop Patrick, in commenting on the opening verses of Genesis, had said, "How long all things continued in mere confusion, we are not told. *It might be a great while.*" Bishop Horsley also, writing at the end of the last century, observed that, "the interval between the production of the matter of the chaos, and the formation of light, is undescribed and unknown."

It is important to take notice of this distinction, inasmuch as certain geologists, brought up, probably, in the popular belief that the substance of this earth was not quite six thousand years old,—have concluded, when they found traces of a much greater antiquity,—that science and investigation had now disproved the statements of Moses. But there was no such disproof. All that geological research had done, was to overthrow certain of their own suppositions. The first chapter of Genesis had never told them that the world was less than six thousand years old, or less than sixty thousand; this belief was merely an erroneous conclusion of their own, hastily drawn from the words of Moses.

The Hebrew prophet, keeping steadily in view the one purpose of the narrative which he was here beginning to write, presses forward, with the greatest rapidity and succinctness, to the opening of the story of the six days' work, by which *the earth of the human race* was formed and set in order. Hence, he stops not for one instant to dwell upon the interval, be it small or great, which occurred between the first creation of the globe and the time when "the Spirit of God, moving upon the face of the deep," began to prepare the earth for man's habitation. Yet the second verse seems to give some indication of that which geology asserts to have been the state of this globe just before the six days' work described by Moses. The most eminent writers tell us, that "it pleased the Most High to doom the past worlds to sudden destruction, by the secondary agency of geological convulsions."* In this way, those former periods of the earth's history, which Moses passes over in silence, were terminated, and all that remained was, to use Dr. Buckland's words, "the wreck and ruins of a former world."

* Lardner's Museum, Vol. xii. p. 157.

In exact conformity with this view does the sacred writer describe the earth as “without form and void; while darkness rested on the face of the deep.”

Here then, geology, or the results of observation, come in, and in some measure fill up the vacancy which, of set purpose, the sacred writer had left. For nearly a century researches have been carried on in various quarters of the globe, and geologists, though differing in many points, seem to have arrived at a few general conclusions.

They almost universally assure us, that traces have been found, of four long ages, or periods of the earth's history;—the Azoic, the Palæozoic, the Secondary, and the Tertiary periods; each of which is subdivided into stages; and the duration of each of which is reckoned by tens of thousands of years.* The first, the Azoic period, was an age when life was not; the second, was one of gigantic and luxuriant vegetation, with mollusca, the lowest sort of shell-fish; and afterwards reptiles and fishes. The third produced the monsters, half toad, half lizard, or half fish, half crocodile, the fossils of which abound in our museums; and the fourth gave us the mastodons, elephants, rhinoceroses; and, towards the close, the ox, the deer, and many other animals now known on the earth. And thus, by slow degrees, and during perhaps hundreds of thousands of years, the earth, continually advancing, approached to its present condition, and only man was wanting to complete the scene.

Each of these periods, however, had been closed by some great convulsion of nature; extinguishing whole races of animals, and ploughing up the earth for a new crop. Sir R. Murchison, one of the first of living geologists, tells us of traces of “outbursts of great volumes of igneous matter from the interior, the extraordinary violence of which is made manifest by clear evidences. Fractures appear in the crust of the earth, accompanied by oscillations that suddenly displaced masses to thousands of feet above or beneath their present levels. Gigantic masses were inverted, and strata forming mountains have been so broken, wrenched, and twisted, as to pass under the very rocks out of whose materials they were constructed.” In another place he speaks of “convulsions utterly immeasurable and inexplicable.”† And Cuvier says: “Life has often been disturbed on this earth by terrible events;—calamities which have moved and overturned to a great depth the entire outer crust of the globe. In these catastrophes the existing races of living beings have become extinct.”‡

The last of these periods, we find, had now ended. The long Azoic, Palæozoic, Secondary, and Tertiary periods, embracing

* Some geologists make these periods *six*; dividing the Secondary period into the Triassic, the Jurassic, and the Cretaceous.

† Murchison, p. 476.

‡ Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, p. 17.

hundreds of thousands of years, were over, and a new earth was about to rise from the ruins of the past. The latest of these terrible convulsions had left the earth merely "the wreck and ruins of a former world." In the language of Moses it was "*tohu bohu*;" in Greek rendered *chaos*; or in our Bible, "without form and void, with darkness dwelling on the face of the deep." Milton thus enlarges on the description:—

"From the shore
They viewed the vast, immeasurable abyss:
Outrageous as a sea,—dark, wasteful, wild:
Up from the bottom turned by furious heat
And surging waves, as mountains, to assault
Heaven's height, and with the centre mix the pole."

The "outbursts of great volumes of igneous matter," of which Sir R. Murchison speaks, must have produced two of the features of this convulsion which are described by Moses. The burning heat must have destroyed all animal and vegetable life, and thus have rendered the earth "void." And by the generation of vast masses of steam, it must have covered the globe with a thick mantle of mist, enveloping its surface in utter darkness. Such was the state of this planet, as Scripture and Geology agree, at the moment when the new creation or construction, described in the first chapter of Genesis, took place.

And this new creation commences with a fact the most appropriate, described in language of simple majesty:—

AND GOD SAID, LET LIGHT BE: AND LIGHT WAS.

The Spirit of God was present, moving upon the face of the waters. It was only needful that, by Divine power, some condensation of the mists and vapours should take place, so as to render the enveloping mantle of steam less dense, and to allow a light like that of a cloudy or misty day to appear.

Two flippant and ignorant objections are taken at this point. First, it is assumed that the narrative implies that light was now first created; whereas, say the objectors, we find that animals with eyes lived on this earth long before this period. To which we reply, What then? There is nothing in the Mosaic narrative which implies that light was till then unknown. All that the history asserts is, that, beginning at a period when the earth was "the wreck and ruins of a former world,"—void, and covered with darkness,—the first Divine command was, *Let there be light*. Just as, among ourselves, light is often brought back into a dark place which had known its presence before.

But, then, it is absurdly objected that the sun and moon are not introduced until three days after; and this objection is propounded as if light, without a visible sun, must be an absurdity. Yet we ourselves continually enjoy light without the aid of the

sun; and, up to this moment, no philosopher can explain either what light is, or how it is produced. Thus the latest encyclopædist tells us that,—

“The nature of light is still, in some degree, enigmatical. It is admitted that the phenomena of vision depend upon the agency of a subtile, attenuated matter, set in motion by the sun and other luminous bodies.” . . . “Light must be considered as a material substance, possessed of certain properties detected by observation and experiment.” *

Next follows the separation of day from night, by the orderly sequence of light and darkness. It may be that the rotation of the earth on its centre had been disturbed or arrested, and was now restored. But, at all events, the settled arrangement of day and night was a needful and besitting step in the progress of the earth’s re-establishment. And, as the Creator and His Holy Spirit had found the world in darkness, and had brought it into light, so the order naturally stood thus—

THE EVENING WAS: THE MORNING WAS: THE FIRST DAY.

Next follows a beautiful and wise arrangement. The mists and exhalations of the earth rested upon its surface; and perpetual fog, and partial darkness or gloom, must have been produced by them. But

GOD SAID, LET THERE BE A FIRMAMENT, TO DIVIDE THE WATERS WHICH ARE ABOVE FROM THOSE WHICH ARE BENEATH. AND IT WAS SO.

Much time has been wasted on the criticism of the term *firmament*, which, as here used, means *expanse*,—a thing spread out. But practically, we know that we have an atmosphere;—a distinct gift of God to the earth, “a fluid surrounding it on every side” to a height of several miles, and bearing up the clouds, so as to enable the sun to be seen, and the rain to descend in gentle showers. A more bountiful or more wise provision of the beneficent Creator cannot be conceived; or one more exactly placed in its appropriate order in the narrative. It is added, that

GOD CALLED THE FIRMAMENT HEAVEN.

And the term, which means *high*, or *heaved up*, is justly applied; but it does not exclude, and is not to be confounded with, the higher heavens, the region of the stars; or the highest, or third heavens, the abode of angels and glorified spirits, and of God himself, the ruler and disposer of them all (Matt. v. 34, 45; xviii. 10; 2 Cor. xii. 2). As the lowest of the three, our atmosphere is a heaven; and is so spoken of in several places, (as 1 Kings xviii. 45; Psa. cxlvii. 8; Job xxxv. 11). It was in this sense that the descendants of Noah proposed to build a tower “whose top might reach unto heaven” (Gen. xi. 4), i. e., unto the clouds. And Jacob, when he blessed Joseph

with "blessings of the heaven above" (Gen. xlix.), meant blessings of the rain and dew, to make him "a fruitful bough."

The second day had passed, and next

THE WATERS UNDER THE HEAVEN were commanded TO GATHER TOGETHER INTO ONE PLACE, so that THE DRY LAND MIGHT APPEAR.

In each of these steps we see the most consummate wisdom, and almighty power: the wisdom and power of Him "who weigheth the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance" (Isa. lx. 12); and who, when He sojourned among men, spoke to the stormy waves, and "there was a great calm;" and reproved the fig-tree, and it withered away.

And in like manner, as the waters retire, and the dry land appears, the word instantly follows,—

LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH GRASS: THE HERB YIELDING SEED, AND THE FRUIT-TREE YIELDING FRUIT.

And the earth instantly obeys. The same Almighty word, which, from the lips of Christ, gave power to a body which had been "dead four days" to arise and come forth; in the present instance caused the earth, emerging from the waters, to "bring forth grass, herbs, and trees," so as speedily to clothe itself with beauty, and to prepare food for the inhabitants that were quickly to appear. And so closed THE THIRD DAY.

The clouds had now gathered themselves, and the mists withdrew:—the earth, emerging from the endless lakes and morasses which had everywhere covered it, was now putting on its new verdure; and all was prepared for the appearance of that great luminary which was to be, to material things, what Christ himself is to spiritual. He does not disdain to apply to himself the title of this noble work of His hand: "The Lord God is a SUN and a shield" (Psa. lxxxiv. 11); "The SUN of Righteousness shall arise, with healing in His wings" (Mal. iv. 2).

GOD SAID, LET THERE BE LIGHTS IN THE FIRMAMENT OF HEAVEN, TO DIVIDE THE DAY FROM THE NIGHT; AND LET THEM BE FOR SIGNS AND FOR SEASONS, AND FOR DAYS AND YEARS. AND GOD SET THEM IN THE FIRMAMENT OF THE HEAVEN, TO GIVE LIGHT UPON THE EARTH, AND TO RULE OVER THE DAY AND OVER THE NIGHT, AND TO DIVIDE THE LIGHT FROM THE DARKNESS.

We ought not to overlook the different terms which are employed by the sacred historian in describing these different operations; for we may be sure that they are not carelessly chosen, but have, in each case, a distinct and strictly appropriate meaning. Thus at the outset, we are distinctly told, that "in the beginning God *created* (Heb. *bara*) the heaven and the earth." And this must mean just what the word is generally taken to imply, and not a formation out of existing materials; for in that case these materials must have existed *before*

the beginning; a *primâ facie* absurdity. But when the six days' work proceeds, other phrases are employed. "Let light be," or come, on the earth;—light having previously existed:—"Let the earth bring forth the grass"—the earth having had vegetation in its former periods: and possibly having myriads of seeds in its bosom.* "God made (Heb. *hasah*) two great lights"—i. e., made or set them in the earth's firmament, not, created them. "Let the waters bring forth living creatures:—" "Let the earth bring forth cattle." Here again, creatures were reproduced which had lived in past ages on the earth: the creation out of nothing is nearly limited to the original act "in the beginning." And remembering how our Lord, when he dwelt among us, caused wine suddenly to appear, ordered five loaves to become five hundred, and "great multitudes" of fishes to show themselves where previously there were none, we perceive nothing in any of these transactions of the six days' work which seems to require any great exertion of faith: nothing more than a simple and appropriate putting forth of Almighty power.

GOD SAID, LET THERE BE LIGHTS IN THE FIRMAMENT.

And, accordingly, had Adam then existed, he would have then beheld "the sun coming forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoicing as a strong man to run his course." (Ps. xix.) And how beautiful, wise, and appropriate had been the successive steps of the great work. First, the condensing and clearing away of the "thick curtain of mist which enveloped the earth," so as to allow light to appear. Then, the formation of the atmosphere, or expanse into which the mists and exhalations of the earth might be taken up; and clouds collected, so that the azure sky might be seen. Then, the separation of land and water into seas and continents; and the rapid clothing of verdure which instantly began to cover the hill-sides. And now, bursting through the clouds, as, to this new earth, a new creation, the glorious sun shines forth, as the appointed ruler of the day, and the powerful bringer of life and beauty to myriads of animate and inanimate creatures and existences.

The work of the fifth and sixth days naturally completes the scene.

GOD SAID, LET THE WATERS BRING FORTH ABUNDANTLY THE MOVING CREATURE THAT HATH LIFE.

AND GOD SAID, LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH THE LIVING CREATURE AFTER HIS KIND: CATTLE, AND CREEPING THING; AND BEAST OF THE EARTH AFTER HIS KIND. AND IT WAS SO.

These are "*brought forth*;" and geology tells us that they,

* Instances have not been rare, in our times, of seeds which had been buried with mummies in Egypt, 2000 or 3000 years ago; and which, when sown in Eng-

land in the 19th century after Christ, sprang up, after a slumber of perhaps thirty centuries.

or many of them, had existed in the previous period of the earth, and had been "buried in the wreck and ruin of a former world." But now a being of whom geology has no knowledge is to be introduced, and the language of the first verse is again heard. It is not said that man was "brought forth," but

GOD CREATED (*bara*) MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE : IN THE IMAGE OF GOD CREATED HE HIM : MALE AND FEMALE CREATED HE THEM.

The new inhabitant, the new ruler of God's new creation, comes to assume his place.

AND GOD BLESSED THEM, AND SAID, BE FRUITFUL AND MULTIPLY, AND REPLENISH THE EARTH, AND SUBDUE IT.

AND GOD SAW EVERYTHING THAT HE HAD MADE, AND BEHOLD, IT WAS VERY GOOD : AND HE RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY FROM ALL HIS WORK ; AND GOD BLESSED THE SEVENTH DAY, AND SANCTIFIED IT, BECAUSE THAT IN IT HE HAD RESTED FROM ALL HIS WORK.

And surely, strangely blind must that man be, who does not wonderingly admire the simple grandeur, the Godlike wisdom and power, the overflowing benevolence, of this brief but magnificent narrative. Full of the divine glory, resplendent with united wisdom and goodness, is the whole history. And yet so plain, so appropriate, so befitting is the whole transaction, as to make faith a task of no difficulty. Only imagine what Scripture and Geology agree to have certainly existed about 5865 years ago,—“the wreck and ruins of a former world,”—and then bring upon the scene, for the purpose of renewal and reconstruction, a Divine, Almighty, and All-bounteous Being, and there can be no difficulty in appreciating, or in entirely believing, every fact in the narrative. Out of a chaos,—“*tohu bohu*,” confusion and emptiness,—it is God's will to raise a world full of order and beauty, and supplied with creatures capable of sentient life and happiness. He utters a few commands, and all things, at His powerful word, assume their places; light returns; day and night commence their rounds; clouds and sunshine alternate; sea and land take their allotted places; the earth is covered with beauty; animals come forth in all their myriad forms; and, last of all, man takes his place, the appointed ruler of the whole.

Nothing can be added to, nothing can be taken away from, this wonderful and beautiful story, without serious loss and damage. But Geology has confirmed and strengthened the Scripture narrative in two or three important respects; and we ought not, through carelessness, to lose the valuable assistance which she thus tenders. For instance:

1. Geology confirms Scripture in some of those very statements which men find it most difficult to understand or believe. We have been accustomed through life to repeat that “one day is, with the Lord, as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.” But we have scarcely been able to understand, or

sincerely to believe, this heavenly language. Again, we have listened to the Psalmist's complaints, that "Thou hast made my days as it were a span long;" that "man's life is like a shadow which departeth;" that "he cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down;" and we have deemed these to be "Eastern hyperboles," and almost exaggerations. Still more difficult has it been to appreciate justly our Lord's own words, "A little while and ye shall see me;" and, "Surely I come quickly." So long as our eyes were fixed on the narrow term of six thousand years, as constituting the whole of this world's history, we could hardly reckon 1800 years "a little while;" or understand how so long a delay was consistent with the promise of "coming quickly."

But all this is changed the moment we sincerely receive the testimony of Geology, that this earth, instead of a brief existence of less than six thousand years, has really passed through "millions of millions of years;"* that the solid framework of the earth tells us of "a long succession of movements, each of which may have required a thousand ages for its elaboration;"† that the Azoic, the Palæozoic, the Secondary, and the Tertiary periods must each have required "millenniums of centuries"‡ to produce the results which have come down to us. Gaining, through these facts, a new insight into the real extent of "the lifetime of God," we begin, though only faintly and feebly, to understand the Psalmist's expression: "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, and like a watch in the night." And hence we learn that, *viewed from heaven*, a period of eighteen hundred years is really "a little while;" and that to us it seems long, merely because we measure it by the rule and standard of an insect, who "appeareth for a little moment, and then vanisheth away."

2. Another truth of Scripture which we have received with a professed but unreal belief, has been that which is explicitly declared in several parts of God's word, that "the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat: the earth, also, and the works which are therein, shall be burned up. But we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."§

This has been received with a sort of unbelieving belief. Men have said: "It is true, no doubt, since it is in the Bible; but the language is probably *figurative*." But here Geology comes to our aid, and informs us that this great catastrophe, which we find it so difficult to realize, will be only a repetition of many convulsions, of the very same kind, which have already occurred on this earth of ours.

Sir R. Murchison, as we have already seen, tells us of "convulsions utterly immeasurable and inexplicable," which have been caused by vast outpourings of the subterranean fires."||

* Buckland. † Sedgwick. ‡ Hugh Miller. § 2 Pet. iii. 10, 13. || p. 476.

Another geologist speaks of "long periods of ordinary action, which have been interrupted by epochs of extraordinary disturbance; so that the relations of sea and land have been altered by internal convulsions."* And a third, after recounting the whole geological history of the earth, concludes: "Thus it has pleased the Most High to doom the past worlds to sudden destruction, by the secondary agency of geological convulsions. And volcanic phenomena declare, in unequivocal language, that the heavings of the internal fluid have lost none of their terrific energy." And hence, "When we affirm that a moment must arrive when what we call the present world will be destroyed, we declare no more than all the analogies of the past history of the earth confirm."† So fully, precisely, and decidedly, do the researches of Geology confirm what have seemed some of the hardest passages in Holy Scripture.‡

These researches do even more. The inspired writers not only assure us that the present state of things will come to a sudden and a terrible close, but they add, that after "the earth and all things therein shall be burned up," "a new earth shall arise, wherein righteousness shall dwell." And St. Paul, in like manner, predicts that "As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." This, also, does Geology confirm. It tells that after every one of the past convulsions, which have destroyed the creatures of the Palæozoic, Secondary, and Tertiary periods, a new period has followed, *always distinguished by progress*,—by advance,—by beings of a more elevated class than the preceding. And therefore, it is argued, that judging from that universal law which we perceive to have been in existence for hundreds of thousands of years, we may safely expect that "after the convulsion which will sweep away man and his works," there will follow a new period of calm, and a new assemblage of organized beings, "whose faculties will as much exceed those of man, as man exceeds the ape or baboon"§ of former periods,—a prospect which Scripture, in several places, most distinctly holds out.

3. One further, and not unimportant statement of Holy Scripture is also supported by the investigations of Geology. The crust of the earth has been sedulously examined, in many parts of the globe, and immense collections have been made of fossil beasts, birds, fishes, and reptiles. If the narrative of

* Phillips, in *Encyclo. Metrop.*

† Lardner's *Museum of Science*, vol. xii. p. 157, 158.

‡ Even a work of sceptical tendency, —the *Vestiges of Creation*,—comes to a similar conclusion; remarking that, "those movements of subterranean force which thrust up mountain ranges and

upheave continents, stand in inextricable connection with the volcanoes which are yet belching forth lava, and shaking large tracts of ground." (p. 111.) Thus the convulsions which have "upheaved continents" may easily occur again.

§ Lardner, p. 158.

Moses had been a fable, or an invention, or even a corrupted tradition, Geology would assuredly have detected, long since, its fallacy or its inaccuracy. Especially would this have occurred, with respect to the real age or date of the human race. No other record than that of the Bible exists, in which any precise age or date is fixed, as that of man's appearance on the earth. The Bible, and it alone, fixes such date, and places it at a point not quite six thousand years ago. And geologists remark, that this leading fact is confirmed by the general result of their researches. It finds, in the face of nature, various "natural chronometers by which the age of the human race may be estimated; and it is as remarkable as it is satisfactory, that the results are in no discordance with the dates of creation supplied by chronology based on tradition and revelation. By the general accordance of geological facts, it appears that the present, the human period, has now continued for not more than six or seven thousand years."* Cuvier says, "I am of opinion, with M. Deluc and M. Dolomieu, that if there is any circumstance thoroughly established in geology, it is, that the crust of our globe has been subject to a great and sudden revolution, the epoch of which cannot be dated much farther back than five or six thousand years ago."† A chief feature in the case, however, is this: Geologists find fossil plants, reptiles, fishes, birds, and enormous quadrupeds, to which they unhesitatingly assign an antiquity of tens of thousands of years before the time of Adam. But in these ancient strata of the earth, *they find no human remains.*‡ The absence of all such remains proves most conclusively, that these periods were,—the latest, one in which elephants, rhinoceroses, oxen, and deer existed, but no human beings; that being preceded by an age of vast lizards, crocodiles, and other monsters; and *that*, by one of prolific vegetation, with fishes, and mollusca; and *that*, by one in which no kinds of living things existed. But there was nothing in all these ages which any prophet was required to record. Man lived not in the Azoic, or the Palæozoic, the Secondary, or the Tertiary periods. He lived not until the present, the human period. He lived not till Adam was created; and hence we find, that not until man and his family had provided matter for history, was Moses raised up to write it. The Hebrew prophet, under Divine inspiration, took up his pen to narrate the history of man; but of mastodons and mammoth elephants,—of the dinothorium and megatherium, he wrote nothing. His concern was with immortal beings:—of the monsters of the Pre-Adamite days, he probably had some knowledge, but assuredly,

* Lardner, p. 157.

† Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, p. 171.

‡ "The human remains did not exist in the countries in which the fossil bones of animals have been discovered, at the epoch when these bones were covered up."—(Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, p. 131.)

in these he felt little interest.* He knew full well, that one child of Adam, born to live for ever, was a more lively object of interest to the angels of God, than whole continents of pterodactyles and rhinoceroses.

We quit, then, here, the starting-point of human history. We believe that the narrative of Moses is strictly and wonderfully true. We believe that, after several, perhaps many, previous states or periods of the earth, each ended by a tremendous convulsion,—the last, preceding the human period, was closed by an “outburst of great volumes of igneous matter from the interior,” and that this catastrophe left this globe “a wreck and ruin,” “empty and void, with darkness covering the deep.” We believe that the Divine Spirit then began the production of a “new earth;” and that the WORD, the express image of the Father, “by whom He made the worlds,” called forth, in six days, the beautiful earth which we inhabit, just as easily as, four thousand and thirty years after, he called a man who had been four days dead, to come forth out of his grave.

Adam and his consort were first placed in Eden; and we may reasonably conclude that on their removal from it, they did not travel to any great distance from that spot. Its position on the earth’s surface is indicated to us by the specific mention of the rivers Hiddekel (or Tigris) and Euphrates. This shows us that it was in that part of Asia where, in the present day, the Persian and Turkish empires approach each other. Here, we may rationally conclude, the first human family dwelt, until by the murder of Abel, and the flight of his murderer, a separation, and permanent division, of the family took place.

APPENDIX.

The ancient Chaldeans had a tradition of the world’s origin, some remains of which have been preserved by Syncellus and Eusebius, from Berosus and Polyhistor. They taught that there was a time when all things were darkness and water, in the midst of which resided various monsters of most horrible forms. Over these presided a woman named Omoroca, who reigned in solitary independence. At length the destined hour of creation arrived. Omoroca was slain and cut asunder by Belus; the earth was formed out of one half of her, and heaven out of the other half. Afterwards Belus cut off his own head, and the other gods, mixing the blood with earth, formed out of the compound the human species. Hence man is endowed with reason, and partakes of the Divine knowledge. Belus, they also said, divided the darkness from the light, separated the earth from the heavens, and called the stars into existence.

* When we find that the Ancient Chaldeans believed “that there was a time when all things were darkness and water, in the midst of which dwelt monsters of horrible forms” (Berosus)—we see that they had some just ideas of the

Pre-Adamite world. How they could have gained a knowledge of these facts, it is not easy to understand, except by tradition from some one, who, like Moses, had had communication with the world’s Creator.

In the Gothic *Edda* we find a poem, "*Voluspa*," in which we are told that, in the beginning of time all was one vast abyss, without plant or verdure. Yet there then existed *Muspelshena*, — a world luminous, glowing, not to be dwelt in by strangers, and situate at the extremity of the earth. *Surtur* reigns there: in his hand he holds a flaming sword. At the end of the world he shall come: shall vanquish all the gods, and shall give the universe a prey to the flames.

In the beginning, a breath of heat spreading itself over the vapours, they melted into drops, and of these drops was formed a man. This man was named *Ymer*: from him descended all the giants. While he slept he fell into a sweat, and from his armpit were born a male and female.

The tradition of the Phœnicians was preserved by *Sanchoniathon*, and handed down to us by *Eusebius*. They held that the universe originated from a dark air and a turbulent evening chaos. *Ilus* or *Mot* was the seed of the world, and the productive cause of all things. The sun, the moon, and the stars all equally sprang from *Mot*. The air beginning to emit light, winds and clouds were produced, and thus lightning and thunder were caused; males and females were stirred up in the earth and in the sea; and thus appeared the various tribes of the brute creation. Lastly, from the primæval wind, *Colpia*, and his consort *Baout*, were born the first two mortals.

The Egyptian belief is found in a book ascribed to *Hermes* or *Thoth*; it ran thus:—There was originally a boundless darkness in the great abyss; but water and an intelligent ethereal spirit acted by divine power in chaos. Then sprang forth holy light; then the elements were compacted of the moist sandy substance of the chaotic mixture: then all the gods made an orderly distribution of things out of semenerative nature.

The Persian tradition is found in the *Zend-Avesta*, a translation of which was made by *M. Anquetel de Perron*. They held that the good *Ormuzd* created the world, at six different intervals, amounting in all to a year. In the first period he created the heavens; in the second, the waters. The third was allotted to the production of the earth: the fourth, to the formation of trees and plants. In the fifth, the animals were created; and the sixth period was devoted to the creation of man. The first father of the human race was compounded of a man and a bull. He was succeeded by a second bull-man, who flourished at the time of an universal deluge.

When we remember during how many centuries the children and descendants of *Noah* must have lived in the vicinity of *Persia*, we shall easily understand how so large a portion of the truth came to be handed down in the Persian tradition.

The ancient *Etrurians* had their tradition, of which *Suidas* gives us an outline. They believed that God created the world in six thousand years, and appointed the same period to be the length of its duration. In the first millenary he made the heaven and the earth; in the second, the visible firmament; in the third, the sea and all the waters; in the fourth, the sun, moon, and stars; in the fifth, the birds, reptiles, and quadrupeds; and in the sixth, man alone. It seems tolerably clear that both the Persians and the *Etrurians* had heard something of the Hebrew records.

The Hindoos have the Institutes of Menu, supposed by Sir W. Jones to have been composed in the time of the Judges. The history of the creation given in this treatise is too long to be copied at length; but it represents Menu, first, with a thought, creating the waters, and placing in them a productive seed. This seed became an egg, and from that egg he was born himself, in the form of Brahma. He, the supreme ruler, created an assemblage of inferior deities; gave being to time, to the stars, and to the planets, to rivers and oceans; and he then caused the four Hindoo castes of mankind to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.

The Chinese account of the creation is still more wild. The first of men, they hold, was Puoncu. He was born out of chaos, as it were out of an egg. From this egg, also, were formed the heavens,—from the white of it, the atmosphere; and from the yolk, the earth.

The Greek cosmogonies are more modern, and less puerile. Hesiod tells us that, first existed chaos; next was produced the spacious earth, the firm seat of the immortals; Tartarus hid in its recesses; and Eros, the dispeller of care. From chaos sprang Erebus and black night; and from the union of night and Erebus were born ether and the day.

In the same poetic style wrote Aristophanes:—"Chaos, and night, and black Erebus, and wide Tartarus, first existed. At that time there was neither earth, air, nor heaven. But, in the bosom of Erebus, black-winged night produced an aerial egg, from which, in due season, beautiful love, decked with golden wings, was born. Out of chaos, in the midst of wide-spreading Tartarus, he begot our race, and called us forth into light."

Any one who desires to peruse these cosmogonies at greater length, will find a more complete account of them in Mr. Faber's *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

1. *The Westminster Review*. 2. *The National Review*.
3. *Macmillan's Magazine*.

WE are not ambitious to earn a transient importance by carping at our neighbours. We are more disposed to follow our own course, leaving it to others to follow theirs. But the aspect which our periodical literature just now presents, is so peculiar, that we must for once step aside and invite our readers to pause while they glance with us at the strange portentous spectacle.

1. *The Westminster Review* has now existed for some years; the avowed organ, and, beyond comparison, the ablest organ, of radicalism in religion and in politics. Of the latter, we say nothing; of its religion it is difficult to speak with confidence. Is it deism or is it atheism? In the sense in which Mr.

Maurice and his friends may be said to hold the doctrine of an atonement, it may, perhaps, be charitably conceded that Theism or Deism is its proper characteristic. In general it seems to recognise some unknown, superior, all-pervading intelligence; but as we come to investigate the nature of the deity to whom its homage is paid, for worship it has none, we are often seriously in doubt whether atheism, as at least one amongst other possibilities, does not lurk in the background of the writer's mind. Yet the Review is popular; it is read, quoted, and admired; and there is a rising school, possessing a certain degree of influence in society, who command us to reverence its authority on pain of incurring their own sovereign contempt.

The October number contains an article on "Neo Christianity," which is thrown into the form of a Review; and the Oxford "Essays and Reviews," which furnishes the text. In a better cause, the courage of the Westminster would secure our admiration: there is no shuffling, no mean equivocation here at least. We know what the unhappy writers mean; so far, at any rate, as a meaning gleams through their creedless creed. They hail the Seven Essays with a cordial welcome. "This Review, at any rate," they say, "ought not to be silent while so much candour and courage call for recognition and support." Thus applauded, the essayists are introduced upon the stage, and with a flourish of trumpets presented to the audience. But soon the scene begins to change, and the new allies have intimations given them, that they have manœuvres to practise and a discipline to undergo, for which, at present, they are but awkwardly prepared.

After a few pages devoted to their encouragement, the work of chastisement begins. The reviewer is said to be himself an Oxford man, and his chastisement is not the less severe because his words are courteous; nor will it be felt the less keenly because it proceeds not from an opponent, but from one who set out where the essayists themselves begin, and has had the daring to follow their own premises to their terrible but legitimate conclusion. The essayists, while undermining the authority of almost every part of the Bible in detail, still affect a certain respect, nay reverence, for the volume as a whole. The reviewer will have none of this hypocrisy. With an unfaltering pen he shows, that on their principles, and his own, the Bible is utterly worthless. He delights in showing up its apparent inconsistencies; he deprecates its influence; he scoffs at its pretended sanctity:—"was ever a literature," he exclaims, "so provokingly unreliable? The mind wanders over the waste of waters like the dove seeking dry land." And he challenges the essayists to say on what ground they still continue to commend such a collection of idle trash to the serious attention of mankind.

It is well that this tremendous blow should be dealt to them in the house of their friends. They are charged with a base hypocrisy, but not by us. It is intimated, in a way which admits of no other interpretation, that, if their preferments and worldly interests were not at stake, they would throw off the mask and stand before the world as the champions of Infidelity. They are jeered at because, having started so well, they lag behind at last. The enlightened world beats them at their own game; outruns them on their own ground: for they are heavy laden with the mire of honours and preferments. These are the charges, we repeat, not of narrow-minded pedants and ecclesiastics of the Evangelical school, but of their own favourite Westminster Review! Can they read the conclusion of this article without a shudder?—"The newspaper, the review, the tale by every fire-side, are written by men who have long ceased to believe. So also the school book, the text book, the manuals for study of youth and manhood, the whole mental food of the day: science, history, morals and politics, poetry, fiction, and essay—the very lesson of the school, the very sermon from the pulpit. And all this is done beneath a solemn or cynical hypocrisy. How long shall this last? . . . All honour to these writers for the boldness with which they have at great risk urged their opinions. *But what is wanted is strength, not merely to face the world, but to face one's own conclusions.* . . . We know the cost....The sense of despair, the shudder of the mind, the tearing up of dear associations, the agony of the family, have darkened the picture of every religious convulsion. IT MUST BE ENDURED. LET EVERY ONE WITH HEARTS AND BRAINS CONCUR IN THE INEVITABLE TASK."

Thus the fable ceases to be a *myth*. The playful gibbering spirit associates himself with the youth who has just gone astray; leads him with a smile through pastures soft to the tread, and among scenes enchanting to the senses. As they walk on together, the fiend begins to wear a graver face and a dictatorial air. He chides his pupil for his fears, and urges him onwards by unknown paths and through the tangled thicket. On a sudden they stand upon the brink of a frightful precipice. The mask falls from the hideous skeleton: the bones rattle and the death's head grins horribly. With a shriek he throws himself into the abyss, and challenges his appalled companion to follow his example, or to remain behind a lonely wanderer blighted, and disgraced for ever.

2. We turn to the *National Review* for October, and find an article on "Nature and God." Dr. Temple's sermon before the Association for the Promotion of Social Science stands, with several other pamphlets, at the head of the paper. How far Dr. Temple, or the other writers paraded in front, approve of the sentiments which follow, it is not our purpose at present to

inquire; we merely record the fact. After the appalling article in the Westminster, this is but a tame affair; presuming, pert, and shallow. Read what follows:—"The Scriptures, in the presence of the Baconian logic, have merely encountered the inevitable fate of any inflexible *litera scripta* existing side by side with ever widening inductions. Demoniackal possession (in mania and epilepsy) though in the Gospels giving form to the miracles and evidence to the Messiahship of Christ, has been unable to hold its ground against the exorcism of the College of Physicians. The common parentage of the human race has become an open question with the advance of ethnology, notwithstanding the absolute dependence upon it of the whole scheme of ecclesiastical theology. The Tower of Babel faded into a myth as the affinity of languages was better understood. Egypt, so long measured by the patriarchal chronology, and cowed by the song of Moses and Miriam, has at last taken a strange revenge upon her fugitives, by discrediting their traditions, and exposing the proofs of her dynasties and arts beyond the verge of their floods, nay, prior to their Eden. The terrestrial cosmogony of Genesis, in spite of all the clamps and hold-fasts of a perverted exegesis, has long been knocked to pieces by the geological hammer. Nay, it is doubtful if the idea of a sudden creation of organised beings may not have to be altogether relinquished in favour of a principle of gradual modification."

Of course it was beneath so philosophical a writer to consider the arguments by which Mr. Rawlinson, in his Bampton lectures, has exposed the childish credulity of Baron Bunsen and his associates, with regard to the vast antiquity of Egypt and her dynasties. How the affinity of languages to one parent stock, supposing it proved, as no doubt it may be proved, affects the story of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion of mankind, is more than we can at present comprehend. We are even stupid enough to believe that it is a strong argument on the other side. The terrestrial cosmogony of Genesis must be a myth indeed, if in danger of being knocked to pieces by any sledge hammer which our reviewer can wield. And so of all the other points so flippantly dismissed. But what is it to such a writer that unearthly voices issue from the mounds in which Nineveh and Babylon have been long entombed, echoing the very words of prophecy, and proclaiming their exact and literal accomplishment? What is it to him that the caves of Edom, and the basaltic cities of the giant kings of Bashan, come forth, after more than three thousand years of silence and awful desolation, to bear witness to the verbal accuracy of the earliest and apparently wildest portions of the Old Testament history? A few declamatory sentences, a few sweeping assertions, an arrogant pen, a supercilious sneer, and his work is accomplished without

more ado. Patience, research, candour, integrity, these, with him and with his school, are obsolete virtues. To assume everything, to affect to know everything, to treat with contempt every opponent they cannot answer, to be, in fact, the slavish imitators of the French *Encyclopedists* of the last century, and like them to inaugurate a revolution in which they will be themselves devoured, this is "the way of them." And ye, O young men of England, of parts and intellect, are to "praise their sayings." These are the intellectual gods of your idolatry. Bow down and worship!

3. *Macmillan's Magazine* for December furnishes an article on "The English Evangelical Clergy." It is rather amusing, though meant, no doubt, to be read with proper gravity. The burden of it is, that whereas the founders of the Evangelical school were good men and true, their successors are but a clamorous crew of noisy pretenders. We have the lion's hide but not his roar, being unfortunately stuffed with straw. Mr. Simeon, it is admitted, was a good and holy man; he thought no harm of a poor man's walking in the fields on a Sunday afternoon; he kept the best horse and gave the best wine in Cambridge. We are not in a condition to controvert any one of these three formidable propositions. We tasted his wine, and have no doubt that it must have been very good; for our recollection of the hours spent in his rooms at a dinner party, a few months before his death, is fresh and fragrant still. It brings to our mind even now the "*noctes cœnæque defumæ*," in a christian sense. Never did we witness a more happy mixture of perfect, gentlemanly urbanity with an exalted tone of spirituality. Of horseflesh we cannot judge so well; but we believe the venerable and ever dear old Simeon had as good a horse, and rode it as well or better, than any man in Cambridge. With regard to the poor man's walk on Sunday, Mr. Simeon said nothing more than any sensible and pious clergyman or layman whom we ever met with has always said. The sentiments which are paraded as a rebuke to our modern puritanism, were published to the world long ago by Mr. Carus in his life of Simeon. There was no disposition on his part to conceal them. But as a parable is unequal in the mouth of a fool, so the most guarded statements are, it seems, capable of misapplication in the hands of a writer who "tries his 'prentice hand" on the Evangelical clergy with the laudable hope of bringing them into contempt. There are some other points on which all that we can say is, that we heartily wish there was more truth in them. As, for instance, that the "appointment of all the bishops, and one half the deans," is in the hands of "the Evangelical party." A party which, though "timid, narrow, ignorant, and fanatical," is after all "redeemed, to some extent, by the admirable working of its clergy" in the administration of their parishes.

We cannot afford to be very angry with such a writer,—nor to give him any more of our space. Supposing him to be honest, he is very ignorant; otherwise he could not have told us that “there were then” (in the days of Romaine and Venn) “amongst Evangelical men no tests of orthodoxy or signing of articles; no journals of sectarian warfare.” Indeed, we should not have noticed so insignificant a paper at all, had we not been assured that it was doing some little mischief in the University of Cambridge where the Magazine is published.

The writer, though prejudiced, is of a very different school from the other two; and the worst we can wish for him is, that he may, at this joyful season, have wine to drink as good as Mr. Simeon's, and that the conversation at his table may be as cheerful and he himself as happy and as heavenly-minded.

CUNNINGHAM'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Church History of Scotland, from the commencement of the Christian era to the present century. By the Rev. John Cunningham, Minister of Crieff. In 2 volumes. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1859.

“In writing this history, I have endeavoured, above all things, to purge my heart of all leaven of polemical and party hatred, and to follow faithfully both truth and charity.” . . . “I have seen enough and read enough to know that worth and wisdom are not confined to any church or any sect, and that infallibility does not belong to presbytery any more than to popery.” The writer of Scottish ecclesiastical history who prefaces his work with two such sentences, has already won upon the hearts of many readers, and those the wisest and the best of all denominations. We will say at once, that the work sustains the promises which introduce it. Scotch ecclesiastical history, even more perhaps than other church histories, has been hitherto a mere pretext for polemics. The reasons are obvious: in the first place, the Church of Scotland has, ever since the Reformation, been a political no less than a spiritual institution. Its General Assembly has been the House of Commons and something more of our northern countrymen. It has controlled the aristocracy; it has controlled the sovereign. Then, it has ever been rent by violent factions: party spirit has run high amongst good men within the national Sion; and lastly, it has been beleaguered incessantly by formidable enemies. In consequence, its historians have been apologists. They have written, with few exceptions, not to elucidate facts but to justify excesses. The history has been a defence of one party or an attack upon another; the

testudo under which an assault was conducted, or the intrenchment behind which an exhausted party ran for shelter and repose. Mr. Cunningham takes a loftier position, and it is not too much to say that, upon the whole, he maintains it well. His faults are those into which writers naturally fall whose aim is to be impartial: impartiality now and then approaches too near to indifference: vice and superstition are not always sufficiently rebuked: truth sometimes wants the generous enthusiasm to which she is always entitled; but, after every abatement, Mr. Cunningham has produced the most faithful and honest, as well as the most elaborate, history of the church of Scotland that has hitherto appeared.

It is a question rather interesting than important, when the gospel was first introduced into Britain, and by whom it was first preached. If the doctrine were only pure, it matters little whether Paul himself, or some unknown soldier of a Roman legion, first announced it; and "if an angel from heaven," much more the most renowned of calendared saints, introduced "another gospel which was not another," we know, on the best authority, the exact degree of respect to which he is entitled. Yet a strange interest attaches to the question, strange because not quite accountable. Mr. Cunningham thinks that the gospel was introduced amongst his countrymen from the south of England, by Saint Kinian, the first preacher of Christianity in Scotland whose name has come down to us. The time and place of his birth are doubtful; he lived early in the fifth century; Bede tells us that he was a holy man of the British nation; tradition adds that he was of royal blood, a compliment which tradition pays to almost all our British saints of these heroic ages. Once introduced, the gospel would make its own way by virtue of its own expansive power; and fifty years would scarcely elapse, in the ordinary course of evangelical progress, before the gospel, known and cherished by a few pious soldiers in the camps of London and Colchester, would have forced its mysterious way to York and to the Frith of Forth, and so onwards to the remoter highlands.

Another question, which, like the former, is interesting rather than important, is the source from which our knowledge of Christianity was first derived. Was it from the East or from the Western Church? By missionaries from Palestine and Asia Minor, or from Rome? The evidence is nearly balanced; or rather there is evidence which would lead to the conclusion that the gospel was introduced, at a very early period, through both of these channels. Perhaps archæology sheds a ray of light upon the subject, though, strange enough, she has not hitherto been much consulted. The ancient language of the country favours a Roman origin. In the Celtic dialect of Wales *eglwys*, in that of the Highlands *egloose*, a church, bear witness to the use of the Latin

ecclesia, at a very early period. This term, it is true, is used in its Greek form in the New Testament, and was indifferently employed by both Churches at first. But *κυπλάκη* seems to have been soon adopted by the Eastern Churches, and of its use we have very early traces, first in Germany and then in North Britain, in Ireland and the Isle of Man, in *kirche* and *kirk*. But the subject is of no real importance. In the fourth century, a violent dispute arose between the Western and the Eastern Church upon the proper time for the celebration of Easter. In Britain the churches adhered to the computation of the Greeks, and this again has often been regarded as a proof of their Eastern origin. This, however, our author tells us, is plainly a mistake: "their disagreement with Rome simply arose from the adherence to an old almanac when a new one had come into use." It proves, however, that up to this period, the British Churches were not much in awe of the Pope of Rome.

We pass by the story of St. Columba and the monks of Iona; of the Culdees, monks without monkish vices; and the mission of St. Aidan in Northumbria. On these subjects Mr. Cunningham has written well and largely; not with the warmth of Merle D'Aubigné, but with much greater accuracy, after more research. The gospel appears to have won its way in Scotland over the ancient superstitions, slowly, as amongst the more polished nations of the heptarchy, and nearly at an equal pace. When the Conqueror arrived here, he found England divided into parishes nearly as they exist to this day. In Scotland, there is evidence that parishes were formed in the twelfth century; before this period we have no note of their existence. In both countries religious houses soon afterwards abounded; for up to this time, except in connection with cathedrals and collegiate institutions, they were scarcely known. They soon grew formidable rivals to the parish church; and to them we owe the complete subjection of both countries, at a later period, to the Roman yoke. Native bishops and a simple-minded clergy were overawed by the disciplined ecclesiastics, learned, wealthy, and of foreign blood, with whom it was the policy of Rome to crowd our luxurious abbeys and priories; while ladies of the highest rank were easily induced to take upon themselves the control of nunneries and convents. Yet there was in both countries, down to the very daybreak of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, a constant struggle against the pretensions of the papacy. Scotchmen and Englishmen do their forefathers a great injustice, and the parochial clergy of England a grievous wrong, if they accept the legendary myth which describes them as the abject creatures of the see of Rome. Step by step they resisted her encroachments, and when at last the clergy were gained over or subdued, the spirit of independence still remained amongst the barons and nobility of both kingdoms. Except by stealth,

or at some moment of internal discord, when the civil arm was paralysed, no papal bull could gain admission either south or north of the Tweed, without express permission. Those who would reduce England to the craven state in which the Irish Roman Catholic church now lies, would reduce it to a state of degradation which it never knew even in the darkest times of popery.

Yet the spiritual condition of both kingdoms was bad enough undoubtedly. Before the Reformation, one-third of the landed property of England, and in Scotland "one-half of the whole national wealth," had passed into the hands of the clergy, "which is proved by the fact that they paid one-half of every tax imposed upon land; and there is little reason to believe that they would bear an unequal proportion of the burden." Mr. Cunningham adds a remark which ought to make a deep impression upon the members of a purer church:—

"This enormous wealth must have been almost all accumulated in the course of four centuries, from the twelfth to the sixteenth; and whatever use we make of it, we should not shut our eyes to the contrast between the religious liberality of the period which preceded and that which followed the purification of the temple. The entire riches of the church were the result of private donations and bequests; the free-will offerings of a piety which, though mistaken, must have been sincere."

The Reformation drew near. Its way was announced, as in other lands, by the martyr's pile and the tumults of the people: by the holy death of George Wishart, and the assassination of his murderer, cardinal Beaton. His murderer, we say, because he did not wait for the forms of law, senseless as they were. His victim was not in mock mercy handed over to the civil power; the ecclesiastic himself consigned him to a horrible death, contrary to the canons of his own church, and in defiance of all law.—John Knox now appears in sight, and Mr. Cunningham writes of him with the respect which is due from a Scotchman to the saviour of his country, but, at the same time, with freedom and discrimination. He deplores his violence and blames his obstinacy; but he sees the noble features of his character, and does justice to his stern and solemn piety, his integrity and his boundless devotion, at all risks, to the great cause of the Reformation. As its great preacher, he went about uttering his awful denunciations against the Babylonish harlot. A train of infuriated zealots followed in his train, mixed up, no doubt, with a large proportion of those to whom mischief, for its own sake, is a kind of sensual joy. Every monastery fell, every cathedral was spoiled or levelled with the ground. "The rascal multitude" soon outran his bidding. The abbey of Scone was venerable in the eyes of every Scotchman as the place where the kings of Scotland had been crowned for ages. It once contained

the famous black stone on which tradition said Jacob reposed his head at Bethel, and which secured the sovereignty of Scotland to its fortunate possessor. Our Edward I. saw the worth of the fable, and carried the sacred stone to Westminster, and upon it the kings of England have ever since been crowned. Knox would have saved the sacred pile as a national monument, and he stayed its destruction, though but for a single day. "On the second day the torch was applied, and soon the beautiful house, in which our fathers had worshipped and our monarchs had been crowned, was burned up with fire." We offer no apology for Knox, or for our own Vandals of the same or any later age, except, perhaps, whatever be its worth, the plea of necessity. But neither Knox in Scotland, nor our own reformers, nor even the puritan soldiery of the Commonwealth, are responsible for half the barbarous mutilations which every man of taste deplures. Wantonness has done much, and selfishness much more, in the work of devastation. Our English reformers expressly limited their commissioners to the removal and destruction of "superstitious monuments." The rapacity of landlords, and the folly of the people, did all the rest; and we may add, that some of our most exquisite specimens of mediæval architecture have continued to undergo this process of spoliation down to the present time from the same sordid motives. A farmer on the spot assured us, but a few years since, that he had seen as many as three waggon loads of lead and timber carried off in a single day from the finest castle in the west of England to repair the homesteads of the noble owner's tenantry; and so it has been in other places:—

"It is, indeed, impossible to read without a pang of the demolition of the Charter-house at Perth, and the burning of the abbey at Scone; but our grief will subside, when we reflect that a more glorious temple, built of living stones, has risen upon their ruins. But withal let no man be deceived; let him not indulge in imaginary sorrows; let him not dream that every ruined cathedral, abbey, and church which he sees, was reduced to its present desolation by the reformers. War, time, neglect, and the barbarity of making fine-looking old buildings quarries out of which to erect mean-looking modern ones, have done far more than John Knox towards reducing our religious houses to the dilapidated state in which we now find too many of them."

We in England ought just now to be ashamed of our hypocrisy. While we are affecting indignation at the fanaticism of Cromwell, and the narrow-mindedness of our great reformers, some of the loftiest spires, some of the finest churches ever reared, are daily becoming more and more insecure, because we will neither submit to a church-rate, nor supply its place by a voluntary contribution.

Mr. Cunningham's account of the reformation in Scotland,

is the best that we have met with. It is not only full and clear, and satisfactory in its numerous references to original documents (a point of the first importance), but there is an air of calmness, and an evident fair dealing, which bespeak our confidence and secure our respect. We are not sure, as we have intimated, that this judicial impartiality is not sometimes in excess. He might safely have conceded more to the amazing difficulties which surrounded the heroes of the reformation; to the cruelties they had suffered or witnessed; and the perils to which they were exposed. These, though not easily described, are amongst the facts of history; and if we have no sympathy with the actors, it is scarcely possible to write a faithful version of their lives. Knox was stern and bitter; but Knox had served his apprenticeship to popish cruelty on board a galley. Mary was light and vain; but she had been educated to regard as accomplishments what in Edinburgh were denounced as crimes. Perhaps darker sins defile her character; but even here we must remember that it was an age of brutal sensuality, as well as brutal violence; and that under one pretext or another, even the best men lent themselves to transactions which would now brand their names with infamy. The reformation in Scotland was a glorious movement. We might have wished that in several points it had been more wisely conducted; but upon one point there can be no mistake: it raised a nation from poverty and barbarism to a high state of virtue, dignity, and prosperity. These were its immediate consequences: what spiritual blessings it imparted to a benighted land, we know in part; the whole will be fully known only in another world.

A contrast is often drawn between the reformation in Scotland and that in our own country; the one, we are told, was effected by the king, the other by the people. "We shall approach nearer the truth," says our author, "if we say that it was baronial in Scotland, as it was monarchical in England." "Had it not been for the favour of the oligarchy, Knox would have preached in vain, or, rather, he would never have preached at all."

"Knox was unquestionably a great instrument in effecting the reformation; but we are inclined to regard the preacher as an instrument in the hands of the barons, rather than the barons as instruments in the hands of the preacher. Knox had but to preach, surrounded by his powerful patrons, and his words were like sledge-hammers, beating down abbeys, images, and altars. Priests, friars, nuns, were scattered like chaff before the breath of his nostrils. He had but to draw up a confession of faith, and the parliament with acclamations received it. But when he differed from the nobles, he became weak as another man. When he suggested a truly wise application of the revenues of the church, he was treated with derision and contempt."

Indeed, the ignorance of the common people, and their moral

degradation, were such as to preclude the possibility of their having led so great a revolution, or even comprehended its full meaning. Mr. Cunningham draws aside the veil, and discloses a fearful picture of national degradation and depravity. In this, as in the present state of all papal countries without exception, Rome has to read one of the darkest counts in the long and terrible indictment which God and man are bringing in against her. She is the instructress of the nations; for a thousand years she had the school to herself in Scotland, and these are the fruits of her discipline,—

“The records of the church courts would lead us to believe that the morals of the people were at this period exceedingly debased. We have constant references to all manner of conceivable and inconceivable crimes, which the magistrates are importuned to punish. The poor are stigmatized as having been especially degraded. ‘Universally throughout the realm,’ says the Assembly Record, ‘there is neither religion nor discipline with the poor, but the most part live in filthy adultery, incest, fornication; their children are unbaptized, and they themselves never resort to the church, nor participate in the sacraments’—a fearful picture! but it is probable that the zeal of these good men against sin has given the picture a darker colouring than the reality. Still the state of society must have been deplorably bad; it was an Augean stable the clergy had to cleanse. Much poverty and much immorality generally go together. Reduce a man below a certain level, and he will soon lose all sense of decency, and live like the brutes with whom he is in a manner compelled to herd. The Scottish peasantry at this time must have been miserably poor, and must have lived in a very miserable way. The whole land, we know, swarmed with beggars; and gangs of bronze-coloured gipsies strolled about the country, and are talked of as ‘defiling it with their abominations.’”

Still the reformation in Scotland assumed a popular character. This was owing to two causes: the intimacy between the great chieftains and their clans, and the influence of those chieftains in the General Assembly. Every clansman carried himself as the kinsman of his lord. He was not merely a feudal retainer, rendering a blind service with life and limb; he considered himself rather as a member of the patriarchal family, and he was proudly recognised as such by the patriarch himself. This feeling, strongest in the highlands, existed through the whole of Scotland, and, except in the great towns, its influence may still be distinctly traced. Thus the whole community were pledged at once to carry out with hearty zeal the plans of a few great leaders. A second cause was the constitution of the General Assembly. This is explained by Mr. Cunningham in a masterly manner. We are accustomed to regard it as a mere convention of ecclesiastics; originally it was no such thing; it first met in the year 1560,—“a Hercules in its cradle, far more

powerful in its infancy than it is in its old age." The very first year of the reformation the Assembly met, and at once proceeded to business as if it had already inherited the land. "It assumed a lofty bearing; it remonstrated with regents; it defied parliaments; it bearded kings; it claimed a jurisdiction independent of all civil control." Nor was it mere assumption; its strength warranted its ambition. It is not too much to say, that for many years the General Assembly was a more influential body than the parliament. What, then, was the secret of its strength? The question admits of an easy solution. It was essentially a representative body; much more so than the Scotch parliament itself. "Every man in the nation professing the reformed faith, who held a high office or a post of influence, was invited to attend. The regents, the king, the privy council, the nobility, the barons, had a seat and a vote when they chose to exercise them." It recognised no distinction between the laity and the clergy. In the first assembly of forty-one members, only six were ministers; and thus the jealousy of clerical influence, which in protestant countries has always been fatal to clerical conventions, had no room to play. There is a curious resolution in 1573, enacting that "the ministers shall sit without the bar;" while "the whole nobility and council, with commissioners of provinces, towns, and kirks, having power to vote, shall sit within the bar." Thus, by a council of the church; were its own ministers placed without the bar, simply, it would seem, to give room to their lay coadjutors; and thus the voice of the assembly was, in fact, the voice of the people. The great lords represented their clans; the great towns, kirks, and provinces were represented by their commissioners; the church of Scotland became a spiritual republic, and the General Assembly its supreme court.

It was not till 1580, when Elizabeth had sat twenty years upon the throne of England, and our reformation was completed, that episcopacy was overthrown. Knox was now dead; he preferred the presbyterian polity, but he had never held that episcopacy, even diocesan episcopacy, was unlawful. Nor was he an enemy to liturgical forms. At first, indeed, the church of Scotland sanctioned a Book of Common Prayer, probably one of those of king Edward (though on this point as Mr. Cunningham shows, there is some doubt); Knox had it read to him in his dying hours. The church of England suffered much from the rapacity of courtiers and the facility of Henry VIII., in parting with the church's patrimony; but in Scotland the church was utterly despoiled and beggared, and a shameful poverty has been her condition ever since. The estates which should have endowed the bishoprics were now in the hands of the great landlords, and the bishops, who should have been supported out of them, were soon found to be an encumbrance; and the

assembly voted them down, first as needless, and then as unscriptural. We do not affect to deny that other motives of a purer kind had their share of influence; nor that the example of Geneva and other churches were of some weight. Still it is but too clear that when the people mobbed the bishops from town to town, and from kirk to kirk, or when the General Assembly voted them needless and unscriptural, the great nobles and lords of Scotland had strong reasons of their own for conniving at the madness of the people, and applauding the wisdom of the General Assembly.

From this period the church of Scotland presents, on the whole, but a gloomy page in history; she was torn by intestine factions, she was assailed by cruel enemies; she became a great political machine, and in the violence to which she was exposed and the violence with which she resisted, her spirituality, her virgin purity, was well-nigh lost. In England religion perished in the sunshine. In Scotland it perished in the storm. But she was and is our sister; so recognised in the famous act of 13 Elizabeth, and in the canon which contains the bidding prayer; and ever since the reformation, or, however, since the year 1604, on every Lord's-day in either university, as well as in many a cathedral, we have never ceased to pray for the welfare of the church of Scotland.

Episcopacy, it is true, she has lost. The insane violence of the Stuarts, in their attempts to reimpose it, are still remembered, with a degree of bitterness scarcely warranted after so long a time, by the bulk of the Scottish people. For the last twenty years there has been a gradual softening, and the national presbyterian heart has been a little thawed. They owe this to the large benevolence of Dr. Chalmers, who had the courage to protest against the bigotry which placed "black prelacy" in the category of things to be abhorred together with "black popery." Still the national mind of Scotland is utterly averse to prelacy; and episcopacy, under the mildest form, is thought somehow to be one of the snares of Antichrist.

The horrible persecution of the Covenanters would disgrace the annals of New Zealand; we should detest the advocate who excused, and abhor the cause which needed, them. Mr. Cunningham treats the subject with a degree of candour honourable to his judgment; and yet with an indignation not less honorable to his affections and his heart. England is deeply guilty in the whole affair; it is, without exception, the most shameful passage in our history. We know not whether it ought to be accepted in mitigation of our shame, that the persecution was more political than religious, or that although the scheme was formed in London, its diabolical cruelties were wreaked by the hands of Scotchmen on each other. If the Cameronians would have confessed king Charles, their

confession of Christ would never have made them martyrs. If the infamous Claverhouse, and his infamous dragoons, had not been inflamed with the personal resentments of a hostile faction, their fiendish cruelties would scarcely have been perpetrated. This is the law of civil commotions: no feuds are so malignant as those which disturb a family; no wars so bloody as those between two neighbouring tribes; no persecutions so unrelenting as those with which the dominant party wreaks its vengeance, when the sword has once been drawn upon its own countrymen. Irritated pride adds fury to revenge; the apprehension that the sufferer may, in his turn, retaliate, steels the heart against remorse and pity.

Mr. Cunningham brings down his history to the end of the last century, and closes it just as a brighter day streaked the horizon of his church. He does not write with the force or the feeling we should have expected upon the decay of religion in Scotland. He speaks too quietly of the wretched spectacle when Edinburgh crowded—not as in the days of Knox, to the High Church, to listen to rude, vehement, and real eloquence on sacred subjects; but to the playhouse—to applaud the trashy tragedy of Douglas, written by a minister of the gospel; and when the infidel Hume and the free-thinking Lord Kames, walked arm-in-arm in the Canon Gate with Robertson and Dr. Adam Fergusson. The *moderate* party were now gaining ground in the General Assembly, and under its baneful sway pure religion and undefiled had well-nigh perished.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

On Party Spirit in the English Church. By the Rev. Sanderson Robins, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, Isle of Thanet, and Rural Dean. London: Bell and Daldy. 1860.—It would be impossible, we should think, for the most infelicitous of writers to pen an essay on party spirit in the church, without laying down some useful and many just, and, in their place, important principles. A schoolboy could not wish for a happier subject for his theme. He would be sure to hit the mark sometimes; and if he missed it, the failure would never appear to be very serious. Mr. Sanderson Robins is no schoolboy. He writes well. His essay contains many truths which in their place are of great importance, and the subject is brought before us in an agreeable and entertaining, if not in a powerful manner. But, after all, the question forces itself upon the reader's mind, Why was this essay written? What good purpose will it serve? Our answer is, that, upon the whole, it will answer no good purpose, unless it be with those *cantan-*

kerous, peevish spirits, who delight not only to differ from their neighbours, but to put the worst construction on their neighbours' motives, and the best, of course, upon their own.

Further than this it seems likely to be mischievous. Mr. Sanderson Robins, to have written usefully on the subject, should have shown, in the first place—for this is all important—the difference between a firm adherence to the principles of a party, and what is generally understood by a party spirit; for the world, and the church too, are apt to confound the one with the other. Let us give an example, and we will take it from holy writ:—"We know," says St. John, "that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness." Now, we will undertake to say, that if this sentence was written in any other book than the Bible, it would be decried as a striking illustration of party spirit; we will not undertake to say that it is not so regarded even now by some who profess a certain reverence for the Bible. The whole question turns upon two pivots, the knowledge and the animus of the writer; if St. John knew that he spoke the truth, and if he spoke it with a desire to save the world from everlasting misery, then, apart from revelation, a more catholic, a more benevolent, a more philanthropic sentiment never fell from the lips of man. Mr. Sanderson Robins thinks it the greatest unkindness to censure a fellow-Christian severely on points on which we think it the greatest kindness to express the strongest dissatisfaction with his conduct. "Take an extreme case, in the revival of obsolete or unauthorized vestments or ritual. A clergyman provokes unseemly strife, and does irremediable mischief. We may think him very deficient in prudence, and common sense, and christian charity, but we have no right to say he inclines to the Roman church. Even copes and crucifixes have no necessary connection with popery, as every one knows who is acquainted with the German Lutheran communities." We think, upon the contrary, that it would be an act not only of duty, but of christian charity, to remonstrate with such a one, to tell him that he was in great danger of misleading souls for whom Christ died,—that he had already departed from the simplicity of the gospel,—and that already, most likely, the seeds of popery had begun to take root in his own soul. This, of course, would expose us to the charge of littleness of mind and party spirit; and it would be for us to examine well our own hearts to ascertain whether we had brought these accusations from a good motive or a bad one. If we found that pride and censoriousness had not prompted us, but rather concern for an erring brother and those he might mislead, we, for our own part, after the experience of the last five-and-twenty years, should feel but slight concern, however loud the cry of party spirit were raised against us. In short, we are persuaded that it is part of that cross which the true followers of Christ are now more than ever called upon to bear, and that he who will not bear it must be unfaithful to his Lord.

We chanced in the autumn to spend a few weeks at a watering-place on the Kentish coast, and one Sunday morning we enjoyed a delightful walk to a village church, as it happens, in the Isle of Thanet. The church was well filled, the prayers devoutly read, the responses audibly made, the psalms sweetly sung. But what shall we say of the sermon? We had scarcely left the church when

we were overtaken by a Lincoln's Inn barrister, not altogether unknown in courts of Chancery. After the first greeting, his exclamation was—"I have just been saying to my wife, what an aimless sermon!" Perhaps no words could more exactly have hit off its character. There was much truth in it, and truth of the highest moment; but the lines did not converge to a point; when the hearer had been told of the necessity of having an interest in Christ, the question naturally arose, how am I to secure that interest? and the preacher had dealt with this in a desultory manner, and when he began to generalise, the congregation began to fall asleep. What was wanted was precisely that which would have stamped him as a party man. He did not fully and explicitly teach the way into the holiest by the blood of Jesus. He spoke of prayer, contrition, and the ordinances of the church as means of grace; but the work of the Holy Spirit in applying the atoning sacrifice, was feebly dwelt upon. Had Mr. Kingsley or Mr. Maurice been present, while we saw something to admire, they would have found little to condemn. We respect Mr. Sanderson Robins both for his gifts and piety, and we ask him to consider whether his book is calculated, in such times as these, to promote or to injure the cause of God's truth in the church of England? We will venture to add, that he may learn something from the incident we have related,—

"For the tale we tell,
Has for once a moral."

Lights of the Morning; or, Meditations for every day in the Ecclesiastical year. From the German of Frederic Arndt, Minister of the Berlin Parochial Church. Advent to Whitsuntide. With a Preface by the Rev. William C. Magee, D.D., Prebendary of Wells, and Minister of Quebec Chapel, London. London: Bell and Daldy, 1860.—This little volume, Mr. Magee remarks in his preface, supplies what seems to be rather a want in our religious literature—a book of meditations, which sets the reader thinking, instead of only telling him how the writer meditated, or how he ought to think and feel. Original and suggestive thoughts, expressed in striking and somewhat quaint language, arrest and engage the attention; while through it all there runs a vein of deep spirituality and of simple and fervent piety, which speaks it the production of a devout as well as a thoughtful and original mind.

We subjoin an appropriate meditation for the new year:—

"January 1. Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.

"The new year cannot have a more glorious commencement than by the name the church has given to its first day, which is called Jesus's day. Jesus is the centre of our faith, the first and last of our thoughts. He is the Bible, for it testifies of Him. He is the world, for through Him and for Him it was made. He is time, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. He is the new heart, for true life begins with the baptism of the new birth, and is complete in the stature of the perfect man. After Jesus, we call each year, 'the year of our Lord,' because there is no other whereby we can be saved. He alone gives our years their true signification; our new year's wish

the right consecration; our endeavours the right aim; our destiny the right light; and our obligations the right fervour. His name 'is as ointment poured forth.' His name is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe. Through His name the devil is driven out, the serpent wounded, and the sick healed. At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth; and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. The name of Jesus is God's Amen. Well, then, our new year begins in the name of Jesus. If it brings suffering and sorrow, He will comfort and help us; we shall overcome through Him. If temptations await us, He will let nothing separate us from His love; His strength will be 'perfected in our weakness.' If the king of terrors threatens us, He is our life, and death will be gain. 'The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?' The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid? His name alone lights up time and eternity, therefore in it we will be glad."

The close of the year brings with it its pleasant accompaniment of Christmas Literature. Two volumes lie before us which deserve especial notice, not less for the beauty of their typography and binding, than for their contents. These are

1. *Quarles' Emblems, illustrated by Charles Bennett, and W. H. Rogers. Nisbet and Co.*—For two hundred years and more these emblems have afforded that serious entertainment which of all things, as many a parent feels, it is most difficult to find for sound and cultivated minds; something which shall at once refresh and edify; a book not too grave for the bounding spirits of youth, nor too light for thoughtful age when it seeks for relaxation.

2. *Lyra Germanica. Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year, with Illustrations, &c. Longman & Co.*—The Hymns are translated by Catherine Winkworth, and many of them appear to be of great beauty, and at the same time to express scriptural truth and evangelical sentiments. In both volumes the pictorial embellishments are, of course, of a superior kind; those of Francis Quarles quaint as his own emblems. We noticed with satisfaction some beautiful editions of Bunyan, designed, like these volumes, for Christmas-tide; and we must repeat the satisfaction with which we view the great improvement which is taking place in this kind of literature. It surely indicates a much higher standard of morality and religion in our domestic circles throughout the land.

The Sea and its Living Wonders. Longman and Co.—Though not, like the preceding, a highly decorated volume, it mingles instruction with entertainment; and whether read with the feet upon the fender, or by the sea beach in August, cannot fail to interest both young and old. The writer, Dr. Hartwig, makes us feel that we have all, both in prose and poetry, been very ungrateful to that old ocean, whom he says, "I have learned to love as the Swiss mountaineer loves his native Alps, or the Highlander the heath-covered hills of Caledonia. From time immemorial she has been the "barren ocean," the "restless deep," the "waste of waters." Our author grudges these hard names.

"Bounteous mother," "*alma parens*," was the name given by the grateful ancients to the corn-and-grass-producing, herd-feeding earth; but how much more deserving of that endearing appellation is the sea, that, without being ploughed or manured, dispenses her gifts with such inexhaustible profusion!" He calculates that at least one-fiftieth part of the human race live upon the produce of the seas. Of the various inhabitants of the vast world of waters, and of what will interest young readers much more, their mode of capture, many entertaining stories are told, while science shares the page with mere amusement. As in duty bound, Dr. Hartwig refuses to believe that the watery object of his affections cherishes in her bosom anything so vile as the great sea serpent; at least till he has seen the skeleton in some museum, or found it in some limestone rocks, which we venture to think will not happen for some time to come.

This is the publishing season, and several works of value have just issued from the press, but these require consideration, and more than a superficial acquaintance with their contents; some of them we hope shortly to review.

RETROSPECT OF THE YEAR 1860.

THE retrospect of the past year, in its political aspects, is not a cheerful one, though the prospect brightens towards the close. It opened with evil tidings and vexatious *contre-temps*, and it concludes amidst great uncertainties, and with many subjects of anxiety still unremoved. The first short days of January found the nation smarting under the recent defeat of our troops in China on the Peiho, and anxious for their safety. The arrogant misconduct of an American general had occasioned the San Juan difficulty. The dispute grew loud and angry, and seemed likely to lead to a serious collision. The affairs of Italy wore a gloomy aspect;—an exasperated people, writhing long under a barbarous and heartless tyranny, were collecting their strength, evidently resolved to free themselves, if possible, from their galling bondage; but the most sagacious did not venture even to conjecture what might be the issue of the struggle. A congress of the European powers was proposed, to control, if it could not crush, the infant revolution. On the 24th of January the queen came down to open parliament. The conclusion of a commercial treaty with France was announced. The question of Italian independence was cautiously referred to. A reform bill was again promised, but the project was received with great indifference. The last embers of disturbance in India had, we were graciously assured, been extinguished, and the nation was at peace with Europe. In co-operation with the French, an expedition was forthwith to be despatched to China, to enforce the terms of our treaty, and, if possible, to retrieve the reverses we had suffered. The international arrangements for the opening of our trade with France would lead, it was hoped, to a better understanding between the two countries, giving to each of them an interest in the welfare of the other. But the terms of the treaty at first gave but

little satisfaction. Mr. Cobden's hitherto untried skill in diplomacy began to be doubted. It was suspected that, in negotiating the terms of the treaty, France had overreached him; and when the tariff was published, the advantages seemed altogether on the side of France. People complained that what was in name a treaty, was in effect a capitulation. It is too soon to boast; but Mr. Gladstone and his friends begin already to proclaim the success which has attended their treaty of commerce, and to augur from it the happiest results. One of the last acts of the French emperor has been to anticipate the concessions which he had bound himself to make at a future date, and so to give full play to the principles of the treaty with the least possible delay. His conduct on this point, as well as in exempting English travellers from all the annoyances of the odious passport system, shows at least his anxiety at this moment to stand well with England, and deserves a courteous acknowledgment.

The designs of France with regard to Italy were still ambiguous. Rumours of a secret understanding with Sardinia were whispered about, and uneasiness soon grew into open distrust. It was not for an "idea" that France had made war with Austria; it was not to set Italy free from the Carpathian mountains to the Alps; it was the old base motive of conquest. The suspicion was met with indignant denials by the organs of the French government, and by Count Cavour on the part of the king of Sardinia. The course, however, which France would take in Italian affairs was doubtful, and such misgivings added to the perplexities of Europe. They had almost died away, when, in the early part of February, Lord Normanby re-opened the question by a formal inquiry in the House of Lords. He wished to know whether a project was on foot for the annexation of Savoy and Nice, or any parts of Italy, to France. The English government, relying on the assurances of France, declared that the only contingencies which could render such a cession of territory possible, had not occurred and, consequently that no such project need be feared. A few weeks, however, exposed the simplicity of our diplomatists, or rather the duplicity of the French cabinet. The illusion was dispelled, and amidst the execration of Europe, Savoy and Nice became a part of France; the indignation of the country was divided between the unprincipled rapacity of Napoleon, and the treachery or cowardice of Cavour and his royal master. The ministry, which had so lately talked of confidence now began to think of defence; the land rang with the note of preparation; fortifications at an enormous cost were voted for our coast and arsenals; Armstrong guns were forged, iron-clad ships were built, and a body of Rifle Volunteers, numbering at this time about 150,000 men, started into existence. Our unanimity and promptitude have had a good effect; we have no panics at home, we have at present a peaceable neighbour across the channel, and for this we would render devout acknowledgments to Him who maketh men to be of one mind in a house.

The conduct of Napoleon towards the Pope was still, however, ambiguous. He complained that the Pope rejected his advice, and allowed himself to be controlled by Austrian counsels; and he took the opportunity of showing his regard for the sovereign pontiff, by, in the same breath, promising his protection and yet refusing his sup-

port. He would not withdraw his troops from Rome, for his holiness would not be safe an hour among his own loving subjects he would not allow French troops to put down the insurrection which threatened to alienate the papal territory. Thus he retained a footing at Rome, from whence he might take advantage of whatever might arise in the still uncertain future. This thin disguise is still sustained. The emperor exercises his absolute authority in the most inconsistent manner. He pats and fondles his victim at one time, and gives it a fierce gripe at another. Whether the ecclesiastical mouse is to be released, or caged for his own special use and entertainment, is the question; the motives of Napoleon III. are more inscrutable than ever. But we anticipate the thread of our annals for the year. A tangled thread it has been, and still remains, which time only can unravel.

Early in the spring Garibaldi re-appeared. On the night of the 6th of May, he embarked at Genoa with 1800 men, in two steamers, which had been seized for the purpose. After a few hours' sail, he and his followers safely effected a landing in Sicily, though under the fire of a Neapolitan fortress and ~~two~~ ships of war. France and Piedmont affected to blame this audacious enterprise, but not without giving some suspicion of connivance, if not of substantial encouragement, on the part of both. On the 27th of May, Garibaldi entered Palermo in triumph, and so began that career of victories which has already united the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the great Italian kingdom, with Victor Emmanuel as its sovereign. Garibaldi has retired for the winter to his simple home on the rock of Caprera, and the ex-king of Naples lingers in the fortress of Gaëta, if indeed he is not by this time expelled from this the last spot in which he can exercise the shadow of his kingship. The forces of Victor Emmanuel a few days ago were bombarding the city, and an assault has by this time taken place. With unaccountable perversity the emperor Napoleon, who quietly looked on when he was dispossessed of his capital, now protects Gaëta by the sea with two ships of war, and forbids the complete investment of the place by sea as well as by land; thus enacting the same double part with the king of Naples which he has all along been playing with the pope. What his motives may be, conjecture has wearied itself in attempting to divine. He may be very cunning; a plotter of deep-laid schemes of policy waiting for the chances of prolonged confusion, till the opportunity arrives for making them subservient to his own ambition; or he may be no more than one of those obstinate, though irresolute, men who, without a policy, baffle the speculations of the most observant, simply by following each impulse with a contemptuous disregard either of the happiness of others or of their own reputation. We believe that we do him no wrong when we suggest that his policy, such as it is, rests on no better foundation than an hereditary reliance on fate or destiny, and an unscrupulous ambition, ready to take advantage of the misfortunes of others, wherever a victim may be found too helpless to avenge the wrong.

The session of parliament was chiefly occupied from this period in matters of domestic interest; a long and tedious session was wasted in abortive measures. A reform bill was, for the third time within the

last few years, rejected. And it will be a relief to sensible men of all parties if it be finally abandoned. Some changes might be made with advantage. No sweeping measure is required; the common sense of England has delivered in this verdict, and in the present generation is not likely to be reversed.

A wet, cold summer brought an indifferent harvest. It proves to be worse than was expected. Each market-day for some weeks the average price of wheat has risen, while that of this year's produce has as steadily declined: a great part of it being scarcely fit for use. Providentially the imports are enormous; for the skies, unpropitious in England, were bright in America and northern Europe. Thus the wants of mankind are made to bind the nations of the earth in one great brotherhood. Woe to the man who lightly puts asunder those whom God has thus joined together. A winter of unusual severity has now set in, and while we sit in peace around our Christmas hearth, the sharp frost and the ringing atmosphere seem to repeat the apostolic precept, to remember the poor. Thousands of our countrymen are unemployed at Coventry. Some blame their own misconduct; others, the French treaty; but whether their own strike, which tended so much to divert and even to destroy the ribbon-trade, or the French tariff, be to blame, it is not now the time for charity to ask. Our countrymen are perishing for want of food.

Out of many subjects of considerable interest at home, our space permits us to refer to but a few. We wished to have said something on the foul murder of the little child in its cot in the nursery at Road, chiefly with a view to the coroner's inquest. We can only say in general, that coroners' inquests, as now held, are too often a disgrace to the country. The institution itself is probably, without exception, the most ancient we possess. It is a proof of the high state of civilization at which our forefathers had arrived a thousand years ago—a state which no continental nation has yet attained to. Such was their love of justice, that these Anglo-Saxons, whom we are accustomed to regard as a half-savage race, could be trusted with the election of their own judges by the hundred or county; and the choice of their own jury, to whose verdict the guilt or innocence of the man suspected of murder was confided. It will be our endless disgrace if such an institution should fall into decay; and yet at present not one of our public tribunals is held, and not unjustly held, in such slight repute. We know there are exceptions, but as a rule the coroner is elected with very little regard to his fitness for the office. It is not unusual to find the coroner ignorant of the first principles of English law; he can neither examine a witness nor instruct a jury; and the jury are more ignorant than the coroner. They are selected from the lowest class of housekeepers, to whom a few shillings, the fee for their attendance, is an important object. Thus their verdict, if the case presents any difficulty, often sets common sense at nought, hushes up crime, and effectually thwarts the prosecution of the criminal. The brutal pugilistic combat in the summer has produced a rank crop of petty pugilists. We have counted up at least half-a-dozen cases in which death has been the consequence,—*accidental death*, of course.

In one instance, the wife of one of the combatants rushed in between them, with her infant in her arms. A blow, which one of the ruffians meant for the mother, killed the child; and this was *accidental death*, on the oath of twelve English jurors. In a legal point of view, the famous verdict of the Welsh jury, who found the sheep-stealer guilty of homicide, was not more preposterous. It set every principle of English law at naught. This is a great moral evil, and it is increasing. Nothing has so much tended, of late years, to diminish our English horror of spilling human blood, as the culpable levity with which coroners' inquests excuse the most abominable neglect, and sometimes even the most wilful violence. Lord Palmerston has intimated his intention of bringing in a bill to amend the law with regard to the election of coroners; and we hope he will do something at the same time to raise the standard of coroners' juries. Is it unreasonable to require that none shall be eligible for the office of coroner until he have passed an examination before the lord chief justice; and that none but persons of some education and of well-known character shall be competent to act as jurymen?

The unusually severe contest for the Boden professorship of Sanscrit, which has just occurred at Oxford, demands at least a share of our attention. Amongst the members of the university, there are those who, displeased with the repeated efforts to disturb the seat of Mr. Gladstone (whilst they deplore the fact, that a man of his unsatisfactory opinions should have been ever chosen to represent the university), are disposed to shelter themselves under the almost prescriptive right of a once-elected member to retain his seat. We have now, however, enjoyed the unwonted pleasure of witnessing a different division of opinion, and one which, if we mistake not, will do somewhat to restore a healthier feeling to the university at large. New combinations have been formed, and old ones strengthened. On the one side were ranged those who appreciated great industry, high character, and success in tuition, and who respected, moreover, the voice of his ancient pupils. Mr. Williams' claims were of a high order, and it is satisfactory to know that they were the hard-earned advantages of one whose religious sentiments leave nothing for us to desire. On the other hand was put forward a man of singular grasp of intellect, deep philological erudition, and great university influence. Connected at once with two of the most important colleges in Oxford, he could not but be very powerfully supported. And there were those who gave their votes for his successful opponent who felt, as they did so, how large a debt England owes to Germany in connection with the mission field, and with whom the names of Swartz, and Gerike, and Weitbrecht seemed to plead, and with whom, moreover, such pleading would have prevailed, had sufficient evidence been at command of the soundness in the faith of him who solicited their suffrages. As it is, the university has gained the presence of Mr. Williams, and has not lost that of Mr. Müller; and most sincerely do we pray, that whilst the former may exercise at Oxford a daily increasing degree of christian influence, the latter may so consecrate his vast talents to the service of Christ's church, that the highest, holiest theme upon which human tongue can dilate, may be illustrated and enforced, although it cannot be advanced, by his lofty intellect.

The last mails have brought us strange tidings from abroad. In New Zealand, a few savages keep our troops at bay, and spread terror through the colony. In China, a few English and French regiments march into Peking, after an easy victory over the Tartar army, and dictate a peace on their own terms, in his own capital, to the sovereign who boasts himself the master of one-third of the whole human family. Of the merits of the treaty, we say nothing till more is known. A boundless field, however, seems to open, not less to British enterprise than to missionary exertions. From America the tidings are gloomy. It seems now to be almost past a doubt that some at least of the slave-holding states will secede. Nothing can exceed their violence, and we regret to say that the ministers of religion are doing their utmost to aggravate the mischief. We give an extract from a thanksgiving sermon, preached at New Orleans in the "First presbyterian church," by Dr. Palmer, on the 29th of November, as reported in the New Orleans "Witness and Sentinel," of the 1st of December. Having proved by various arguments that slavery is "a solemn trust which they are bound to conserve and perpetuate," he proceeds to say:—

"Now, in justice to myself, I must be permitted to make a remark before I close. But a few weeks ago, I counselled you, from this place, to avoid all precipitate action; but at the same time to take determined action—such action only as you felt you could take with the conscious support of reason and religion. I give that counsel still. But I am one of you. I feel as a Southerner. Southern honour is my honour—Southern degradation is my degradation. Let no man mistake my meaning, or call my words idle. As a Southerner, then, I will speak, and I give it as my firm and unhesitating belief, that nothing is now left us but secession. I do not like the word, but it is the only one to express my meaning. We do not secede—our enemies have seceded. We are on the constitution—our enemies are not on the constitution; and our language should be, if you will not go with us, we will not go with you. You may form for yourselves a constitution; but we will administer among ourselves the constitution which our fathers have left us. This should be our language and solemn determination. Such action our honour demands; such action will save the Union, if anything can. We have yet friends left us in the North, but they cannot act for us till we have acted for ourselves; and it would be as pusillanimous in us to desert our friends as to cower before our enemies. To advance, is to secure our rights; to recede, is to lay our fortunes, our honour, our liberty, under the feet of our enemies. I know that the consequences of such a course, unless guided by discretion, are perilous. Peril our fortunes, peril our lives, but, come what may, let us never peril our liberty and our honour. I am willing, at the call of my honour and my liberty, to die a freeman; but I'll never, no never, live a slave; and the alternative now presented by our enemies is secession or slavery. Let it be liberty or death!"

On the same day, Dr. Leacock, of "Christ's Episcopal Church," preaches in the same city, in the same strain; and he thus concludes. We copy from the "Daily Delta," a New Orleans paper, of the 30th of November last:—

"This argument, then, which sweeps over the entire circle of our relations, touches the four cardinal points of duty to ourselves, to our slaves, to the world, and to almighty God. It establishes the nature and solemnity of our present trust, to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, sachaged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it. This trust we will discharge in the face of the worst possible peril. Though war be the aggregation of all evils, yet, should the madness of the hour appeal to the arbitration of the sword, we will not shrink even from the baptism of fire. If modern crusaders stand in serried ranks upon some plain of Edraelon, there shall we be in defence of our trust. Not till the last man has fallen behind

the last rampart, shall it drop from our hands; and then only in surrender to the God who gave it."

And all this, and much more than this, because the United States have elected an anti-slavery president, who has not yet entered on his office. We can assure our American friends of the free states, and not a few we believe in the slave-holding states, who are shocked and disgusted with this violence, that they have the deep, respectful sympathy, and what they value more, the fervent prayers, of English Christians. We pray that God in his mercy may overrule this madness of the people of the South for good. The great American Union, and its prosperity, were never so dear to England as at the present time. We are persuaded that any real injury inflicted upon her would give us ten times more concern than her declaration of independence ever gave our forefathers. It is proposed to begin the new year with a day, or even a week, of prayer. America, we are sure, will not be forgotten.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

S. J. has been received.

A correspondent wishes to know whether it is a becoming thing for clergymen professing evangelical piety to form chess clubs, and meet at stated hours for the sole purpose of spending their time at chess. We leave the question with our readers. The bishop of Rochester, we perceive, has publicly censured clerical cricketers and archery men. Whether chess clubs are worse, or better, or purely indifferent, must be left, we believe, to each man's conscience in the sight of God.

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ON THE HABITUAL READING OF THE WORD OF GOD.

THE habitual reading of the Bible is one chief feature of Protestant devotion. As such it is recommended and inculcated, adopted and practised, wherever a religious life is proposed. But there are tendencies of thought in the present day, which seem not unlikely to depreciate this practice, to impair its authority, and diminish its prevalence. These tendencies are the rather to be noticed, because they might seem to be of a directly contrary kind. Theology, as a science, is less cultivated than it was. The activity of studious minds is mainly confined to the Scriptures themselves, applying to them the methods and resources of ingenious historical criticism, and interpreting their language by a painstaking and candid exegesis. We have been recently told by a writer in the "Essays and Reviews," that the study of the Bible is the great work of the coming age; and in so saying, he has told us the truth. The conviction of this truth is, however, perfectly compatible with the apprehension which has been already expressed; nay, it must itself suggest it. The use of the Scriptures for devotional purposes, and for the sustenance of spiritual life, is a totally distinct thing from their critical and exegetical study: and the turn which the latter study has now taken is calculated, in its *immediate* influence, to injure rather than promote the devotional use of the Bible. While the human element in the Scripture is undergoing a far more extended and searching investigation than heretofore, it is certain that, in some quarters, the recognition of the divine element has become more faint, and that there are, in consequence, indications of diminished confidence in their application to personal life, and to its daily spiritual necessities.

If these indications are not yet observed in the general Christian body, they are nevertheless too evident in those parts of it which are first affected by the ideas of the day, and which must in due time have the strongest influence on the rest. The rising generation of educated minds has been accustomed to

hear language in regard to the Bible, which is calculated to stimulate the interest of inquiry, but to impair the interest of faith; and the effects are not slow to appear.

In order to present the tendencies of thought of which I speak, with the greatest distinctness, I will quote a few remarkable words of an eminent French writer, a student of the history of religion and translator of the Book of Job, whose professed unbelief in the inspiration of the Scriptures permits him to speak without modification or disguise.

“La lecture habituelle de la Bible, conséquence nécessaire du système protestant, est-elle donc en soi un si grand bien, et l’Eglise catholique est-elle si coupable, d’avoir mis un sceau à ce livre et de l’avoir dissimulé ?

“Non certes, et je suis tenté de dire que le plus magnifique coup d’état de cette grande institution est de s’être substituée, elle vivante, agissante, à une autorité muette. C’est une admirable littérature sans doute que la littérature hébraïque, mais seulement pour le savant et le critique, qui peuvent l’étudier dans l’original et restituer leur vrai sens à chacun des curieux morceaux qui la composent. Quant à ceux qui l’admirent de confiance, le plus souvent ils y admirent ce qui n’y est pas ; le caractère vraiment original des livres de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament leur échappe. Que dire des personnes peu lettrées qui s’enfoncent sans y être préparées dans une aussi obscure antiquité ? Qu’on s’imagine le renversement d’esprit que doit causer à des gens simples et sans instruction la lecture habituelle d’un livre comme l’Apocalypse ou même comme le livre des Rois. Sans doute il vaut beaucoup mieux voir le peuple lire la Bible que ne rien lire ; comme cela a lieu dans les pays catholiques ; mais on avouera aussi que le livre pourrait être mieux choisi. C’est un triste spectacle que celui d’une nation intelligente usant ses heures de loisir sur un monument d’un autre âge, et cherchant tout le jour des symboles dans un livre où il n’y en a pas.” (*Etudes d’Histoire Religieuse*, p. 385.)

So speaks M. Ernest Rénau in his paper on Channing. Words not unlike them may here and there be heard amongst ourselves, though, for the most part, couched in the form of insinuation and implication, as being uttered in the midst of a people among whom the habit of private Scripture-reading is the strong support of piety, and a recognized influence on public opinion. It is not, however, intended, in making this quotation, to imply that opinions so advanced are common with us ; but only to show, by a strong example, how the critical study of Scripture may be recognized as an object of the highest interest, while its devotional use is slighted as unreasonable, or even pitied as absurd. So, in fact, it must be while the book is regarded from its human and not from its divine side, or (to use its own language) while it is “known after the flesh and not after the spirit ;” while it is contemplated as a collection of national literature, of monuments of ancient piety, and of records of the religious history of man,

but not as the word of the living God, gradually unfolded, finally completed, permanently fixed, and speaking to human hearts for ever.

It is certain that the Bible can only be fully understood by a right appreciation of both these aspects, and that the careful study of that which is human is fitted in itself to minister to the more enlightened apprehension of the divine word which is blended with it. But it is also certain that, while the former character of the book receives a close attention, the latter may be slighted, disparaged, or absolutely denied; and, as has been said, the tendency of thought in the present day is too evidently in that direction.

As far as that tendency may at any time be realized, in that proportion must the relations of Scripture to the church be changed. Its authority as the source of doctrine, its rights over the mind and conscience, must then disappear, and if any system of religion is to be maintained, it can only be by that "substitution" which M. Rénau so much admires as the great coup d'état of the church of Rome. It is a substitution acceptable on many accounts to sceptical minds, removing the authority which confronts them more into the region of human politics, and so enabling them more easily to excuse themselves for conforming to it, and to indemnify themselves by despising it. That is the feeling which underlies the preference for the more tyrannical yet more elastic system which the same author, a sufficient exponent of his class, repeatedly expresses.

"J'avoue que, pour ma part, j'accepterais plus volontiers l'autorité de l'Eglise que celle de la Bible. L'Eglise est plus humaine, plus vivante; quelqu'immuable qu'on la suppose, elle se plie mieux aux besoins de chaque époque. Il est, si j'ose le dire, plus facile de lui faire entendre raison qu'à un livre clos depuis dix-huit siècles." (p. 380.)

But if this book be acknowledged as the one written form of the word of God, no such substitution is needful, or permissible, for then its purposes are universal and perpetual. Though "closed for eighteen centuries," while the human mind has been in active progress, and fixed in an unchanging form, while the world has become an altered scene, it is always in advance of human progress, and is as much adapted to one age as to another. Moreover, as the word of the Father of spirits who deals with us, teaches us, and will judge us as individuals, it must be suited to the spiritual education of individual life, and for the spiritual satisfaction of individual hearts. That is what the Protestant system maintains, and therefore, as M. Rénau has said, "*the habitual reading of the Bible is a necessary consequence of the Protestant system.*"

It is so when the Protestantism is positive, not merely nega-

tive,—when it asserts the fulness of the divine gift, as well as rejects the usurpation which would restrict its use. If fears that we may fail in the former duty have now succeeded to fears that we might fail in the latter, it is the more necessary that those who entertain them should urge the claims and the fitness of the written word to be the close companion of Christian life. He who does so may seem to take for granted that which he ought to prove, namely, the character of the book of which he speaks. But, thank God! it is granted by the mass of those whom he addresses, and he is taking the very best means to preserve that state of things, and to obviate the influences which would undermine it. It is true that habits rest upon convictions, but it is also true that convictions are maintained by habits. The conviction that the Bible is the word of God for the education of the soul, will be more effectually maintained among us by the habit of its spiritual study than by any repetition of arguments in proof that this character belongs to it. And justly so; for in regard to the nature of things designed for practical use, experience is the satisfying test.

Now if we have in our hands a book in which God is speaking, the first principles of religion demand that it should be reverently used for the purpose for which it was given. That purpose might have been only to reveal some great truths beyond the reach of nature. It would then have been adequately accepted, if recognized as the public fountain and standard of doctrine. It would not have been adapted, and therefore not intended, for the daily use of individuals. But a glance shows us that it is a book not only for churches, but for men. The living human tone, the vast range of subjects, the infinite variety of application, the knowledge of and sympathy with the secrets of the heart, are among its most obvious characteristics. Its revelations of the mind of God are associated with all that is around and within us. Their light falls on the mysteries of nature and the history of the world—on character, experience, conduct, in fine, on all subjects with which we are morally and spiritually concerned. It is plainly fitted, it is therefore certainly intended, to be the companion of personal life, and the counsellor of individual hearts. If that is the intention of God, there is no doubt about the duty of man. Two facts are before us: that “all Scripture is given by inspiration of God,” and that “it is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction and instruction in righteousness;” and from the combination of these two facts there immediately results the duty of the habitual private reading of the Scriptures for the purposes of moral and spiritual life.

We have reason to be thankful that that duty is still so extensively recognized among us. Doubtless it is fulfilled, in many cases, with great want of intelligence and indistinctness

of purpose. Yet the man who reads his chapter (as probably he says his prayers) in a formal, unintelligent way, is offering a homage, though an ignorant one, to the will of God, and acknowledging the duty which the possession of the divine word lays him under, though the duty is ill performed. Even such cases are not to be adduced in disparagement of the practice; much less those of unlettered persons, whose ignorance of language and history leaves them under a thousand misapprehensions, but who nevertheless seek and find in those pages the teaching of their God. Many who are well instructed in accessories fall far behind them in these all-important points. It may be that both the confidence and the purposes with which the former persons approach the Bible are failing in the latter; and it will surely be so, when the critical study is pursued and the devotional use is neglected.

First, then, let every one who believes in the authorship and objects of the Bible keep these truths distinctly before him. Let him see that these convictions are active and wakeful. It is with opinions as with many other things. Left dormant, they languish; grown languid, they decay; and decaying vitality is easily destroyed. If the literature and spirit of our day tend to arrest our thoughts on the human medium through which the Lord has spoken, we must the more resolve that our thoughts shall not be so arrested. The real interest of that kind of inquiry itself arises from the relation in which the language and circumstances stand to the revelations which the Spirit of God makes through them, and which none but the Spirit of God can make. (2 Cor. ii., 10, 11.) We must evermore say to ourselves, "These are the true sayings of God;" we must recall the consciousness that the Holy Ghost speaks, that it is His meaning for which we inquire, His teaching on which we wait, and His purpose with which we concur.

An act which involves such a condition of mind as this ought certainly to have a place secured for it among the regular habits of life: and in proportion as this condition of mind is realized will this kind of Scripture-reading pass from the character of a traditional custom into that of a personal necessity, for it thus becomes *an act of converse with the mind of God*. True, it is also an act of converse with the minds of men, and men of no common mould, Moses, David, Isaiah, Paul—and there is a power and sweetness in that human companionship; but chiefly because it is a companionship in being taught of God: because with them as well as through them we receive communications, "not from the spirit of the world, but from the spirit which is of God, that we may know the things which are freely given unto us of God;" and that we also, like them, may "have the mind of Christ."

It may occur to some minds that this representation of

Scripture-reading, however it may apply to some parts of the volume, can hardly be maintained in regard to the whole, which comprises a large amount of matter through which divine teaching more scantily and imperfectly appears. It is indeed obvious that this teaching, if everywhere present, is not equally diffused, but tends to concentrate its light in certain parts of the volume, which thus become more glorious and more profitable. Yet the parts, so different in their value, are indissolubly united with each other, not only by a thousand outward relations, but by a secret internal life, which is recognized and felt by him who reads Scripture as a whole. It is with this book as with any other scheme and constitution of things: the several parts derive, from their relation to other parts and to the whole, a meaning and a value which would not appear to belong to them if viewed alone. The light that shines strongly in one place is reflected upon another. Words are interpreted by words spoken elsewhere, events by their relation to the progress of the kingdom of God, and characters by those principles of divine judgment which are furnished by the entire revelation. The habitual reader of Scripture, who reads with the consciousness of its unity, has all the advantage of this additional light, by means of which he finds himself in contact with the mind of God, where he would otherwise see only the difficulties of human words and the confusions of human conduct. It is, however, still true that he will be more distinctly sensible of that contact in some parts than in others; and the private use for spiritual profit of a book which is meant to answer such various ends in human history, evidently involves the application of judgment and the principle of selection.

But to return. If our private reading of Scripture be a converse with the mind of God, that is sufficient reason for its being habitual, and becoming part of our daily life; for it is then not merely a fitting observance, complete in itself, but an influence on the character, for which there is ever fresh occasion, and which acts with ever increasing power. There needs no proof that there is such power in these pages, or that there is such occasion in our condition for their habitual use: yet it may be well to advert to a few particulars in which these facts appear. We are looking at the Bible, not now as the source or as the warrant of faith, but as evermore ministering to continuous Christian life. Plainly it fulfils that office in the following ways:—

1. *As perfecting the impressions of truth.*

That, indeed, is a continuous work. Say that the elements of revealed Truth are simple and its outlines clear. Yet even these we slowly and imperfectly receive. We need to have them impressed upon us again and again, and deepened and fixed in our hearts by gathering them afresh from the mouth of the living God. But the teaching of the Bible is not confined

to elements and outlines. The range of truth is deep and high; its proportions are symmetrical, and its applications infinite. Only an habitual converse with the book can transfer to the mind these treasures of wisdom and knowledge, so as to fix, to arrange, and to expand them there. It is by little and little, and by such continual repetition as associates the Word with all our changes of feeling, and blends it with all our inward habits, that the great system of truth in Jesus Christ sinks and settles into the heart.

2. *As infusing the spirit of holiness.*

That spirit needs to be ever renewed, and ought to be ever increasing; and in the words of the Holy Ghost there is an effectual power to renew its daily decays, and augment its permanent growth. Converse with one who has influence over us, generally affects us in the temper and spirit of our minds even more than in our definite opinions. Books become the means of such converse, and exercise the same influence as far as the spirit of the author is in them; and there is no book in which this is so distinctly felt as it is in the book of God, which, by the wide range of its subjects and its latent provisions for all the experiences of man, attains in so singular a degree to the character of living converse. It not only contains the substance of truth, but exhales (as it were) its fragrance; and he who looks into the perfect law of liberty, and continues therein, breathes an atmosphere of righteousness and true holiness, by which his own nature is gradually impregnated. The spirit of the man feels the contact with the Spirit of God, and feels also its assimilating effects. This is the common experience of devout students of the Word, and becomes to them, perhaps, the strongest of all the reasons for its constant use.

3. *As regulating the particulars of conduct.*

A man may have decided on the general principles of his conduct, and entered on a general plan of life; but he will find his course full of particular emergencies which demand perpetual direction. Every day there are steps to be taken, and some moral choice must be made. Ever-changing circumstances make ever fresh demands upon a necessary and involuntary casuistry, in which the guiding principles are easily lost sight of, or seem no longer to apply. If means are wanted to preserve the soundness of moral purpose and the clearness of moral perception, to keep the great principles before the mind, and to supply the requisite admonitions and suggestions, none can be imagined more fitted for these ends than habitual converse with the word of God. "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my paths." It is not like the sunshine streaming around us whether we will or not. It is a *lamp* to be held in the hand, to be carried with us in the way that we take, of which the light must be turned on objects as we

encounter them, and which only perfectly illuminates our several successive steps.

To these instances of the way in which the habitual study of the written word tells upon our daily life, a few others may be added which more particularly connect themselves with the requirements of our present condition. Under this head we may consider the daily resort to the Bible as effectual for the following ends :—

1. *For correcting the tendencies of nature.*

The human heart inclines naturally to error and sin, “and this infection of nature remains, yea, in them that are regenerate.” We need then to be not only taught but reproofed, not only guided but corrected. How fully this service is rendered by the Bible its patient readers know. How often do they find themselves judged before it, their reasonings convicted of folly, their motives rebuked, their purposes disallowed! Again and again, in turning to the familiar page, have they seemed to hear the voice,—“Thou knowest not what manner of spirit thou art of—Thou savourest not the things which be of God, but those that be of men—This persuasion cometh not of Him that calleth thee.” This converse with the mind of Christ has in it a proper power to detect and shame the contrary tendencies of our own hearts, and to reanimate the better spirit, which was yielding to decay through our own carnal will or frailty.

2. *For counteracting the influence of the world.*

For nothing is there need of habitual resort to the Bible more plainly than for this. “These are in the world,” said our Lord, when appealing to the Father for the disciples whom He left. Deep compassion was in those words; for He knew all the dangers which that situation implied.

It is fit that we should know them too. Some, indeed, are obvious and tangible; but others are subtle and diffused, like that which lurks in tainted air, eluding our notice while it infects our frame. Such, indeed, is the atmosphere which we are breathing here. The course of things around us, the habits of thought, the characters, the ways with which we are familiar, the whole system of the world, are not according to the kingdom of God. They tend to disorder and undermine, to damage and destroy, the principles of Christian life. A perpetual antidote is needed, and in the written word it is provided. What power does the Christian find therein to counteract the influences by which his outer life is surrounded? His moral judgment, confused by what he has seen in the world (even in the religious world), is cleared again; his failing confidence in truth and goodness revives; the cheats of the world are exposed; things appear again in their true proportions, their real character, their eternal results. This is that “going into the sanctuary of God,”

which is so beautifully represented in the 73rd Psalm as the only restorative for a mind disordered by the spectacle which the world presents, and which suffices to place again upon a rock the feet that had well-nigh slipped. This resort is always open to those who know the hurtful influence of the world in which they live; and they will count it their safety and their happiness to frequent it daily.

3. *For interpreting the experience of life.*

An interpreter is needed. Life is a tangled web, a perplexity, a mystery. It often seems as if our affections were the sport of accident, and our destinies the subject of causeless and perpetual change. The thoughtless mind is borne, without plan or purpose, down the stream of circumstances,—now whirled round, now swept smoothly on, now dashed helplessly against opposing rocks. Not such is the voyage of life meant to be: not such will it be where there is the pilot and the chart; but as the one must be fully trusted, so the other must be constantly used. We speak now of what is needed, not by the thoughtless and the ignorant, but by those who know in general that there is a purpose in their appointed course, and a wisdom which guides their way. Yet, even with them, this is a consciousness often suspended, a conviction easily overborne, a knowledge which is hard to apply. How apt they are to sink into a state in which events come and go, meaning nothing and teaching nothing; in which opportunities are passed unperceived, the round of necessary duty is wearily and listlessly trodden, and the heart frets against discipline which is not understood, and trials which seem to come without cause. For all this the provision is at hand. The Bible is the book of *life*, in more senses than one. It teems with the varied forms of human experience, and places them all under the light of heaven. Even for this reason only it is plainly meant, not as the book of occasional reference, but as the habitual companion of life. Thus used, it explains as we go the meaning of events and the purpose of opportunities, and harmonizes the changes and chances of this mortal life into a fore-ordained scheme of spiritual training, full of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost. When we withdraw from the actual scenes of life to converse with the word of God, we rise to higher ground, and go up into a mountain apart. But it is an eminence from which we command the scene below. On each fresh occasion we experience again something of that clearing of the mental view which a living poet has gracefully described:—

“As from a mountain’s top the rainy mists of the morning
Roll away, and afar we behold the landscape below us
Sun illumined, with shining rivers, and cities, and hamlets;
So fell the mists from her mind, and she saw the world far below her

Dark no longer, but all illumined with love, and the pathway
Which she had climbed so far lying smooth and fair in the distance."

But we may also reverse our view, and say that, as the Bible is the interpreter of the experience of life, so the experience of life is the interpreter of the Bible. As circumstances arise, as feelings change, as the habits of thought and the tendencies of character are modified, as time develops new perceptions in the mind and new wants in the heart, so do our interpretations of Scripture enlarge and our personal commentaries accumulate. Responsibilities bring out the power of one passage, and sorrows that of another. Struggles with the world, conflicts with self, the shame of a fall, and the bitterness of sin, leave in clear light before our minds the words which we had scarcely noticed before. The sweet experience of mutual affection, married life, parental love, domestic happiness, add elucidations to the sacred page. A visit of death brings new discoveries; and in the darkened chamber its views of human life are recognized, and its deep consolations understood. The widowed heart finds sympathy and companionship where it had been missed in happier hours; and, in declining years and the season of decay, we read by the lights of evening things which the morning and the midday had failed to show. This wonderful and exquisite adaptation of the Book to the conditions of human life and the wants of the human heart, is best known to those who have tried it most, and is itself the strongest proof that the words are the words of God, and that He meant them to be the habitual counsellors and daily companions of individual life.

Still, we doubt not, many will revert to the thought that the perpetual going over again of that which is fully known must become a form, and partake of the nature of a superstition. Only those can think so whose condition of mind prevents them from appreciating such purposes and effects of devotional study of Scripture as have been already noted. But how many are there in that condition! How many of those whom we now hear urging that the Bible must be dealt with "like any other book," and who know that such use of any other book would be intolerable, and well-nigh impossible. Would that these men, and those that hear them, would give due reflection to this very fact, that human hearts do find in it the companion which they need, one that associates itself intimately with all their experience, and ever wears a freshness of aspect which only an inward life can supply.

Doubtless it is a remarkable thing to see men engaged through the successive days of successive years of a long-continued life with the same psalms and proverbs, the same parables and prophecies, the same histories and discourses. Yet even in the scenes of nature the same objects may be contemplated through a long life with ever-accumulating associations

and ever-growing interest. Here is one who sits in his own peculiar seat, and from the window of his home eyes the scene before him with "boundless love." Ask if he be not weary of looking continually on the same objects, in which nothing new can be discovered. He will tell you that, though he has been pleased to visit other scenes, he never feels at home but in this; and that, far from being of unvarying sameness, the life that is in nature makes it always new. The morning sun throws the lights on one side, and the shadow on the other side, of the church-tower and of the distant hills; the declining day reverses them. Now, the mists are rising in floating wreaths from the meadows; now, breadths of clear sunshine and shadows of clouds chase each other over the fields; now, the scene is swept by coarse and gloomy weather; now, it is radiant in the glory and stillness of summer. How he watches the returning seasons on the familiar trees,—the bare stems, the welcome buds, the full foliage, the sere and yellow leaf! And in what different moods has he looked upon the scene! It has associated itself with his sadness and with his joy, with his "sweet and bitter fancies." The recollections of life are in it. It speaks to him of other days and people who are gone. He sat on that hill-side in the enchantment of youthful emotion; he walked under those trees in a well-remembered hour; on that lawn his children played; at that gate he has watched their departure or welcomed their return; he has walked up that churchyard path with a breaking heart; and under those elms there are graves which, in his apprehension, have made the earth more holy.

Thus, in minds of a certain cast, the scenes of nature gather to themselves all the associations of life, harmonizing in their own perpetual changes with the changing feelings of the heart; and thus does the same field of vision become continually more full of hoarded interest and various suggestion. In a far higher sense, and in a far more general experience, it is thus with the Scriptures of God. There are still the same scenes, characters, words; but the life that is in them allies itself with our own in the manner and with the effects which have been described. It does so, that is, if our life be a life in Christ: not otherwise; for then it is not the life for which the Scripture is provided. The Spirit of Christ has prepared it for the servants of Christ. They alone are possessed of the principles of thought which open its varied treasures, and are leading the life the exigencies of which it is fitted to meet, and the experience of which it is fitted to guide. Let all who propose that life to themselves be faithful in the use of the help ordained for them. In so doing they will become fresh witnesses to the origin and purposes of the word of God. No arguments are so strong as the testimony of those who say, "Thy testimonies are my delight and my counsellors. Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage."

T. D. B.

DR. HOOK'S LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Dean of Chichester. Vol. I. Anglo-Saxon period. Richard Bentley, London, 1860.

LIVES of ancient saints and worthies have lately issued from the press in unusual numbers. With few exceptions they are fabricated from well-worn materials, presenting nothing new except the arrangement and the author's own reflections. Such works are often popular, and may be useful in their day; but their day is short, and they are soon forgotten.

The dean of Chichester's volume certainly does not belong to this class. It is the well-considered work of a laborious student and a fair scholar. It aspires, and not unreasonably, to something beyond an ephemeral existence. It professes to be something more than a mere record of the lives of individuals, many of whom even the high dignity of the metropolitan throne has not retrieved from insignificance. The prelate whose life is under review is made the centre of the piece; around him we see the ecclesiastical world revolve; and thus the work now presented to the reader becomes a history of the church of England. The idea, Dr. Hook tells us, presented itself to his mind at an early period of life, and now in his old age he resumes a task which he unwillingly relinquished, and which, he modestly says, "if it fail to afford amusement and instruction to others, will at least supply him with employment in the service of a Master who is not extreme to mark what is amiss."

This method of treating his subject has some advantages. It has this at least,—that when the subject of the biography happens to be an obscure person, or one of whom little is known, it gives the author a fair opportunity to make excursions into the more inviting fields of history. In truth, of the private lives of the Anglo-Saxon prelates there is little to relate. From the arrival of Augustine to the Norman conquest is a period of about six hundred years, during which thirty-four archbishops of Canterbury ruled the English church. The names of most of these are all that is recorded; around the rest some events of great importance cluster. Great assistance has been rendered of late years to those who would investigate this portion of our history, in the publication of the Saxon Chronicle, the Anglo-Saxon laws, the histories of Bede, of Florence of Worcester, and other reprints of early monkish writers hitherto inaccessible and almost unknown. Of all these Dr. Hook has availed himself. His volume is an original contribution to our ecclesiastical history. We have often had



occasion to differ from him, and may have again to do so; but we are not insensible to his merits as an author, and have no wish to understate them. For his own sake, it would have been as well, we think, that in his opening chapter he should have displayed something less of an irritable temperament. We are not aware that his invectives will fall with any crushing force upon his opponents, but they betray a bitterness which neither becomes his dignified position nor the mellow gravity of his years. They come with the less grace because Dr. Hook himself has not always been a pattern of meekness even to his own ecclesiastical superiors. We can remember when that gentle prelate, bishop Ryder, having expressed his intention to preside at a meeting of the Bible Society to be held at Coventry, Dr. Hook, who was then the incumbent of a church in that city, warned him off, in terms scarcely less offensive, considering the relation of the two parties, than any which may have been made use of by Dr. Hook's theological opponents against himself. The passage to which we refer is this:—

“What will the future historian have to say when the present has become a bygone generation? He will look, not to the action only, but to the principle from which it emanates. He will, on the one hand, admit that zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and for the maintenance of God's truth, is characteristic of the christian temper; but he will remark, on the other hand, that zeal without love ceases to be a christian grace, and becomes a diabolical passion. That passion, he will observe, is apparent in those malignant professors of godliness who, in times past, consigned a fellow-creature to the rack or the stake, for daring to differ from them in opinion. But he will point out the same malignant passion in the modern controversialists, who dip their pens in gall, or sharpen the arrows of a poisoned tongue, to wound another's feelings, to expose him to the hatred of his contemporaries, or to assassinate his character. He will be able to assert, indeed, that the state, in its enlightenment or its indifference, has refused to sanction the public execution of the heretic, real or reputed; but, adverting to the anonymous letters, and the many paragraphs or pamphlets issuing from the low press, with the single purpose of inflicting pain upon those *who venture to differ in opinion from the fanatical religious world*, he will come to the conclusion that the security we enjoy from personal injury is to be attributed less to the improvement of the religious temper than to the care of a well-organized police”!

A clergyman writing history teaches by example as much as if he were a parish priest; and the example of ill-temper in this introductory chapter is unfortunate. “In every age,” adds Dr. Hook, in the next paragraph, “including our own, as the poor will never cease from the land, so the hypocrite, the fanatic, the persecutor, and the fool will be found in the church.” Very likely: and the business of a wise writer, like that of a

wise preacher, is, we apprehend, not to scold and sneer at such, but with calmness and dignity to reprove and instruct, and, if possible, to reclaim them. We hope that Dr. Hook himself will see the propriety of removing these and some other offensive passages, which give to his work that appearance of prejudice and onesidedness which is its greatest fault.

There are other points on which we differ much from Dr. Hook; and some few in which his prejudices have so warped his judgment that, in his haste to crush an adversary, he has even misstated well-known facts. For instance, when he writes thus:—

“Still the progress of the Papal power was rapid and wonderful; and this must be attributed to that oneness in aim and act which is observable in all the Papal proceedings. So remarkable is this circumstance, that to it we may trace the Puritan notion, that by the Pope is meant an incarnation of the Evil one, who, from the time of the apostles to the present hour, has been actively employed in the destruction of souls, and in the elevation of himself to an equality with the Deity.”

Now, Dr. Hook knows perfectly well that the “Puritan notion” that the pope is “an incarnation of the Evil one,” or, to speak in language less ambiguous, and a great deal more correct, that the pope is Antichrist, has existed in the church at least from the beginning of the third century. He has a much higher reverence for the Fathers than we profess, and is, probably, as well acquainted with their writings. Were, then, the Fathers Puritans? We are not sure that the Puritans would have been proud of such an ancestry; but it is certain that on this point their doctrine was that which was both held and taught by the Fathers themselves; who speculated with as little reverence as John Bunyan upon “the number of the beast,” and fixed it with as much precision. They found it in the spiritual head of the Latin Church. It is to one of them, indeed, we owe the very first suggestion that the mystical number 666 has its solution in the Greek word for *the Latin man*, and *the Latin kingdom*. Was Irenæus a Puritan? and is it one and the same thing to believe that the pope is Antichrist, and to teach that he is “an incarnation of the Evil one?” If so, the Fathers are responsible for this folly, and not the Puritans, whose fault was, as we conceive, not that they pushed too far their war against the pope, but that they pointed their guns in a wrong direction, and wasted their strength in vain assaults upon “the Antichrist of Lambeth.” It is dangerous, we all know, to play with two-edged weapons, and Dr. Hook, stepping out of his way to cast a stone at the hapless Puritans, and fighting in the dark, has given a rash blow to some of their opponents. In truth, the dean of Chichester was not meant for a controversialist. When

he proceeds to the recital of facts, and his temper has had time to cool, he is pleasant and instructive; and we are able to walk with him, through a great part of his journey, without offence on either side.

We need not repeat what every reader knows, that the see of Canterbury was founded by Ethelbert, king of Kent, in 597, and that Augustine, an Italian missionary, was the first archbishop; Gregory the Great being then the sovereign pontiff. Christianity of some kind had long existed in Britain. Augustine was sent rather to restore a decayed church than to plant a new one; and two very interesting questions present themselves in connection with his life. First, what was the character of the religion which he found; and, secondly, what was the character of that which he introduced? Dr. Hook throws some light upon each of these considerations. The gospel had been originally introduced among the Celtic tribes long before the first invasion of the Saxons; but the Celtic Christians had no historians, or their histories have perished. The little we know of them is derived from the traditionary records of their conquerors, the Anglo-Saxons, and from a few stray sentences in some of the Latin Fathers. It is evident that the writers of the Saxon Chronicle, and the venerable Bede, could really know very little of the events which had taken place four or five hundred years before they were born. Their histories are now so ancient that we look upon them as contemporary, forgetting that when they speak of the ancient British church, they had far less acquaintance with it than we now have of the state of things in England two hundred years before the reformation; for they had neither books to consult, nor ancient monuments to guide them. They merely collected the floating fragments of tradition. Our knowledge of the primitive Celtic church of Britain is hopelessly imperfect. What we know is, in a great part, legendary, and the legends have been transmitted to us, though not by dishonest, by credulous and partial hands. Of the early history of Anglo-Saxon Christianity we know something more; for now the national historians begin to relate events which happened in their own days or which their fathers had told them. Their own language too had been employed by the actors, and the actors were their countrymen.

The Celtic Britons disappeared before the invading Saxons. In fact they had been exterminated, except the few that escaped to the mountains of Wales and the remote peninsula of Cornwall. Their dread of the conquerors must have been associated with every national feeling of hatred; and at first they made no effort to convert them. As quieter times succeeded and animosities cooled, friendly intercourse would arise. The races never intermixed, but some friendly relations were cultivated. At length the gospel glimmered amongst the savage Anglo-

Saxons; but only in the neighbourhood of the ancient Celtic churches, in the country bordering upon Wales, and in the midland of Mercia. Kent and Essex, and the whole eastern coast, the kingdoms of Kent and of the South Saxons, were purely heathen still. The religion of the Christians seems to have been very simple. The Celtic churches possessed the holy scriptures, and the monks of Bangor, the scribes of the church, had been well employed in multiplying copies of the inestimable treasure. The outline of the gospel story was generally known. A code of Christian morals, not perfect, but unspeakably pure and good, as compared with any pagan standard, was practised. But beyond a simple trust in Christ, as the great sin-offering, we shall look in vain either for accuracy or fulness in Christian doctrine. What might have been the fate of the primitive Anglo-Saxon church had it received no accession of fresh life, is of course mere conjecture. Possessed of the holy scriptures in the mother tongue, we cannot believe it would have perished; for in the whole history of the church of Christ not one such instance is on record. As peace was consolidated, and the island gradually returned to that state of civilization in which the Romans left it, analogy would lead us to conclude that the Scriptures would have proved themselves a well of water springing up unto everlasting life. Religion would have been purified, and its influence would have extended. The mission of Augustine was certainly disastrous in connecting us with Rome; it was probably a superfluous intrusion, effecting that by external force which would have been done by native missionaries; more slowly perhaps, but with less alloy, and ultimately therefore with better success.

Augustine himself was a good man, devout and earnest, weak and credulous, precisely such an agent as the more crafty Gregory would endeavour to find for such a mission. Dr. Hook says that he was "narrow-minded and sectarian." He converted and baptized the king of Kent; but we should have had a better opinion of his conversions if we had not been informed that the baptism of ten thousand men of Kent took place on the 25th of December, 957, before our English proto-prelate had been quite twelvemonths in his new diocese. St. Paul himself had no such triumphs. The day of Pentecost falls back into the shade. The successes of the Jesuits in India and Ceylon afford the only parallel. The British Saxon church received the new apostle with suspicion, and these proceedings would scarcely dissipate their fears. But the Witan had assembled. "The church had been established in the kingdom of Kent, although the idols and their temples were not yet destroyed; and when Christianity had been sanctioned by the king and the Witan, the whole mass of the people rushed to the waters of baptism, accepting individually the religion which had been adopted by the nation in its corporate capacity."

Still we are not indisposed to acknowledge the real good that was done by the Italian missionaries. They brought with them to the court of Ethelbert gentler manners, and habits of refinement unknown before. Their religion embraced the great essentials of salvation, mixed with much that was frivolous, but not yet with much that was essentially corrupt. Augustine's correspondence with Rome, of which Dr. Hook gives several specimens, distinctly shows, that with great devotion he had some vanity, and a baby's mind. We assign its full force to Dr. Hook's caution not to mistake words for things; not, for instance, to connect with such names as pope, monk, and monastery, the ideas belonging to a later age, which have made them justly detestable to us. A Saxon monk was not necessarily a bachelor, or even a priest. A monastery was a calm retreat, dedicated to quiet, to study, and to the laborious transcription of the Scriptures and other records, sacred and profane; and the pope himself was not yet a Hildebrand. Dr. Hook transcribes into his pages a letter from Gregory the Great, in which he describes, and holds up to imitation, the conduct of a poor blind man, who hired a scholar to read to him every day some portion of the word of God: such was his diligence, says his holiness, that he was at length able to repeat from memory the whole of the Sacred Scriptures. The story, though told by a pope, is worthy of a "puritanical" Tract Society. How far such popes deserve to be had in honour by modern theologians of the Roman or the Romanizing schools, it is for themselves to determine. The Italian missionaries were not, in the modern sense, Papists, or even good Roman Catholics. If they were to reappear at Rome, they would be hunted down for heresy. But after all, enough remains to justify the coldness with which it is admitted the Anglo-Saxon Christians received the mission of Augustine, and to justify us, we think, in the expression of a doubt whether, upon the whole, it has been advantageous or disastrous to the Christian faith in England.

With much real piety there was also some love of learning in those primitive times. Schools were soon founded. Nothelton, archbishop in 735, is supposed, though without authority, to have been educated at St. Augustine's college in Canterbury. Dr. Hook gives us some interesting particulars of the amusements of the undergraduates of those days:—

"The north of England even then took the lead," he tells us, "if not in fox-hunting, at least in following the harriers; and we have no reason to suppose that the students of Canterbury were far behind them. Writing to the monks of Wearmouth, Alcuin obliquely accuses them, as William of Malmesbury expresses it, of having done the very thing he exhorted them not to do. 'Let the youths be

accustomed to attend the praises of our heavenly King; not to dig up the burrows of foxes, or to pursue the winding mazes of hares."

We have some proofs still in existence of their love of *punning*, and some indifferent Latin verses show their scholarship. Those who sought honours in the school at Canterbury were drilled in prosody and verses. Dr. Hook quotes from William of Malmesbury an account of his own studies, giving a prominence to verse-making which ought to gratify the most devoted Etonian:—

"Even then the grand principle of education was laid down which is still the characteristic of English schools and universities—it was not to impart knowledge, but to exercise the mind; not to sow the land, but to plough the soil; not to burden the memory, but to give that vigour to the intellect which might enable it, in after life, to realize information for itself, and turn it to a good account."

Some of our young clergy of mediæval tastes have lately appeared in the surplice "bearded like a pard," others with flowing locks upon their shoulders, to the scandal of all decent people who do not wish to see the pulpit rivalling the glories of the barber's shop-window. However, there is nothing new under the sun; not even this latest of clerical fopperies. It existed in the Anglo-Saxon church, and it is well for our mediæval friends that, instead of a mild rebuke in a bishop's charge, they are not exposed to Anglo-Saxon discipline. Under the year 668, monk Hadrian "exhibited a certain want of orthodoxy in his tonsure; and the flowing locks at the back of his head were absconded and the licentious prolixity of his beard curtailed by scissors, probably yielded by archdeacon Boniface." "I venture," Dr. Hook adds in a note, "to mention this as a probability, because it is a certain fact that, a few years after, the superintendence of this portion of the clerical toilet devolved, not on the barber, but on the archdeacon. Clerks that wear long hair are to be clipped by the archdeacon, even against their will. (Archbishop Richard's Canons, 1175.)" Our bearded friends of mediæval sympathies may learn from this, what they might learn from many another instance, how little their circumstances would be improved if their fond wishes were granted. Like a stubborn people of old, they have "many a time in their hearts turned back again into Egypt;" once there, they would soon discover that it was, with all its leeks and flesh-pots, a sore house of bondage both to body and soul.

Dr. Hook considers that piety and learning continued to increase in England till the beginning of the ninth century, or about the year 822. Amongst the causes of its decline, he places the licentiousness of the courts of Ethelbald and Offa:—

"From the court, corruption descended to the monasteries. It had been the wisdom of Theodorus to convert the chief monasteries into

schools of learning, and these institutions were, for a season, a blessing to the land; but when zeal for learning declined, they became very much what the colleges would be in our present universities, if they were no longer places of education. From the beginning the monasteries of England had, with few exceptions, been free, and in their corruption they became lax. With laymen chiefly for their abbots, they became at first agreeable country houses, replete with all the appliances of learning and pleasure; but afterwards they gradually degenerated into abodes of idleness and dissipation. Incentives to evil are sure to succeed rapidly on the removal of intellectual restraints or religious excitement. The demand for monastic reform was everywhere on the increase among that portion of the community which was still earnest in the cause of vital Christianity and the religion of the heart. It was first raised by Bede; it was repeated by Alcuin; it was urged in the time of Wulfred. But among the evils of the time, the inactivity of the primate, and, in consequence, of his suffragans, was one of the greatest. We do not indeed find complaints made of the rapacity and injustice of the English prelates,—charges brought against the French hierarchy in its dealings with monastic institutions,—but there was a carelessness and negligence in enforcing the regulations enacted with a view to reform, from time to time, in the provincial councils. Religion itself was emasculated, as we gather from the popular legends; and instead of forming that manliness of character which nerves the true Christian to acts of noble daring, superstition brought down the once high-spirited Saxons to a condition of imbecility which would have incapacitated the English race from becoming what we see it to be, if the arm had not been nerved to resist the horrors of a foreign invasion; and if new blood had not been infused into the veins by the fusion of Danes with Anglo-Saxons, through a peaceful process, to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer.

“But that degeneracy in animal courage, which rendered the demoralized Anglo-Saxons an easy prey to the Dane, led, nevertheless, to one great result. The incapacity of the rulers, and the effeminacy of the people, enabled the noble few, under the leading of a clear-sighted, energetic, and generous prince, to bring the discordant elements of the heptarchy into harmony and order, and in the king of Wessex to establish a monarchy in England.”

Many obscure names occur about this period in the archiepiscopal genealogy. We quote with pleasure the following just remarks; with this reserve, however, that every Christian (much more those in exalted stations) should cause his light to shine before men, and that a retiring Christian may, in times of danger, be justly chargeable with cowardice:—

“But we avail ourselves of this pause in our history to remind the reader, that in estimating the religious character of every age he must, if he be a Christian, exercise that faith, of which charity is always a component part. The Christian believes that, whatever may be the outward circumstances of the church, the spirit of the holy God is ever comforting and elevating the unknown souls of thousands,

who, through the troubled sea of controversy, not unmoved, not without much of care and watchfulness, steer right onward, their compass being an honest heart and upright intentions. A great part of the effects of the gospel must always remain hidden from the eyes of the majority of men, and can find no place in history. They are not made known to us by the biographers of the present age, or the legends of ages past. When a man knows that he is an object of admiration to those around him, it must always be very difficult for him to preserve his christian simplicity of character; and legends and biographers, very useful in their way, record, for the most part, the modes of action and the death-bed scenes, which are more or less connected with the fanaticism of the age or the conventionalities of the existing religious world. The parochial minister of any large experience, must remember innumerable instances in every class of society, among the high and the low, the rich and the poor, of the truly christian manner in which suffering has been endured and the temptations of prosperity resisted; in which self-denial has been exercised, and all the virtues inculcated in the sermon on the mount have been observed by persons whom the world at large has regarded as very common-place Christians, and fanatics have contemned as scarcely Christians at all. It is in little unrelatable facts of pure disinterested piety in persons not canonized in their life, or in their death, that the real power of the gospel may be discovered by the eye which looks beneath the surface."

Thus we are brought down to the invasion of the Danes and the reign of king Alfred, of whose court Dr. Hook gives us some graphic sketches; atoning for the want of interest in the principal figures by fastening our attention on the surrounding groups. It is a happy remark, that the mingled barbarity and grandeur of king Alfred's court probably finds its counterpart in the camp at Aldershott, where horn lanterns, and a truss of straw for a carpet, would be no mean luxuries in a tent through which the wind blows and the rain is dripping; while, upon the soldiers' table are displayed perhaps some of the choice and costly ornaments of a ducal home;—barbarity and splendour strangely intermixed.

Hitherto we regard the Canterbury mission as a foreign institution imposed upon our native church. Our view of the subject may seem peculiar; but we believe that it will be substantiated by an appeal to facts. And we are further disposed to maintain, that to whatever extent it influenced the character of the Anglo-Saxon church in matters of doctrine, its influence was pernicious. It was the introduction of the Romish leaven. It found the church in England simple, coarse, and ignorant; but in doctrine incorrupt, and in discipline free, yet not unscriptural. By slow degrees the Italian mission undermined its purity and destroyed its independence. There were, in so long a conflict, many chances and changes. The contest was often carried on upon subsidiary or accidental questions. Sometimes

the parties, as often happens in a protracted contest, seem to have changed places ; and a native British archbishop is more patriotic and less superstitious than his opponents of the Saxon church. But on each side the false move is soon discovered, and the warfare returns to its natural character. It was not terminated until the Saxon church was in effect destroyed ; and, under Odo and Dunstan, a new institution—the creature of the church of Rome—took possession of its deserted altars.

The ferocity of the Danes in their first incursions surpassed, if possible, the ferocity of the Saxons. All England was now a christian land, and the Danes were pagans. It was a war of religion, as well as a war of races and of conquest. Where the Saxons gained a victory, they left the figure of a cross incised upon the chalk cliffs ; where the Danes conquered, they cut their pagan emblem of a horse ; and there they continue to this day, memorials of the fierce struggles of an age long passed away.

Odo was a Dane of noble birth,—a Danish savage, converted by an Anglo-Saxon missionary, and, in consequence, disowned and outlawed by his pagan father. Athelm, one of Alfred's nobles, became his protector, and in Athelm's train he paid a visit to Rome, commissioned by the king to carry certain presents to the pope. What happened on the journey is thus related :—

“ The calderman was seized with a dangerous disease on his journey, and remained for a few days in extreme danger. He desired his attendants to proceed on their way, that the king's business might not be hindered. Odo alone refused to leave his paternal friend, and waited upon him with all the kindness of a nurse. Athelm grew worse and worse, and Odo was incessant in prayer. He seems to have excited himself in his devotions to that state of fervour of which we have had examples, of late years, in the history of Methodism ; and all night long was the poor youth upon his knees, imploring the divine aid in behalf of his dying benefactor. But, if exertion without prayer is presumption, prayer without exertion is mockery ; and Odo, though at this time an enthusiast, was still a practical man, who believes that God acts through the employment of secondary means. When he rose from his knees, and saw his patient sinking, he ministered to him a strong stimulant. It happened to be the very remedy that the case required, and had immediate effect. Athelm was composed to rest : he woke, feeling the disease had left him ; he grew stronger every day ; and when he joined his companions, he presented Odo to them as a *Thumaturgus*. ”

This is disgraceful to the dean of Chichester. Could we suppose that he himself believes what he has written we should speak of him only with pity or with contempt. But we are persuaded that he does not believe it. We choose, in justice to himself, to make the appeal from Dr. Hook coarsely sneering

at methodists and puritans, to Dr. Hook the vicar of Leeds, devoutly preaching on the benefits of prayer; devoutly kneeling by the sick man's bed; and urging, both from the pulpit and with his pen, the efficacy of public, social, and private prayer. He himself, on calmly reading it, will not venture to justify either this, or some similar passages scarcely less offensive, with which he has taken pains to disfigure his work. He can only do so by unsaying all that he has taught, and reading backwards all that he has written. Had these sentiments fallen from any other man, the dean of Chichester would have been amongst the first to remind him that a flippant tone on sacred subjects is a sure mark of a mind extremely vulgar, or extremely prejudiced: that a whole night spent in prayer, when watching for the life of a dear friend, and deprived of sleep, is far from being an evidence of fanaticism; and that to deny that God, to whom prayer is offered, may suggest to the worshipper the right method of treating his friend's disorder—the medicine to be administered, or even the right moment of administering it—is to deny the efficacy of prayer itself; and, lastly, that to get rid of the evidence by resolving the answer into a mere "it happened," is a course of proceeding of which an honest mind ought to be ashamed. All this Dr. Hook both knows and teaches; but the fact is, that when the spectre of a methodist or a puritan crosses his path his intellect is at once disturbed, and rather than miss the opportunity of showing his hatred, he will publish himself to the world the most contradictory of men. If there be any meaning in this disgraceful paragraph, it is that Odo was "an enthusiast," "a poor youth," to be pitied for his folly; for he was "upon his knees all night long imploring the divine aid on behalf of his dying benefactor." But fool as he was, this same Odo was still "a practical man;" so, his good sense returning, he rose from his knees, and did that which he ought to have done long before—he gave his friend a dose of physic: "it *happened* to be the very remedy the case required, and had immediate effect." A sentence most unworthy of an English clergyman; as, indeed, is the whole paragraph; nor is it retrieved by the general, and (in connection with what goes before and with what follows after) the perfectly unmeaning statement, that "if exertion without prayer is presumption, prayer without exertion is mockery;"—a sentence, the first clause of which is always true, the latter very often false.

If this story be true, there was a time in Odo's youth when he commands respect as a Christian, at once humble, fervent, and affectionate. In Odo's after life we find very little to admire. He was born of Danish blood, and (here we agree with Dr. Hook) "there remained in him much of the barbarian to the last." He was exalted to the mitre, and he wore beneath it the heart of a soldier and adventurer. In 926 he was conse-

crated to the diocese of Ramsbury, merged soon after the conquest in that of Salisbury. He was present, eleven years afterwards, at the battle of Brunanburgh, and distinguished himself upon the field. We are not sure whether Dr. Hook writes seriously or in jest when he excuses this union of the military and clerical characters. If he were not known to be so very good a churchman we should almost suspect him of irony :—

“ A bishop in those days did not consider a command in the field of battle more incompatible with his sacred office than we should regard a seat in parliament at the present time. A bishop is required in parliament to stand as a polemic, to raise his voice in defence of Christianity against the increasing forces of the infidel, and to defend his flock against the onslaught of the pagans. A bishop of the tenth century uplifted his right hand, and girded on his armour, using not a sword indeed, for that was contrary to clerical etiquette, but a yet more formidable weapon, a club studded with spikes.”

Odo was translated to the primacy and enthroned at Canterbury in the year 942 ; he died in 958. But it was in these sixteen years that the blow was struck, which, under his successor Dunstan, was fatal to the Anglo-Saxon church. He introduced the Benedictine order ; sternly forbade marriage to the priesthood ; lorded it over a young and inexperienced sovereign ; and brought the old English clergy, the “ secular party,” into subjection to the monks, the obsequious tools of Odo and the pope. Dunstan completed the nefarious enterprise ; and therefore Odo and Dunstan have descended to us, embalmed in lying chronicles of popish annalists, as the greatest of Anglo-Saxon saints. Under Dunstan the ancient minsters were transmuted into cathedrals. Instead of clerical colleges, they became the centres of monastic discipline ; and the cathedral clergy, if they did not divorce their wives, and submit in every respect to the monkish discipline, were degraded and expelled. Dr. Hook assigns to Odo the first rank amongst ecclesiastical statesmen, such as Becket, Wolsey, Laud, Richelieu, and Mazarin. This distinction, he well deserves. Osborn, a monkish writer, chants his praises to the same strain :—“ There was no man in all England who, without his permission, could move hand or foot.” But woe to the church of Christ under such a ruler !

The story of Dunstan is too well known to be repeated here ; nor has Dr. Hook been able to place it in a new light, or to add to our previous information. He completed the degradation of the Saxon church, and harnessed it to the pope's chariot. A reign of darkness set in, which went on deepening for full five hundred years. The clouds then gradually broke ; but more than two centuries again elapsed before the day dawned at the reformation. Odo and Dunstan may have been good men ; we have no reason to question the sincerity of either ; only that

Dunstan appears to us to have been frequently insane; but they were the agents of incalculable mischief. There are no two names in our ecclesiastical history to whom English Christians owe so little of the respect which is due to the memory of departed goodness.

We lay down Dr. Hook's first volume with contending feelings. As the historian of a period of our history which has had some charms for ourselves, we admire his diligence, and admit not only his accuracy and research, but the skill with which he has disentangled obscure and complicated events, and the interest which he has thrown over those portions of the story which, in other hands, might have been dry and barren. We should have been glad to have awarded much higher praise. Occasionally we meet with serious reflections by no means commonplace; such as ought to occur, and that naturally, in a religious history, composed by a religious man. There are others, as we have seen, which leave us at a loss to decide whether his volume ought to find its way to the tables of our readers, bearing in mind that the young are, for the most part, the readers of history. At any rate, we must caution Dr. Hook, before he again denounces the prejudices of other men to take some pains to subdue his own.

ITALY IN 1860.

A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglass. 1860.

Garibaldi: an Autobiography. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. 1860.

L'Empereur François Joseph I^r et L'Europe. Paris. 1860. *The Times.* 1860.

The News of the Churches. 1860.

Private Correspondence. 1860.

In the year 753 before the Christian era, by the common computation, a man of strong and energetic mind, of whom many fabulous stories were told, laid the foundations of Rome, and soon peopled it with Greeks, Latins, Tuscans, Albans, and many others, of indifferent character, who cast in their lot as adventurers with him. When the city was built, the first act of the founder was to dedicate it to "the god of war;" and almost his first thought was, how to reduce the rude masses of his people to discipline and order.

To grant a constitution seems to have been his plan. Without this, his rough and untamed people—many of them like the

Lazzaroni of the present day—would have been too much even for the mind of Romulus. Others besides Remus might have leaped in derision across his incipient fortifications, and he himself might have been forced to find a refuge a second time among the wolves and the shepherds of the Apennines. But his mind grasped the idea that to make his people respectable he should give them a position commanding respect; and in order to make them obey the laws, he should give those that were competent among them an interest in framing those laws. Accordingly we find the infant state governed by the king, the senate, and the assembly of the people; and, with modifications as to the title of the chief magistrate, king, consul, dictator, emperor, this was, in the main, the constitution of Rome during the days of her ancient glory. Under this, Italy became a united empire; by the armies of this, proud Carthage was subdued, and Scipio's victories spread over western Europe; under this, Julius Cæsar penetrated to Britain, and was a conqueror on the banks of the Nile; and under this, the emperor Constantine raised the standard of the cross, "*in hoc vince*," and protected and cherished the church of Christ, in the wide-spread empire of Rome.

But other days came. A despotic rule superseded the constitutional—sometimes milder, sometimes sterner,—till, as years rolled on, the Roman empire declined and fell; and in this, our nineteenth century, we find one of its fairest portions—the seat of government in days of yore—the peninsula of Italy, under the despotic sway of a pope, and of the houses of Hapsburg, Bourbon, and Lorraine.

If that pope, and if those houses, had granted "the constitution" mildly requested, in the first instance, by their people, and often promised by themselves, central and southern Italy, at least, might still be under their rule. But their eyes were blinded; another principle was at work; and the good providence of God was preparing the way for Italy to be "free from the Alps to the Adriatic;" and that civil and religious liberty should be established on a solid basis, from Capes Passaro and Spartivento to the summit of the Splügen and the Julian Alps.

In looking at the Italian question, we intend, in the first place, to review the state of things at the beginning of 1860; then to glance at the occurrences of that eventful year; and, thirdly, to give some report of the religious state of the country, and its probable future as regards the gospel of Christ.

When the sun rose on the 1st January, 1860, many clouds were obscuring the expected future of Italy. It is true the Austrians were driven beyond the Mincio, and men breathed freely in Lombardy. Farini was established as lieutenant of the king of Sardinia over Parma, Modena, and the Romagna; the army of central Italy was well organized under general Fanti; and the provisional government of Tuscany, as well as

the people, were crying out "Viva Italia! Viva Vittorio Emmanuelle!" though a transalpine influence, for reasons known only to itself, prevented the Prince of Carignano from presiding, in the king's name, over the affairs of that state. But a powerful army was in Naples and Sicily, ready, at a moment's warning, to take the field; and Francis II. seemed at least as unyielding in reality, and as arrogant, as Ferdinand, when, in reply to good advice from Louis-Philippe of France, he said, "the Bourbons are too ancient a race to consent to innovations." Strange rumours, too, were afloat about Austrian interference in the south, and respecting the carrying out of the plan proposed in high quarters for the federation of the Italian states. Then the papal army was to be greatly increased—Germans, Swiss, and other foreign mercenaries were to be enrolled, and an Irish contingent was promised by Cardinal Wiseman. The Perugian massacre, too, was fresh in the memory of more than widows and orphans, and the population of whole towns and villages were in dread of the worse than heathen barbarism of "his holiness the pope." And besides all this, the French emperor, just returned from his triumphs at Magenta, Palestro, and Solferino, the emperor who fought "for an idea," had not only suddenly and rashly concluded the peace of Villafranca, with clauses in the treaty disastrous to the rising prospects of Italy, but had also demanded Nice and Savoy as payment for his services, till then considered disinterested and free.

But further changes were to take place, and brighter days were to come. Early in the year a strange man appeared on the scene—Giuseppe Garibaldi—who had commanded some irregular troops in the Lombardo-Venetian campaign of 1859, and who had recently been returned by his native county, Nice, as deputy to the parliament at Turin. Garibaldi was born in 1807, in the city of Nice. He was the son, and the grandson of sailors; and was educated as well as the slender means of his parents would allow. From early years he was practical in all he did. "I learned gymnastics," he said, "by climbing among the shrouds, and in stepping along the ropes; the use of the sword I learnt in defending my own head . . . and equitation by following the example of the best horsemen in the world, the Gauches." His life up to this time has been one of the most remarkable on record—a life of daring adventures, of hairbreadth escapes, and of singular disinterestedness in all that he has done. We find him at one time a sailor, then a voluntary assistant in the cholera hospital at Marseilles, then a private tutor, a corsair in the *La Plata*, a bullock drover, a commercial agent, a soldier! Two illustrations will serve to show his character as a soldier, even before he displayed the talents of a general on his loved Italian soil. He was in the service of one of the small, and then undefined, South American

republics, of which Montevideo was the chief town. He had raised, equipped, and then commanded an Italian legion. In one of the many battles—the passage of the Bayada—the legionaries had shown great steadiness and bravery, and the officer who made the report to the Montevidean general Paz, remarked, “They fought like tigers.” “That is not to be wondered at,” replied the general, “they are commanded by a lion.” On another occasion the affair of the Salto Sant’ Antonio, a brave trooper of the enemy’s cavalry, seeing Garibaldi and his men grouped around a shed with a straw roof, which, though no defence against balls, was yet a shelter from the scorching sun, took a firebrand in his hand, clapped spurs to his horse, and, regardless of danger, galloped through the midst of the Italian legion, and cast his firebrand at the roof of the shed, thinking to dislodge the entire group. The Italians were about to fire—one moment more and he would have been dead—but Garibaldi cried out, “Spare brave fellows like him, they belong to our race;” and no one fired.

In the beginning of 1847 there appeared something like the dawn of constitutional liberty in Italy. But like the beautiful *aurore borealis*, the accompaniment of the magnetic storm, which lights up the heavens, and often flatters the traveller with the hope that day is near, and then recedes, and leaves him in darkness again; so this apparent dawn was but the accompaniment of that rising political storm which in the few succeeding years swept through the mountains and valleys of the peninsula, sometimes from one quarter, sometimes from another, and ended by snapping in the midst, at Novara, the tree of liberty planted by Charles Albert of Savoy. Garibaldi left Montevideo to take his part in the struggle, and reached his native land; and as he neared the coast he hoisted the tri-coloured flag of Italy, improvised, as he says, “with half a bed sheet, a red scarf, and the remains of the green facings of our uniforms.”

Simple and guileless as Garibaldi ever was, and we hope ever will be, he imagined that the liberal antecedents of Cardinal Ferreti formed a guarantee for liberal institutions, when he, as Pio Nono, put on the triple crown; but he did not know the pope, or popery. He wrote to Pio Nono explaining his views; of course, he never received a reply.

Discouraged, but not cast down, he volunteered his services to Charles Albert. Afterwards he joined the Milanese army, then accepted an invitation to go and help the Sicilians; but gave up his designs in that quarter, and arrived in Rome just as the triumvirs had resolved to repel the advance of the French army of occupation, sent by the French republic, and its dictator, general Cavaignac, “to protect the material interests and the morals of the Romish population.” We must here be allowed to insert a description of Garibaldi, given by an eye-

witness during the siege of Rome :—"He is a man of middle height, his countenance scorched by the sun, but marked with lines of antique purity. He sat his horse as calmly and firmly as if he had been born there; beneath his hat, broad-brimmed, with a narrow loop, and ornamented with a black ostrich feather, was spread a forest of hair. A red beard covered the whole of the lower part of his face; over his red shirt was thrown an American poncho, white, lined with red, like his shirt. His staff wore the red blouse, and afterwards the whole Italian legion adopted that colour."

Garibaldi appeared again as the captain of guerilla troops—the "Cacciatori" of the Alps—in north Italy in 1859, and again as the liberator of southern Italy in 1860. At the request of the authorities, the society called "*La Nazione Armata*" was dissolved by Garibaldi early in January, when he issued a proclamation calling for contributions to purchase a million of muskets, saying, "If, with a million of muskets, Italy should not be able to arm a million of soldiers in the face of the stranger, it would make one despair of humanity. Let Italy arm and she will be free!" In January also Count Cavour returned to office—the zealous and indefatigable statesman, who loves his king and his country, and whose prudent management came in at the right moment, in the providence of God, to save Italy from a worse tyranny than that of pope or petty princes—the tyranny of red republicanism, whose type was seen in Robespierre, and Danton, and Marat in the last century, and whose advocates might be found, in the last year, searching among the *débris* of fallen Italian dynasties, for a trap to catch Giuseppe Garibaldi! Cavour returned to office, and though active and energetic as ever in the cause of constitutional liberty, he gave grave offence in Italy, as well as to honest out-spoken men in England, by his conduct regarding the cession of Nice and Savoy.

Garibaldi spoke out too, and resigned, of course, his post as deputy for Nice.

The night was fine on the 8th of May; the moon was at the full, and the almost tideless waters of the Mediterranean were still and clear, as a large party assembled at a villa on the seashore, a few leagues distant from Genoa. The villa filled; the various alleys of the spacious garden were speedily filled also. Nearly 2,000 men were there,—volunteers. Garibaldi himself at their head; and as they marched to the beach, carrying their muskets and cases of ammunition, low whispers might be heard of "*Italia Unita e Vittorio Emanuele*." An eye-witness writes: "Every one was serious; there were no cries, none of the enthusiasm of parade; but on every countenance the expression of strong energy and deep conviction. It is only when at sea that Garibaldi will issue his orders; he must have some

brilliant plan in his head, for his countenance was radiant." The boats put off; two steamers were seized, the Lombardo and the Piemonte. We do not at all excuse this act of piracy, but we may quote the words of the leading journal: "The man, the cause, and the circumstances are so extraordinary, that they must be judged by themselves."

The spirit which animated the volunteers may be guessed from "the order of the day" which was written by Garibaldi on board the Piemonte: "No rank, no honour, no recompense is held out to these braves (the Cacciatori of the Alps). When the danger is past they will return to domestic life; but when the hour of battle strikes, Italy sees them again in the front ranks, cheerfully volunteering to shed their blood for her. The war cry of the Cacciatori is the same that resounded a year since on the banks of the Ticino—Italy and Victor Emmanuel! This cry will strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of Italy." Count Cavour had not been informed of this expedition. Garibaldi had not forgotten the cession of Nice and Savoy.

The Piemonte and Lombardo slipped from their moorings and steered for the *riva di Levante*, the eastern coast of the Gulf of Genoa. The moon was still bright as "the Cacciatori" looked back at the snows of the maritime Alps, and doubtless many a thought wandered across those snows to home with all its fond endearments; but patriotism was the dominant feeling, and the fire burned in their bosoms till their fatherland was free! And now the little squadron coasts the *riva di Levante*, "the shore of the rising sun;" and as the tints of morning appear behind the distant Apennines, some minds on board might perhaps have thought of that light of religion and of liberty which is now dawning o'er the land. The volunteers from other places were ready at appointed spots along the coast, and were picked up by the squadron as it passed. The next day an order from Turin was received at Genoa to prevent the embarkation, and to seize all arms which might be found.

On the 11th of May the volunteers landed at Marsala, and demonstrations took place there, and at Palermo. In vain the viceroy, Prince Castelcicala, issued proclamations. Garibaldi had gone to the relief of Sicily—the fire was kindled and could not be quenched. It was determined by Him to whom all honour belongs, that Sicily should be free. On the 18th the telegram announced: "The provinces are in full insurrection, 3,000 insurgents have joined the Garibaldians."

It is not our intention to write a history of the war, nor to follow the victorious volunteers in all the details of their success. Marsala was taken—Melazzo followed—Palermo yielded—Messina capitulated, all except the citadel. At the end of July Sicily was free; a provisional government was formed, with Garibaldi as "dictator:" and a convention was

signed by him and the Neapolitan general (Clary) "for the cessation of hostilities—that the Straits of Messina should be free for navigation—and that the tricolour of the invading army should take equal rank with the standard of Naples."

On calling to mind the events of 1860 connected with the kingdom of Naples, and remembering its history past, one is led to see the finger of God in a righteous retribution.

At one time the prisons of the city of Naples alone contained "30,000 political prisoners, crammed into the subterranean vaults of the castles and other unwholesome places; denied the use of a chair, bed, or light, as well as eating and drinking utensils; maltreated by harsh jailers who were placed over them, and who added to the torments of their chains by hunger, thirst, and blows." Many were condemned to death and were executed with scarcely the semblance of a trial. Again, in the same reign (Ferdinand I.), similar scenes were enacted: "Not a day passed without the tolling of the bell for an execution. For some time only persons of insignificant station were arrested, but Canosa wrote to the king to say he could now punish without risk; to which the king replied, 'Punish!'"

In the reign of Ferdinand II. general Vial, commissary in Palermo, "pretended he had discovered a conspiracy. Whether real or invented, the barbarous punishments which he inflicted were unworthy of a civilized age." Later still—in 1848 an English gentleman entered the police office during the disturbances, and found a small inner apartment, containing niches or shelves, with the skeletons of the victims ranged upon them! Added to this—when one reads the accounts of Boerio and his companions dead, or almost dying, in their loathsome cells during the late reign—the words of inspiration forcibly strike the mind, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

The time of retribution, in a measure, has come. On the 13th of August the first of Garibaldi's troops landed in Calabria—soon followed by the main body and the Dictator himself—and on the 8th of September he entered the city of Naples—with his staff alone—a peaceful conqueror: no banner borne aloft, but those decorating the streets and houses of the joyful inhabitants; no shot was fired, but those from Saint Elmo in token that Naples had joined in the cry "*Italia Unita*." Francis II. had fled to Capua or Gaëta.

In September, the papal army, under Lamoricière, attacked the Sardinian army under general Cialdini at Castelfidaro, and were completely routed; losing many killed and wounded, and 600 prisoners, among whom was the celebrated general Pimodan. Soon after, Ancona fell—its fortress was a heap of ruins, and large placards announced that "Difference in religion does not carry with it any difference in the enjoyment and

exercise of civil and political rights." Lamoricière was a prisoner of war, and the whole of the Roman States, except Rome itself, with Viterbo, Velletri, and other places near, occupied by French troops, were virtually annexed to the Sardinian kingdom. The Æmilian provinces, and Tuscany, had been annexed before; and it only remained to annex Naples and Sicily to finish the victorious campaign of 1860.

At this moment snares appeared to be laid for Garibaldi, but the good providence of God again interposed. Cavour saw the danger. Victor Emmanuel hastened to the south; republicanism was again discomfited, and its propagandists quickly dismissed from office. Garibaldi's unswerving loyalty coming out in all its fine and fitting proportions when occasion called it forth.

Early in November Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi entered Naples together, side by side in the same carriage. Naples and Sicily were annexed. Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king. The Dictator resigned, and gave a stirring farewell address, telling his companions in arms to be ready again in spring; and Farini was appointed the king's lieutenant in the south.

Other matters of history we pass over. The capitulation of Capua, the victorious passage of the Garigliano, the reactionary movements in the Abruzzi and in Sicily, at the instigation of the priests; and,--as yet of no importance whatever,--the pope's allocution; Lord John Russell's celebrated letter to the British minister at Turin; and the disinterested retirement of Garibaldi to his island home of Caprera. We believe that "the blow had been struck," and, if followed up prudently and boldly, by the establishment of a central *constitutional* government, even the "dolce far niente" of the Tuscans may be overcome, and the chronic disease of Naples and Sicily, "la rivolta," may be subdued.

The siege of Gaëta is still carried on. The pope is still in Rome, surrounded by French soldiers, whether jailers or a body-guard the world knows not, and Venetia is still an Austrian province. The latter may not be a difficulty long. Wise heads and governing minds are propounding plans for its cession; and if Francis Joseph proceeds with his constitutional concessions, and really wishes for the peace of Europe, he will not refuse a money settlement of the question; and then the piazza San Marco shall witness a triumphal fête of annexation, and even the Ponte di Sospiri shall ring with the rejoicings of "hereditary bondsmen" celebrating their long-lost freedom regained.

We turn to our last part of the subject, the religious state of Italy, and its probable future as regards the gospel.

During the early part of the Italian movement great expecta-

tions were raised as to the speedy deliverance of that country from the thralldom of Rome. Those expectations have not been realized in 1860. Liberty of thought there is, perhaps more than ever has been since Brutus stood up in the senate for the expulsion of the tyrant Tarquins. Liberty there is, too, for the expression of thought. "In a bookshop near the cathedral of Milan," said Mr. Arthur, in his book noticed before, "I saw large placards announcing a pamphlet under the title 'Antichrist is the Pope: proved from the holy scriptures and the holy fathers, by Robert Fleming.'" "We are a nation," was written in one of the public papers; "we are eleven millions! For the first time since ancient Rome, we can to-day use the words, We are a nation!" But we must not mistake. This, though we rejoice at it, is not religion. There is still great ignorance, and great opposition to the gospel on the part of bishops and priests. But we thank God the day is beginning to dawn. On every side it appears brighter and brighter still. And just as the traveller entering Italy by one of its Alpine, snow-clad passes, feels cold and chilly as he listens to the rush of the glacier torrent, and hears the noise of the avalanche as it falls, but sees no beauty for the eye to rest on, till the day breaks, and the sun's rays shoot upwards, colouring the peaks with red and gold; and then he sees the work's of nature's God, how wondrous fair; the valley of the Picino, or the plain of Aosta, or the sweet and lovely Val d'Ossola,—exuberant richness bordered by the wild and rugged; and then the heights of Monte Rosa bursting on the view, and the Lago Maggiore, and the Isole Belle; view surpassing view in beauty, elevating the thoughts to Him who made them all. So, as light advances in Italy, works of grace before concealed are brought to view; a Bible read and loved; a principle of religion deep seated in the heart, called forth perhaps by the reading of a tract; a broken spirit struggling onward in the midst of difficulties and never ceasing to read and to pray, till peace with God is found through the atoning blood of Christ.

We are not sanguine. We would not raise expectations which may never be realized; but, although protestantism has not made great way at present, much has been accomplished in directing the opening mind of Italians to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. In the first place, the Bible has been and still continues to be largely circulated. The British and Foreign, the Edinburgh, the Turin, Bible Societies, besides private individuals, are engaged in the work. In a short time 20,000 copies of the Scriptures were sold in Piedmont and Lombardy alone. In the reports from Tuscany, in 1860, we find: "The colporteurs, notwithstanding their numbers, find a good sale both for Bibles and tracts. One of them attended a fair in the small town of Pouledera, and

set up a stall. Holding up a Bible, he cried, 'Who'll buy the word of God? Here is the whole word of God for three francs! Here is the word of God which all were forbidden to read till a few months ago, but it can be safely bought now!' Fifty copies were sold in a very short time."

Again, in Naples, in last December, it is reported: "The booksellers have bought up whole cases of Bibles at a time, and employ agents with barrows to hawk them through the streets. In walking down the Toledo yesterday, I saw several of those barrows surrounded by purchasers." A boy was selling Bibles in the Toledo: he held them up in his hand, one by one, crying out, "Il Libro, il Libro!" They were all in a short time bought up.

"What did you see in Italy?" we said the other day to a well-known London clergyman recently returned from Lombardy. "I saw," he said, "a stall for the sale of Bibles, under the very shadow of the cathedral of Milan." In fact, Bibles, Prayer-books, and tracts are sold almost as soon as offered for sale. The Italians are ready and *willing* to talk against popery, and about the truths of the Bible; and that scripture is being literally fulfilled, "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

We must say a word of the Vaudois, that ancient church of Christ. They are active in their Italian mission. One of the most striking objects to the christian traveller in the city of Turin is the handsome new Vaudois church in the Strada del Rè. A Bible inscription on it directs the passers-by to the ancient faith, before the novelties of popery disturbed and harassed the church: "Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." Attached to this church are one thousand Vaudois, besides a number of Italian proselytes. At Alessandria, at Casale, and at Voghera, a Vaudois evangelist is labouring; in Cour Mayeur more than one hundred Roman Catholics attend the Vaudois service. In Genoa, "I was present," said an English gentleman, "when seventy-two persons assembled for prayer and reading the word; all had been Roman Catholics, except myself, and the friend who was with me." In Milan, too, they have a station, and also in Tuscany three or four stations.

May God bless the simple-minded, faithful Vaudois in all their labours of love!

But greater things than these are taking place in Italy. The light seems to be shining direct from the Spirit of God himself, through the word, upon many an Italian mind, while a thirst for knowledge seems to pervade almost all. An Englishman writes of Milan: "The Milanese look upon Protestantism in a most favourable light. I brought out a box of Italian Testa-

ments and Prayer-books, which were gladly and most thankfully received by all to whom I offered them." Another Englishman, the principal clerical secretary of one of our evangelical religious societies, was in Milan during the autumn. He distributed many tracts. On one occasion, in the dining-room of the *Albergo Reale*, one of the principal hotels, he gave a tract to the head-waiter, a respectable youth, the son of a hotel-keeper elsewhere—now there for the purpose of learning his business. The title of the tract was "*Christo Solo*;" the waiter took it respectfully, and read it: and then, holding it up in the midst of a group which had gathered around him, he exclaimed, with a look never to be forgotten, "*Si, si, Christo solo, Christo solo; abbasso il Papa!*" ("Yes, yes, Christ alone; down with the Pope!") The same clergyman and his wife were travelling to Turin by railway. The train stopped at *Alessandria* for a time. While waiting, the celebrated general Schmidt, notorious in the *Perugian massacre*, was marched to the train, a prisoner of war, the escort being composed of Sardinian soldiers, with two young officers. The clergyman's wife was distributing tracts, and had given one, entitled "*Piccolo Compagno del Soldato*," to a soldier. In a few minutes one of the young Sardinian officers appeared at the carriage door, and said, in very good English, "*Madam, I think you have some little books, will you give me some for my friends.*" The tracts were given, and were quickly distributed, one to each soldier.

In Turin there is a movement among some of the better classes, as well as among the priests. Three of the latter have "come out" from superstition at least, and on every Sunday they conduct the public worship of God in a large room taken for the purpose by the secretary we have alluded to; the prayers that are used being selections from the *Liturgy of the Church of England*.

An Italian gentleman, a clergyman of the church of England, has recently visited his native country. The report which he gives us is, on the whole, very encouraging. One instance of Divine grace which he mentions is the case of Count —, "a spontaneous effort," as he calls it, "in the direction of reformation." This Count, whose name we know, was "an exile;" but in his own home, ever since the Austrians left Lombardy, being entrusted with the inspection of the military hospitals tenanted by French and Italian soldiers, he not only circulated several hundreds of Bibles, but also printed, at his own cost, a selection of prayers taken from our Prayer-book, which he circulated by thousands among those brave men.

The Prayer-book finds favour among the reformed Italians; to many of whom prayer in the vernacular tongue is a new idea.

"There is an extraordinary desire for our Prayer-book in

Italian," writes a correspondent. "Dr. C—— told me that if he had a thousand copies he should not have one too many."

We must not omit to mention captain Sorzana. Having been compelled to leave his regiment, some time ago, on account of his active Protestantism, he was chosen keeper of the dépôt of religious books at Genoa; but being persuaded to join Garibaldi in Sicily, he took the field at once as a captain of Volunteers and as a soldier of Christ. "All Sicily is free," he writes, "and one might begin anywhere to sow the word of God;"—"There is a great abundance of priests, monks, and nuns, whose God is an idol;"—"There is free access to visit the military, whether sick or wounded;"—"These would be precious moments to console so many poor perishing souls, and to conduct them to Christ."

And thus the work progresses. It is not, perhaps, in our province even to allude to kings or ministers of state; but this we feel persuaded of, that no obstacle will be interposed in the way of reformation. But what is to be done? "Help the Vandois," say some; "Organize a church on the model of the church of England," say others. But we cannot help thinking that it will be best to let the reformed Italians organize that church which will be the most suitable to the circumstances of their case. Help ought to be given till the church, whatever it may be, shall be self-supporting. That church ought to have a constitution—free Italy has accepted a constitution. The Italian church, free from the bonds of Rome, ought to have a constitution likewise. The desultory efforts of well-meaning but not very wise men from this country have produced, we hear, evil instead of good in Turin, Florence, and Milan. The cry of "There must be no pope," is good; but the cry, "There must be no organized church," in the present state of Italy is an evil. We fully coincide with the Irish converts who said, "We prefer a Bible without a church to a church without a Bible." But in Italy we may have both;—a reformed church, and a Bible the basis of that church's doctrines and discipline.

Let fervent prayer arise from every christian heart for the outpouring of the Spirit of God upon Italy, and then Europe may behold, at no very distant period, a true "*Italia Unita*;" Italy united in the bonds of the everlasting gospel, as well as in votes of annexation to the Sardinian crown.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION : DR. HESSEY'S BAMPTON LECTURES,

Sunday : its origin, history, and present obligation. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1860. By James Augustus Hesse, D.C.L., Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School ; Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn ; sometime Fellow of St. John's College Oxford, and Select Preacher in the University. One Vol. London : Murray, Albemarle Street. 1860.

THE Bampton Lectures preached in St. Mary's church at Oxford have taken up a new position of late. They have treated of subjects interesting to the public, and accordingly the public have read them. In 1858, Mr. Mansel exerted his logical mind against the German rationalism now making its advances in our country. Mr. Rawlinson followed in 1859, and brought modern discovery to bear on the history of the ancient world, and on the defence of the Bible from critics of the same school. In 1860, Dr. Hesse preached the lectures which we have before us, on "Sunday : its origin, history, and present obligation." "Great confusion of thought," he truly remarks, "exists on this deeply important subject." Some keep the day on right principles, but in a wrong manner ; others on wrong principles, but perhaps in a right manner ; and many, too, neglect or despise the institution altogether. We may thank Dr. Hesse for a clear historical account of the Sunday, from the apostles' time to our own. Dating its birth, as a Christian ordinance, from the morning of our Lord's resurrection, it retained life through all the persecutions of the first two centuries, and gathered strength with the edict of Constantine, from which event it was enabled to hold on its beneficent course till the reformation. Since then its authority has frequently been assailed. Still, however, Sunday has never ceased to be observed, partly through respect to its antiquity ; partly from a general acknowledgment of its expediency, but still more, in this country at least, from a feeling deeply engrained in the hearts of the people, that it is God's special will and pleasure that every seventh day should be set apart for his own peculiar service. Six views of the Sunday question, says Dr. Hesse, are held in England at the present day. First, the extreme Purist view, that there should be no Sabbath-day, but that every day should be kept as one. This view "will find no advocate in the truly advanced Christian, but only in those who have been so absorbed in their *imaginary* self, as to lose sight of what they *really* are. The flesh still exists in us as well as the spirit, and its strength is always the greater in proportion to our unconsciousness of its existence, and therefore the louder and more confident a man's assertions that fixed times for assembling are superfluous, the stronger the proof that he needs them still." (Hengstenberg, quoted in p. 193.)

The second view is that of the extreme Sabbatarians, that the Jewish Sabbath should still be kept with all its former strictness. The third is that held by the Puritan party, who would have the Sabbath kept with greater rigour than was ordered in the old dispensation, but would transplant it to the first day of the week. No such party, we must add, now exists in England. The fourth view, a modification of the third, makes Sunday the Christian representative of the Jewish Sabbath, keeping it as religiously as possible. "This view," proceeds the lecturer, "is at present extensively held amongst us, in spite of what I shall venture to call its undue assumptions, its logical and exegetical difficulties, and its inadequate support from the history of the early Christian church." (p. 9.)

The fifth is the Ecclesiastical view, which disclaims all connection between the old Sabbath and the Lord's-day, and will hardly allow that the latter was even hinted at in the apostolic age, but looks upon it as a purely ecclesiastical institution.

The sixth view, which is in the main held by Dr. Hessey himself, claims the Lord's-day as an apostolic ordinance, but adds (and it is here that the lecturer secedes from its principal defender, archbishop Bramhall), "that the weekly festival is rather changed from one day to another, than superseded by a new institution."

This enumeration, though not exhaustive, brings into prominence the most marked aspects of the Sabbath question. But for practical purposes they may be reduced to two, which are described as the Sabbatarian and the Dominical views of the question: the former taking the "legal" side of the question, and the latter the "liberal;" the one party naming the day "the Sabbath," the other party calling it "the Lord's-day."

As regards the name, we think that both parties alike may claim the word "Sabbath," which is, so to speak, the surname of the day; and both parties also may claim "the Lord's-day," which is essentially the "Christian name," and, as such, is doubtless the preferable name for general use. It is also the legal designation employed in all our Acts of Parliament and Royal proclamations.

Dr. Hessey is anxious to mark off the Lord's-day from the Jewish Sabbath on the one hand, and from all ecclesiastical festivals on the other. This latter point is attained by distinguishing between the two meanings of the word "ecclesiastical;" the first referring to what is ordained by the apostles, and having thereby the sanction of the Spirit of Christ; the second referring to what has been instituted by the church authorities since the apostles' days.

In the second lecture, the nature of the Lord's-day as observed during apostolic times is clearly set forth; and it is

gathered from various passages of the New Testament, that the Christians assembled on that day for prayer, for preaching, for breaking of bread, and love-feasts, and for almsgiving. Moreover, arguments are brought forward to show that "the Lord's-day" (Rev. i. 10) cannot mean anything else but the apostolic festival in commemoration of the resurrection.

The passages in St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Colossians, which point to the abolition of the Sabbath, are shown to be protests against the retention of anything Jewish *as such*; and a clear line is drawn between the weekly festival of apostolic institution, and the yearly festivals which have been ordained by the church in after ages.

Turning, however, to the other side of the question, we are told that, "in no one place in the New Testament is there the slightest hint that the Lord's-day is a Sabbath, or that it is to be observed sabbatically, or that its observance depends on the Fourth Commandment, or that the principle of the Sabbath is sufficiently carried out by one day in seven being consecrated to the Lord" (p. 48).

In another place it is stated that "the Lord's-day is, as to its origin, much on a *par* with confirmation" (p. 31); that it may have been *suggested* by the Jewish Sabbath, and that the only moral idea contained in the Fourth Commandment is that of the necessity of set times for worship.

The Fathers of the first three centuries are adduced as "witnesses to the facts that the Sabbath was no longer of obligation; that it did not exist in the Lord's-day, *i. e.* that it was not transferred to it" (p. 176); and that "if any passages seem to imply anything opposed to these positions, they will be found on examination either to be of questionable genuineness, or to assert no more than is conveyed in such words as the following:—"The Jewish church had one day, the Seventh, for her worship, which was marked in a special manner. The Christian church has given up that day; but she has a day—a more glorious day—the First, for *her* worship, and that not a Jewish worship" (p. 304). Dr. Hessey has shown a considerable extent of reading in this part of his subject; and without carping at minor errors in the arguments founded on the quotations, we may agree so far as to say that the *prominent* aspect in which the day is portrayed by the early Fathers is as "the Lord's-day," not as the Sabbath. And this is both natural and right.

The edict of Constantine is next discussed; and after stating the various opinions which have been held, the lecturer concludes that, in order to satisfy the conflicting elements of his empire, Constantine "selected for a day of rest for the whole empire a day already, as we believe, regarded by the Christians as a festival of Divine institution; calling it by its civil name,

as one which the Christians were well acquainted with, and did not scruple to employ, but which could not offend the heathen, as having nothing distinctively Christian in it" (p. 84).

The opinions of the writers of the next two centuries show that "a new era in the history of the Lord's-day" had commenced; but though trades and professions were ordered to be abstained from on the Lord's-day, the Fourth Commandment is not referred to as the ground of obligation "in any writer of these centuries, or in any public document, ecclesiastical or civil" (p. 114). In fact, "the transfer of the Sabbath to the Lord's-day," and "the planting of the Lord's-day on the ruins of the Sabbath," are considered "fictions of modern times" (p. 115), though it is worthy of remark that these "modern times" are pushed back immediately afterwards to the seventh or eighth century after Christ (p. 119). The reformers are quoted, some for and some against the lecturer's views; but the "unsatisfactory" view of the matter became common through the writings of the Puritans, who "were shocked at the forgetfulness of God, which manifested itself at all times, and on the Lord's-day especially." They consequently took the Bible into their hands, and decided that in it they would find a model of the true polity. Accordingly they enforced the Sabbath as a scripture doctrine (p. 270).

And now the question remains, "Is the Sabbath a new testament institution, or is it not? Is Dr. Hessey right in affirming that there is a complete severance of the Lord's-day from the Sabbath, and that the Sabbatarian and septenary principles are utterly contrary to the spirit of the New Testament? Dr. Hessey says, that in as far as the observance of the Sabbath is a moral precept, so far, and so far only, is it binding on Christians. We cannot altogether concede this; but practically we may admit that it is at present the battleground of the whole dispute.

"Moral precepts," says Paley, after bishop Butler, "are precepts the reasons of which we see" (*i.e.* by the force of reason, without necessary assistance from revelation). Now we freely confess that though the idea of worshipping God is natural, and in a certain sense born with us, yet the idea of devoting to this worship *one day in seven* is not natural. But precepts, as the lecturer allows, are moral, if they are laid down as a positive command to *universal man*. Thus we are led to a discussion of Gen. ii. 3, where we read that "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which God had created and made." We may ask with Dr. Hessey, "What does this amount to?" To this question it is answered with *naïveté*, "It is merely an announcement of what God did, not a setting forth to man of what man should do." We wish that Dr. Hessey had advanced some argu-

ments to substantiate this assertion, which bears its own refutation on the face of it. Are there ever bare announcements "of what God did," without some moral duty implied as incumbent on man? Besides, what did God do? He "sanctified" (*i. e.* consecrated) as a holy thing the seventh day. This *cannot* mean that He kept it more holy than another day, for days exist not with Him. It *must* therefore mean that the *creatures whom He had made* were to keep it especially holy, in commemoration of the completed work. Feeling probably the weakness of this position, Dr. Hessey goes on to inquire how it is possible that God should *then and there* institute the ordinance of the Sabbath "before the cycle of days had begun, or labour had become laborious enough to necessitate repose?" But surely the cycle of days *had begun* six days before the day in question; and it is preposterous to suppose that the Lord, who is represented as holding intimate communion with Adam, could not make the idea of a sanctified seventh day intelligible to him. Besides, if not, why is the sanctifying of the seventh day mentioned *here* at all? Dr. Hessey replies, in the words of Bishop Bramhall, "that the sanctifying of the seventh day there, is no more than the 'sanctifying' of Jeremy 'from his mother's womb,'—that is, the designing or destinating of him to be a prophet,—or than the 'separating' of St. Paul 'from his mother's womb?'" But Dr. Hessey does not seem to perceive that he has granted us all, or almost all, that we demand; namely, that from the very beginning God looked upon the seventh day as one which He would have to be specially honoured, in memory of creation completed. And if this much be granted, why not go on to take the *full meaning* of the passage in question, to which neither reason nor Scripture is opposed,—that God revealed to Adam at that time His will that the Sabbath should be kept, and that six days of labour should always be followed by a day of rest. But, says the lecturer, the observance of the Sabbath is not mentioned any more till the time of Moses. We may reply by asking, Why should it have been mentioned? If instituted, it was handed down by tradition, neglected by the godless, but observed in the families of the godly till the time of Noah; and the fact that the command was not given to Noah is rather a proof that Noah *did* keep the Sabbath, than that he *did not*. The institution of marriage shared the same treatment throughout. God ordained it to Adam. The wicked forgot it, and multiplied their wives. Noah preserved it in his family, for we find that each of his sons had only *one wife*, so that it was unnecessary to renew the command on the subject. Again, with regard to the fact that the division of time into weeks is mentioned in several places in Genesis, the lecturer argues that "if it is to be found out of Scripture (*i. e.* in the

East generally, on monuments, &c.), *without a Sabbath*, why should it not be found in *Scripture* without a Sabbath?" This, however, is a *petitio principii*; for the real question is whether the septenary division of days did not *originate* in both cases from the universal institution of the Sabbath, though it may have *continued* long after the religious idea connected with the day had died out. Dr. Hessey's own account of the origin of the seventh-day division shall speak for itself:—"The full moon would supply the fortnight, *and the half of it each way, as men grew more and more exact, would supply an approach to a perfect septenary division of time* : (!) (p. 142.) Thus the origin is found in "man's reason acting upon the luminaries." We cannot help wishing that Dr. Hessey's "luminaries" had not been so blinded by the veil of his system that fails to see what we hope we have clearly shown, viz., that there *are* difficulties in the theory that the Sabbath is not of primæval origin; but that they vanish if we take the *natural* interpretation of the earliest record of the dealings between God and man, and allow that sabbatical observance is primæval and universal in its origin, and therefore *moral*.

We now pass on to Ex. xvi. 4, 5, where the observance of the Sabbath is commanded to Israel in connection with the giving of the manna. The lecturer quotes Hengstenberg to prove that the language made use of by God through Moses shows that Israel knew nothing about the Sabbath; hence it follows that the Sabbath had never been instituted. But this *does not follow*. We might as well argue from the same passage, that the Sabbath had been instituted, but had died out. Moreover, when we consider the state of spiritual destitution and moral darkness which had fallen upon Israel, and the *impossibility* of keeping a Sabbath in the midst of their ill-treatment and bondage, we cannot wonder that, when sabbatical observance was appointed for them, they should speak of it as if it were a new thing. But *there is something* in this passage which neither Dr. Hessey nor Dr. Hengstenberg seems to have discovered, and that is (speaking reverently), that God evidently had a *special feeling* about the observance of the seventh day, and introduced it as soon as the people were in a condition to bear it, making the observance of this *primary law* a test of all their future obedience: "that I may *prove* them, whether they will walk in *my law*, or no." (Ex. xvi. 4.)

If there were no further mention of the Sabbath, we might feel a doubt arise as to the *mode* of sabbatical observance, though the *fact* of its being a duty incumbent on man would remain. But there *is* further mention, and that in such a place, and under such circumstances, that we cannot feel a moment's doubt either as to the fact of the obligation, or as to the manner of the observance of the day. Few can read

the account of the giving of the law, the words of which were the immediate expression of God's omnipotence, accompanied with all that could impress the mind with awe, without feeling that *here*, at least, we have the will and pleasure of Jehovah. Fourth amongst the ten commandments, and to a certain extent connecting man's duty to God with his duty to his fellows, we find the observance of a day of rest ordered for man and beast, and *reasons given for the command*. Were it not for the fact stated in Genesis (ii. 3), we should look with the utmost surprise at the appearance of this commandment; and had not the children of Israel been prepared by the command in reference to the manna, they would have been surprised also. But as they had already been taught that God had a special regard to the day, they were ready to receive the commandment as part of the revealed will of God, by which they were to bind themselves. Similarly as we are taught that God set apart the day on which He rested for Himself, we recognize the wisdom of God in appointing this law as part of his covenant; and we obey it thankfully, and look upon the reasons thus set forth, not as suited only to the particular circumstances of Israel, but as intended to account for the ordinance from the beginning of days till time shall be no longer. Before entering upon a consideration of these reasons, we may mention that we agree so far with Dr. Hessey in regard to the word "remember," as to allow that it may refer not only to the past but to the future observance.

We would that Dr. Hessey agreed with us that this word "remember" has not yet lost its significance! We cannot help regretting that whilst so many lectures are taken up with historical discussions, a few pages only are devoted to the important subject before us; and that the reader is left to examine for himself into the reasons of the fourth commandment. This, however, we must do, in order to confirm our assertion that there is nothing exclusively Judaic in the reasons given for Sabbath observance. The *first* and most obvious principle involved is, *that we should imitate the example of God as far as we can do so*. "Be ye holy, for I am holy." "Rest after six days' labour, for I rested after six days' labour." We have not time or space to follow out this idea, though much might be said upon it. Suffice it to remark, that this is a universal and, in an especial sense, a Christian principle. *Secondly*, the Sabbath is allied with the creation, and the keeping of a seventh day commemorates the completion of God's six days' work. This commemoration, inasmuch as it is of a universal work, should be universal also. Here, says an objector, you prove too much, for you are binding the world to a particular seventh day. No, we confidently answer; no particular seventh day is appointed in the commandment. God had specially guarded

against this objection by providing a seventh day beforehand for Israel, and not propounding it in the moral law. The Jewish day of sabbatical observance depended not on the fourth commandment, but on a previous ordinance; and the Christian day of sabbatical observance depends not on the fourth commandment, but on a subsequent ordinance. We beg to call our readers' special attention to this fact, as it completely throws over an argument of which the anti-sabbatarians are very fond, and which Dr. Hessey endorses; namely, that we must either take the particular day that the Jews had, or else deny the seventh-day principle altogether. How carefully the omniscient Jehovah provided against this error! *Thirdly,—the necessity of having set times for religious service* is involved. This, again, is universal, and is the *only* moral element which Dr. Hessey could discover in the commandment. Besides these three distinct principles of Sabbath observance, we find other principles involved which have not so much connection with the particular day, but have reference rather to the universal need of rest, and the duty of giving to others what God has given to us. But these are extraneous to the question before us. Sufficient, we hope, has been said to show that the fourth commandment takes its place amongst the rest, and must be viewed as a moral law, obligatory in all times and in all places; so that when we pray in church that we may be enabled "to keep this law," we need not to descend to the frame of mind which Dr. Hessey would have us adopt, when he tells us that "we read the commandments as we do David's psalms; not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does." (Quoted from Selden, p. 145.)

There is one other argument which Dr. Hessey advances, namely, that the Sabbath on the seventh day was but a part of a great sabbatical system which extended to months, and even years. It was so; but that does not account for its appearance in the *decatalogue*, nor does it account for the extreme frequency of the exhortations to keep the Sabbath, and the sanctions dependent on its observance or non-observance, throughout the Old Testament. Even if it were otherwise, no argument can be founded on the existence of the sabbatical system to disprove the morality of the Sabbath.

The lecturer has remarked that the Sabbath is often spoken of to the Jews as a *sign*; but he does not see the full force of this title, which undoubtedly points to the great and notable truth, that the Creator of the world and all things therein was that same person who had delivered Israel from Egypt, and was giving laws for their guidance. The idea of the spiritual unity of God had not entirely passed away from the Israelite mind; but as the affair of the golden calf proves, its hold had been relaxed by their intercourse with the heathen. But the

decatalogue reasserted the great truth that God is one, that He is spiritual, and to be worshipped spiritually; while at the same time it taught that He was to be loved as their Deliverer, and worshipped as their Creator. The idea of the Sabbath as "a sign" is as valid now as ever. Nay, more so; for we may trace a progressive significance in the Sabbath. In the patriarchal ages it would be viewed simply as commemorative of creation. By the decatalogue a second idea is added, namely, that the Great Benefactor of Israel was personally identical with the Creator. But when the gospel of the resurrection was preached, a more glorious truth was proclaimed, namely, the identity of the Creator with the Redeemer, of the God of nature with the Lord of life and grace. This doctrine was brought forward very prominently in the apostolic preaching; miracles bore testimony to it; the Lord's-day, devoutly kept every seventh day after the resurrection, was "a sign" of it. The old creation is brought to our minds by the septenary division; the new creation, and the acceptance of the Son's work by the Father, are brought before us by the fact that this seventh day is kept on the Lord's-day.

Here we may close the discussion of the nature and obligation of the Lord's-day. Before touching on the application of the subject, we would briefly sum up what we have advanced, so as to show what is the Christian view of the obligations of the Sabbath. The Christian is no longer under law but under grace, *i. e.*, he is no longer a servant but a son; he has entered into a new covenant, and the law is within his heart; in other words, he is stimulated to obedience not by fear, but by love. The Bible tells him how to please his Father. He examines it on the Sunday question and finds that God rested on the seventh day from his work, and sanctified the day; and hence he feels it is God's pleasure that the day should be kept holy. Passing to the decatalogue, he feels that, "being under the law to Christ," he must obey God's will and follow God's example in resting after six days' labour. In giving rest as far as possible to man and beast, he looks to the example and teaching of Jesus, and finds himself confirmed in the idea that "the Sabbath was made for man," and that "it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day." He will endeavour to spend his time in that which tends most to the service of God, and the spiritual welfare and true rest of man. He feels grateful to God for the wise appointment of a day of rest which neither comes too often nor too seldom, but is exactly adapted for the physical, mental, and spiritual wants of his creatures. Turning to the apostolic times, he finds the Lord's-day kept in memory of the resurrection; and history tells him that as the old day of sabbatical rest died out, the Lord's-day enabled Christians to keep up the religious observance of one day in seven, which

has never since been dropped, and never ought to be, as it is in accordance with the plainest expressions of the will of God. Such we believe to be the Christian view of the subject.

A brief sketch of Dr. Hessey's views of the application of his Sunday principles will conclude our task. We can agree with much that the lecturer says on this head. Declining to give any rules for the observance of the day in England, he points out that the higher a man's *tone* of Christianity is, the more spiritually will he keep the Lord's-day. Much is said, and well said, about the necessity of our taking into account the great variety of employments in the week, which require various degrees of bodily and mental rest on the Sunday. People err not "in acting up to their own principles (there they are right), but in making their own standard a standard for all others." (Simeon, quoted p. 297.) As regards legislation, all that we can expect is that the *external* conducting of business of all sorts shall be prohibited. An apology is made for necessary Sunday dealings in the crowded parts of London, where, from the peculiar sources of their livelihood, many poor miserable creatures cannot get their food a day beforehand. We do not blame the poor so much as their superiors, who, by a little consideration in the payment of wages, and in other ways, could at once remove the temptation. Sunday should be as far as possible a cheerful day. He quotes an admirable passage from Dr. Miller, of Birmingham. Children of the rich and poor should not be forced into gloomy restraint; much less should the latter be alternately cooped up in school and stowed away almost out of sight and hearing in a close gallery in church, to listen to a service in which they have but little interest, and a sermon which they cannot understand. Individual efforts in parishes may improve, and in many cases have improved, this state of things. As regards church services, we are recommended to shorten them by breaking them up, and to introduce, if possible, "services such as the mass can attend, more compatibly with their circumstances and habits, and feel interest in, as brought more to the level of their mental cultivation." (p. 332.)

While we think that Dr. Hessey has somewhat exaggerated the evils of the present system, we agree with him that there is much to be remedied; that great allowance is to be made for the poor; and we echo his sentiment, "How little with our superior knowledge, and freer disposal of our time, do we realize the religion of the day!" (p. 338.)

In parting with Dr. Hessey, we may remark, that he writes in a plain yet not uncultivated style; but we wish that there had been less dryness in the discussion, and, above all, more spiritual warmth in the application. And while we feel indebted to him for an elaborate work on so interesting a

subject, we cannot but feel great sorrow to see so much pains taken (or rather wasted) to deprive us of that view of Sunday which allows us to call it "the Sabbath," as well as "the Lord's-day;" a view which includes the idea of a *seventh day's rest*, in memory of the completion of the work of our Creator; as well as the idea of a *first day's joy*, for the completed and accepted work of our Redeemer.

WELLINGTON'S CAREER.

Wellington's Career: a Military and Political Summary. By Edward Bruce Hamley, Captain R. A., and Lieut.-Colonel. Edinburgh: Blackwoods. 1860.

WE have seldom been more perplexed by a small and almost insignificant work, than by this little book of colonel Hamley's. Its author writes well, and understands, generally, the subject which he has taken in hand. Yet it is difficult to appreciate with any clearness the object of the publication. It is not a biography. It is not a brief history of the Duke's campaigns. It is not an attempt to estimate his character, or to compare him with other great generals, so as to fix his place and ascertain his rank. It is a sort of rapid sketch of the Duke's life, in which nothing is fully made out, no distinct impression left. But there is one feature in it which will appear to many to be repulsively absurd.

It gives us, more especially with reference to the battle of Waterloo, colonel Hamley's criticisms on the Duke's movements. Twelve pages are devoted to the events of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, 1815, without an attempt to describe the battle; and of these twelve, ten are occupied with animadversions on the Duke's opinions, decisions, and movements; all tending to prove that in his principal course of action, the Duke was in error, and colonel Edward Bruce Hamley would have done better! Thus, at page 72, we are told, that "the Duke was persuaded that Napoleon would attack by the latter roads, and the Duke was wrong." At page 74, "we must believe the Duke in error." At page 76, "this singular mistake has never been explained." At page 77, "the Duke was throwing away golden minutes." At page 79, "he never suspected that in a few hours he would be sorely taxed to hold his ground." At page 80, "the English had a narrow escape." "Yet the Duke was for some hours in greater danger." At page 81, "Wellington was extricating himself from his dangerous position." At page 82, "the Duke's

apprehensions for his own right never ceased to haunt him. It might have been supposed that so practised a general would have read in the French movements," &c. "Yet the Duke not only detached a considerable force to Hal, but kept it there during the day, though it was sorely needed."

And, finally, after having thus kindly pointed out all the Duke's blunders, colonel Hamley dismisses him at last, in the following gracious and patronizing sentence :—

"But these and *the other errors* we have alluded to were amply redeemed by the issue. The Duke never displayed a cooler and more indomitable resolution than during the great crowning action of his life." (p. 83.)

Yes, the Duke did manifest "resolution." He had that one quality which was possessed also by every private soldier of the foot-guards! All he wanted was a little of that strategic skill and knowledge which colonel Edward Bruce Hamley endeavours to exhibit and impart.

Yet colonel Hamley admits his consciousness that this opinion of the Duke's, which he chooses to call "an error," was not a hasty thought, but a deliberate conviction, which his Grace in after-life steadily maintained. He must know, too, that the great master of the art of war whose opinion he thus overrules, was described by the first of German critics, Niebuhr, as "the only general in whose conduct of war we cannot discover any important mistake."

For our own parts, regarding, as we do, the duke of Wellington as a man specially raised up, and specially endowed with extraordinary talents for war, we have no hesitation in expressing our conviction, that when the Duke delivers one opinion on a question of this kind, and colonel Edward Bruce Hamley another, the probabilities are quite one hundred to one that the Duke is right. Colonel Hamley adduces reasons for his own opinion; to which we reply, that we are quite certain that all these reasons, and a great many more, were taken in at a glance by that penetrating eye, and pronounced to be insufficient. And so we leave this part of the subject.

Colonel Hamley's little book, however, calls to our recollection the fact, that we have never yet seen, in any compact and popular form, either a rapid sketch of the main facts of the Duke's life, or an estimate of his character. Either or both of these colonel Hamley might have given us, and if he had done so in a proper tone and spirit, he would have conferred on us no small benefit. As it is, the deficiency remains, and we feel strongly tempted, in spite of the fullest consciousness of our lack of professional knowledge, to attempt something of the kind which we have pointed out. In fact, colonel Hamley's manifest failure rather encourages us; for it shows, that an

exclusively military education is rather a hindrance than a qualification for such a task. If colonel Hamley had given us less of his military criticism, he would probably have written a better book. Twelve pages, in competent hands might have, sufficed to supply a vivid sketch of "the world's earthquake — Waterloo."* Instead of which, colonel Hamley devotes ten pages to the proof that, in his general notions, "the Duke was wrong," and in the other two he merely alludes to the battle, instead of describing it.

The only view which we are able to take of the very remarkable life of the duke of Wellington is that which was forcibly sketched, in outline, by an eloquent writer, who has just been removed from us. Dr. Croly, in tracing, in 1828, the movements of God's providence in the French revolution and the vast changes which succeeded it, had described Pitt and Burke as two men, "each forming a class by himself," and preparing England for the contest which was to follow. He then went on to say,—

"But the struggle for life and death was still to come. A new and tremendous antagonist—the most extraordinary man of the last thousand years—appeared in the field. France, relieved from the distractions of the democracy, and joining all the vigour of republicanism to all the massiveness of monarchy, flung herself into the arms of Napoleon. His sagacity saw that England was the true barrier against universal conquest; and, at the head of the fleets of Europe, he moved to battle for the dominion of the seas!

"A man was now raised up, whose achievements cast all earlier fame into the shade. In a profession of proverbial talent and heroism, NELSON instantly transcended the noblest rivalry. His valour and his genius were meteor-like; they rose above all, and threw a splendour upon all. His name was synonymous with victory. He was the guiding-star of the fleets of England. Each of his battles would have been a title to immortality; but his last exploit, in which the mere terror of his name drove the enemy's fleet before him through half the world, to be annihilated at Trafalgar, had no parallel in the history of arms. Nelson, too, *formed a class by himself*. Emulation has never approached him. He swept the enemy's last ship from the sea, and, like his two mighty compatriots,† having done his work of glory, he died!

"Within scarcely more than two years from the death of Pitt and Nelson, another high intervention was to come. The Spanish war let in light upon the world. England, the conqueror of the seas, was now called to be the leader of the armies of Europe. A soldier now arose, born for this illustrious task. He, too, has *formed a class by himself*. Long without an equal in the field, his last victory left him without a competitor. It can be no faithlessness to the glorious dead to place in the highest rank of living fame,‡ that soldiership which stopped a torrent of conquest swelled with the wreck of Europe;

* Tennyson.

† Pitt and Burke.

‡ Written in 1828.

redeemed kingdoms ; overthrew, from battlement to foundation, the most powerful dominion since the days of Rome, and, in one consummate victory, hand to hand, tore the sword from the grasp, and the diadem from the brow, of NAPOLEON !"

A few years later, from the same glowing pen dropped the following golden sentences :—

"If man can be taught a belief in Divine Providence by the strongest proof that events can give, he must be taught by the events of this great war. During a quarter of a century of battle, with continual changes of continental fortune, England never suffered any one great casualty ; was never defeated in a pitched battle ; never lost a fleet, a colony, a foot of territory. From the period when the war became naval, with all the world against her, she fought a succession of the most glorious victories ; and when, after having closed up the ocean against Napoleon, she was summoned to protect the rising independence of Spain, she commenced a career of soldiership, unshaken by a single defeat ; a constancy of success to which Europe has no parallel, a great triumphal era of seven years, a march marked only by trophies, from the shores of Portugal to the plains of the Netherlands, and finishing in the twofold capture of the enemy's capital, the extinction of the empire, and the captivity of the emperor !"

It seems to us that some benefit may be derived from the study of the life of Wellington *from this point of view*. We believe that there is scarcely such another instance in the page of history of a man especially raised up, created, fitted, educated, and then placed in the exact sphere and department for which he had been prepared, in such sort, and after such a manner, that the Unseen Hand seems to come visibly forth, like the hand which wrote on the wall of Belshazzar's palace, and force us to confess that "the things which are not seen" are of more weight than the "things which are seen."

The early life of Arthur Wellesley has never been traced with any particularity or exactness. Two of its best-known circumstances, however, had an important influence in making him what he afterwards became. He was of a noble family, the son of the earl of Mornington, and thus had that advantage which rank always gives in the race and competition of human life. Had he been born in Havelock's walk of life, it might have been his fate, like Havelock's, to be discovered to be a hero when his sixtieth year was past. But, secondly, being, by his birth, destined to command, he received, what few in those days could obtain, a thoroughly good professional education. Thus doubly qualified for promotion, he became an ensign at 17 ; a captain, M.P., and aide-de-camp to the Lord-Lieutenant at 21 ; lieutenant-colonel at 24 ; and colonel at 26 years of age. We stop not to discuss the merits or demerits of this system ; we only note the hand of Providence, in paving the way for his

entrance on great public duties while in the prime of life. We believe that half of England's failures by sea or land have arisen from the choice of commanders by *seniority*. We send forth an admiral or a general, at the age of 68 or 70, on enterprises which demand boldness, energy, and rapid decision, and are surprised to find that half their time is spent in consultations and cautious inquiries.

But high connexions and a good education, apart from his own efforts, would never have made Arthur Wellesley anything more than a respectable lieutenant-general. It was his own character and personal endowments, the special gift of God, which made him finally the foremost man of a wondrous age. So soon as the bent and tenor of his mind could manifest itself, we begin to see in him a determination to *do*, a willingness to *bear*, and an unchangeable adherence to the path of *duty*. Thus, no sooner had he joined his regiment as an ensign, than we behold him examining and investigating everything connected with his work. Not three days had passed before we find him weighing a foot-soldier *with* his arms and accoutrements, and then *without* them. "I wished," said he, "to have some measure of the power of the individual man, compared with the weight he had to carry, and the work he had to do. For," he added, "it must be borne in mind, that the power of the greatest armies depends upon what the individual soldier is capable of doing and bearing." With this determination to understand everything connected with his profession, and with a powerful intellect, we read without surprise that when he landed in India, in his twenty-eighth year, the governor-general, Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, was so struck with his conversation, that after their first interview he remarked to his aide-de-camp, "If that officer ever has an opportunity of distinguishing himself, he will do it, and that greatly." Or that the next governor-general, Wellesley's own brother, "often took his opinion on important questions of administration," and once remarked, "I believe Arthur's *forte* to be rather in the civil than in the military line."

Young Wellesley's nine years' apprenticeship in the East formed a most important part of the education by which he was being prepared for the great achievements of his after-life. Indeed, it is difficult to see how, without a miracle, this education could have been dispensed with. All the circumstances, all the difficulties, of those nine years, were precisely such as were needed to fit him for his laborious five years in Spain and Portugal. A commander was about to be required, of extraordinary intrepidity,—one who laughed at impossibilities. For, of the old school of British generals, none were prepared to meet any of Napoleon's lieutenants, except with something like an equality of numbers, and under tolerably favourable circum-

stances. The days of Poitiers and of Agincourt were assumed to have wholly passed away. No commander of this kind would have dreamed of success, in carrying 20,000 or 30,000 English troops to Lisbon, to expel the 300,000 French who then held five-sixths of the Peninsula. To train up a general who should disregard mere numbers, it was necessary to place him on the sands of India; and to show him, at Assaye, a Mahratta army of 50,000 men, flying before less than 8,000 English and Sepoys.

Nor was the remaining part of the young general's training in India one which could be spared. He had a large experience in that country, of unscrupulous and treacherous foes, and of half-hearted and unreliable allies. All this was of vast importance in preparing him for his toilsome yet unseen labours in Portugal and Spain. Brialmont has well remarked, that "the opportunities which these wars afforded him, of combating the bad faith of the native princes, and of counteracting the corruption of their ministers, served as an admirable preparation for the difficult part which he had afterwards to play in the Spanish peninsula." And thus, having gone out to India a colonel of little experience in war, "he returned a practised general, familiar with the conduct and supply of armies, and accustomed to treat of great affairs. He had learned to legislate for kingdoms; to negotiate with the craftiest of diplomatists, and to conciliate the most untoward of allies. Such a training could not but augment his firmness, temper his sagacity, and confirm his self-reliance." But as yet, few indeed suspected that in the young Indian general there was "a man capable, both in the extent and in the diverse nature of his capacity, of opposing the insatiable, unscrupulous, and subversive genius of Napoleon."

We have said, too, that Arthur Wellesley had not only a determination to *do*, but a willingness to *bear*, whenever, in the path of duty, he was called to tolerate or to submit. Thus, after commanding armies, winning the battle of Assaye, and receiving the thanks of Parliament and the order of the Bath, he is found, after his return home, quietly exercising a brigade of infantry on the Sussex downs; and, when a friend inquired how he could *submit* to this inferior employment, he quietly answered, "I am *nimuk-wallah*, as they say in the East:—I have eaten the king's salt, and I consider it my duty to serve with zeal and promptitude whenever and wherever the king or his government may think proper to employ me." His exhibition of the same spirit of loyal submission, when, on the very day of his victory at Vimiera, he found himself superseded by a senior officer, is well known.

Thus, then, had the Divine Disposer of events prepared and brought to the right spot, at the right moment, this wonderful

instrument of His purposes. Certain concomitants were necessary, and they were all provided. The vigour of early manhood was, in an unusual manner, united with a large and wide experience. Remarkable energy of character, and a genius for military operations never exceeded in any other human being, were given to a man who by birth and connection was enabled to use them. To him might be applied the prophet's words to a deliverer of ancient days: "Thus saith the Lord to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and to loose the loins of kings; to break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. . . . I have called thee by thy name; I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. I am the Lord, and there is none else: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me."

And now commences that wonderful story,—the deliverance of Spain: wonderful in various points of view. The expulsion, finally, of French armies which were repeatedly reinforced to the strength of 370,000 men, by a British force which never amounted to 50,000, and which was more commonly between 20,000 and 30,000. And this amidst the endless troubles and perplexities of uncertain, proud, self-willed, and deceptive allies, and of a government at home unable to comprehend or to place any faith in the intrepid resolves, and high designs, of its great general. Not less wonderful, too, in the constant influence exercised by this great conflict in the general fortunes of Europe. It was an English victory in Spain which confirmed the resolution of the Czar, after the fall of Moscow. It was another victory in Spain which decided Austria's course, after the success of Napoleon at Lutzen and Bautzen. It was the entire deliverance of Spain, and the invasion of France from the Pyrenees, which encouraged the allies to march upon Paris in 1814. Thus, throughout this whole contest, the little army of islanders, commanded by Wellington, not only delivered two kingdoms by their own valour, but gave new courage to all the other powers of continental Europe, in their resistance to the Alexander of modern times.

The battle of Vimiera, fought in 1808, seemed to be intended, in the Divine purposes, merely to indicate the man who was to be the future deliverer of the Peninsula. Even while the battle was raging, Sir Harry Burrard, a senior officer to Sir Arthur Wellesley, came upon the field. The tide of victory was suddenly arrested, and the young victor returned to England. But in those few hours he had done enough to prove his title to command; and when, in the spring of the following year, the British government determined again to assist the struggling people of the Peninsula, their choice of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the chief command in Portugal seemed almost inevitable. He landed at Lisbon in April, 1809, and he only quitted the

Peninsula four years afterwards, when it became his duty to follow the flying French army over the Pyrenees.

Colonel Hamley seems to us to assume too much, when he ascribes to Sir Arthur Wellesley, at this period, "the vast design,—first, to free Portugal; secondly, to free Spain; and thirdly, in concert with the continental powers, to free Europe." That some such results may have occurred to him as within the range of possibility, is credible enough; but we can hardly assign to him, as a fact, the eye of a prophet. It was enough for Arthur Wellesley to know that he was in the path of duty;—that, to aid Portugal in her hour of need, was a mere fulfilment of a national pledge, entered into a century before; and that the law of self-preservation dictated the encountering the forces of Napoleon in a distant land, rather than the waiting for their landing on our own shores. Still, it is certain that from the very beginning of this contest he entertained loftier views, and expressed far brighter hopes of the final result, than were experienced or uttered by any English or continental statesman.

His first achievement was one apparently fruitless of results, but which was rendered necessary by his position. He had taken the command of a small English army, and it became needful to show that that army was not afraid to meet the French. At this time, also, the Spaniards were still boastful and self-confident, and fond of the idea of opposing army to army in the open field. To have shown reluctance, therefore, when they seemed eager to engage, would inevitably have exposed the English name to contempt, and would have left the English general powerless and destitute of influence. He therefore joined Cuesta, the Spanish general, who commanded about 35,000 men, with his 19,000 or 20,000 English troops, and gave the French battle at Talavera.

Here he soon discovered of what kind of materials the Spanish armies were composed. The day before the battle, one of the French generals made a feigned attack on the Spanish part of the line, when, as soon as the firing began, 10,000 of the Spaniards took to their heels, and of these 6,000 never came back. Wellesley saw it necessary, therefore, to ensconce the Spanish troops behind the fortifications of Talavera; where the French, on the day of battle, gave them no molestation; and with his 19,000 English troops he received the whole assault of a French army of 50,000 men. So confident were the French generals in their superior strength, that Victor said to king Joseph, "If this attack can fail, we may as well give up war!"

Sir Arthur Wellesley sent the whole French army back in defeat, leaving behind them 17 guns, and having lost in their attack more than 7,000 men. Jomini, a French military critic,

says: "This battle at once restored the reputation of the British army in Europe, which had for a century past been declining." It raised the English general to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Wellington; and by this name we shall now begin to designate him.

One main result of this campaign was, to show to the English general the utter worthlessness of his Spanish allies. "Though little better than a rabble, they had all the confidence of troops that had proved themselves invincible. Their talk was like the maddest boasting of Don Quixote; their conduct in action was that of his squire." "The cavalry," Lord Wellington writes, "make no scruple of running off; and, after an action, are to be found in every village and shady bottom within fifty miles of the field of battle." As to the infantry, he says: "Their practice of running away, and throwing off arms, accoutrements, and clothing, is fatal to everything." Yet this was only one of the harassing features of the case. The Spaniards would neither fight themselves, nor help those who could. The British soldiers who won the fight of Talavera were half-starving at the time, from the want of provisions. Hundreds of cavalry and artillery horses died of starvation; and when Wellington applied to Cuesta for mules to draw his artillery, he was refused, though there were hundreds in the Spanish camp, drawing carts containing nothing! "I have fished," he wrote, "in many troubled waters; but Spanish troubled waters I will never try again." He retired into Portugal, and devoted his whole efforts, for the next twelve months, to render his position there impregnable.

The lines of Torres Vedras will ever be remembered as one of the greatest achievements of his life. It is necessary, in order to appreciate the value of this last rampart of freedom in continental Europe, to recal to memory the position of affairs in the years 1810 and 1811. Those years exhibited the climax of Napoleon's power and arrogance. Russia was still his humble friend and ally; Prussia and Austria had been crushed; Spain, with the single exception of the town of Cadiz, was in the hands of his generals; and from time to time edicts came forth, annexing Holland, then the Hanse towns, and at last Rome itself, to the enormous French empire. At that moment it was that, by his genius Wellington planned, and by his influence he carried into effect, a line of fortifications defending Lisbon, behind which, with 30,000 English troops, and 30,000 Portuguese, he might calmly say to the conqueror and autocrat of Europe, "Come, if you dare!" It was this making good one spot on the continent of Europe, from which the enslaver of the nations might be defied, which gave Wellington that foot-hold which Archimedes required to move the world. Having made one spot safe, he issued forth from that strong fastness, at his own time, to work the deliverance of the whole Peninsula.

At the same time we ought to take especial notice, at this part of the story, of that judicial blindness with which it pleased God, at this moment, to visit that great conqueror, whom He had employed as His scourge, and was now about to lay by. There is no greater instance of folly to be found in the histories of the world's "great men," than that exhibited by Napoleon in neglecting to pay any heed to the advantages gained by Wellington in 1810 and 1811, and in turning his attention to a new war at the other end of Europe. The plainest common sense dictated, that before engaging in a new and mighty enterprise, at a distance of a thousand miles, he should clear and make good the ground behind him. Instead of which an evil spirit, like that which tempted Ahab to go to Ramoth Gilead, suggested to him that "it was quite as well that England should exhaust her strength in the Peninsula; for that so she would be hindered from interfering with his plans in the north." Acting upon this suggestion, Napoleon marched across the Niemen, and heard, just before his great battle with the Czar, that his troops had been beaten at Salamanca. Still, he was now too deeply involved to withdraw, and in the following year the news came that his brother had been disgracefully defeated at Vittoria, and that the French armies had been driven out of Spain.

That Divine Providence which had prepared and sent forth the greatest of England's captains, now so deluded his opponent as to make Wellington's success possible. Had Napoleon, instead of carrying 500,000 men to Russia, sent one-half of that force into Spain, it passes the human imagination to conceive how even the genius of Wellington could have expelled them from the Peninsula. But at the very moment when England was encouraged to increase her efforts, the French emperor, by his new entanglements, was incapacitated from increasing his; and thus the French armies in Spain, which had generally exceeded 300,000 in number, gradually declined, and Wellington, in 1811, 1812, and 1813, was able to meet them on more equal terms.

Torres Vedras, all through 1810 and 1811, had proved an impenetrable barrier against the advances of the foe; in front of which Napoleon's marshals fumed and fretted, and in attempting and beleaguering which they lost whole armies. At last, in 1812, the English commander was prepared to issue forth, to begin that career of victory which, in less than twenty months, was to drive the French armies over the Pyrenees. The first blow struck was one worthy of a great general. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos were the two great fortresses which commanded the chief roads into Spain. The former of these had cost the French a siege of several weeks, when manned only by Spaniards. They had now refitted, garrisoned, and pro-

visioned it, and dreamt of nothing less than its capture. But suddenly, on the opening of the new year, 1812, "Lord Wellington leaped with both feet on Ciudad Rodrigo."

Entirely concealing his purpose, silently preparing his battering-train, on the first day of January a bridge was rapidly thrown over the Agueda, and by the 8th the English army had crossed, and the siege was commenced. In eleven days two breaches were declared practicable, and on the 19th of January the place was carried by storm.

"This whole business," wrote Marmont to Napoleon, "is so inexplicable, that until I hear more about it, I refrain from any remarks." But, by the Spanish government, Wellington was instantly created "duke of Ciudad Rodrigo;" in Portugal, he was made "marquis of Torres Vedras;" and in England he was elevated to an earldom.

The capture of Badajos, a still stronger place, followed on the 6th of April. It was garrisoned by 5,000 good French soldiers, under an able commander, and its capture was one of the most desperate achievements of the whole Peninsular war. It cost, during the whole siege, no fewer than 5,000 men, killed or wounded, of whom 3,500 fell in the night of the storming. This terrible effort was necessary to the success of the campaign; but the sacrifice forced from the victor one of those bursts of grief which occurred only twice in his seven years' European campaigns. These two remarkable sieges, and their success in the capture of those two strongholds, resembled the wrenching out of two large corner-stones, and were felt throughout Europe to betoken the falling of the whole edifice of French power in Spain. Napoleon had now departed on his ruinous expedition to Russia, and the French commanders in Spain, whose armies still exceeded 200,000 men, were left to cope with their formidable antagonist as they best might.

Lord Wellington had succeeded, during his stay in Portugal, in forming an effective and useful little army out of the soldiers of that kingdom. He could therefore now enter Spain with some 40,000 or 45,000 men, English and Portuguese. By the brilliant capture and destruction of the bridge of Almaraz, Soult and Marmont, at the head of two French armies, were separated from each other, and Wellington was at liberty to deal with the latter apart. Marmont, meanwhile, having an army about equal in numbers to that under Wellington's command, felt bound in honour not to decline the combat, and thus the two armies, preparing for an encounter, faced each other for several days, generally within sight, and often within musket-shot of each other. Each of the commanders waited and watched, hoping for some wise move on the part of his opponent. At last it came. Marmont, mistaking a movement of Wellington's, perilously extended his left wing, separating

it from the rest of his army. In a moment the eagle eye detected the error; the stroke was given with full effect, and, to use the words of a French writer, "the English general defeated 40,000 men in forty minutes." The next day the remnants of Marmont's army were found fully thirty miles in the rear; and when its commander, a fortnight after, had to give an account of its strength, he estimated it at 20,000 men. More than one-half of the French force had been killed or wounded or taken prisoners in the battle of Salamanca. Madrid now received its deliverer with transports of joy; and half of Spain found itself once more free. Soult evacuated Andalusia; and the Cortes, previously in despair, gained new courage, and resolved to maintain their resistance to the French. But the usual faults and follies were still in full ascendancy. Not the least practical assistance could Wellington obtain. To capture Burgos required battering-cannon. Madrid had these in abundance, but no means of transport could the Spaniards find. Again disappointed, Wellington retired once more into Portugal, there to prepare, during the winter, from British and Portuguese resources, the means for the entire liberation of Spain. This grand result was necessarily postponed for one year more; but of the fruits of the year 1812, the English commander could rejoicingly say, "We have taken Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, and the Retiro, and have sent to England nearly 20,000 prisoners. We have captured the enemy's arsenals in Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, Valladolid, Madrid, Astorga, Seville, and before Cadiz, and have taken or destroyed little short of 3000 pieces of cannon. The campaign of this year has produced more important results than any campaign in which a British army has been engaged for the last century."

The winter was not idly passed. The Cortes, awakened to a sense of their duty, made at last the immense concession of naming "the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo" commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies. He had now, therefore, an army nominally amounting to 200,000 men; but his effective force for the field consisted of about 70,000 men, chiefly English and Portuguese, with some of the best of the Spanish troops. This, however, was a larger army than he had ever before led into Spain; while the French, on the other hand, receiving few reinforcements, were weaker than at any former period of the war. Still, had they been able to keep their forces united, they would have greatly outnumbered the Anglo-Portuguese army.

With a prescience not to be wondered at, Lord Wellington, when, in 1813, he began his last Spanish campaign, exclaimed, as he crossed the boundary which divides the two kingdoms, "Good-bye to Portugal!" The summer had scarcely ended before he could add, "Good-bye to Spain also." He left

Portugal in the spring, and at the commencement of autumn he entered France, having cleared the Peninsula of its invaders. His march from the Portuguese frontier of Spain to the Pyrenees was one of the most splendid achievements of his life. With a considerable French army before him, commanded by several generals of long experience, he yet forced it to retreat from position to position, without fighting, just as a masterly equestrian backs a refractory horse, until he had thus driven it to the last position in which it could make a stand; and there, at Vittoria, he delivered his attack, forced the enemy's positions, cut off their chief line of retreat, and finally drove them, like a flock of frightened sheep, through the passes of the Pyrenees. The news of Spain's deliverance flew rapidly into Germany, and there it decided Austria's course; it led to the utter rout of Napoleon's army at Leipsic; and the winter of that year saw France invaded at once from every quarter.

Such, in a rapid glance, was the deliverance of Spain; a deed, or rather a succession of exploits, the like of which we find in the history of no other warrior. If, indeed, we saw this great general merely carrying out the plans of an Alberoni or a Pitt, and if we found him warmly supported at home, and cordially seconded abroad, we might be content to assign to him no greater merit than that of an able commander. But when we look a little below the surface, and find him *alone* in all his high designs and splendid performances; when we observe the British government neither expecting nor even imagining the grand results which he set himself to accomplish, and the rulers of Spain throwing every obstacle in his way; then we perceive that this great work was indeed *all his own*, and that God had given to a single individual that extraordinary combination of wisdom, patience, indomitable resolution, perseverance, and the highest kind of military skill, which was needed to effect so great an undertaking. He entered the Peninsula with some 20,000 Englishmen, when the French armies in possession of it numbered 370,000 men. He received but poor support from his own country, and met with every possible hindrance and provocation from the two governments which he came to save. Yet in little more than four years he drove the French armies—the conquerors of Europe—over the Pyrenees; although, in all that time, he had never once had under his command so many as 50,000 effective British soldiers. Is there a greater deed in arms than this in the annals of the human race?

For its historic completeness, however, one thing seemed to be still wanting. The subjugator of Europe and the liberator of Spain had never met; and had the peace of 1814 proved a final and durable one, critics and historians would never have been able to decide between their respective merits in the

conduct of an army. This point, however, was to be set at rest, so far as it could be decided by events. The dethroned emperor returned to France, gathered his soldiers around him, and re-assumed his throne. The sovereigns of Europe declared him an outlaw, and began immediately to collect their forces for a second invasion of France. The northern frontier was occupied by Wellington and Blücher, their armies being the earliest in the field. The Prussian army was in a tolerable state of completeness: the Anglo-Belgian was only in course of collection and preparation. The British veterans who had driven the French from the Tagus to the Pyrenees had been sent to America, and were now on their voyage homewards. All this was well known to Napoleon. His secretary writes: "Information given by a hand to be depended upon had made known the position of the allies in all its particulars."* Eager to fall upon his great competitor, while in this state of unpreparedness, Napoleon rapidly collected one of the finest armies that France had ever sent forth, and sprang into his chariot with the exclamation, "I go to measure myself with Wellington!"

Justice is seldom done to the Duke in this matter. It is too often assumed that the two armies, French and Anglo-Belgian, were of nearly equal strength, and that the victory was only secured by the arrival of the Prussians, and the outnumbering of the French. This is a wholly untrue and untenable view of the case.

The nominal amount of the Duke's army at Waterloo was 67,655 men; but among these there were only 15,181 British infantry, a large proportion of whom were new levies, or drafts from the militia. The infantry of the German Legion were 3,301; and the cavalry of the British and German Legion were 7,840; their artillery, 5,645. Upon these 33,000 men the brunt of the battle rested. The rest of the army was made up of—Hanoverians, 10,755, chiefly landwehr, or militia; 17,784 Belgians or Dutch; and 6,000 or 7,000 men of Brunswick or Nassau. While some of these acted bravely, whole brigades showed themselves unable to "stand fire." Some "went to the rear;" others fairly ran away. Of all this Napoleon was well aware; and he accordingly says, in his account of the battle, published five years after: "Victory appeared to be *certain*," for "the French army consisted of good troops; while, in the enemy's army, the English only, amounting to 40,000 at most, could be reckoned upon as such."† And, in another place he says, "One Englishman might be counted for one Frenchman; two Dutchmen, Prussians, or soldiers of the Confederation, for one Frenchman." Estimated in this way, the

* Fleury de Chaboulon, vol. ii., p. 161. † *Hist. Memoir*, book ix., p. 127.

actual *power* of the Duke's mixed army would fall somewhat below a force of 50,000 effective men.

To meet this there stood a picked army of one nation, the numerical strength of which Napoleon thus described, in his bulletin written three days after the battle:—"We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We *supposed* that a Prussian corps, which *might be* in a line towards the right, might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men: ours, *less numerous*." As there was no Prussian corps in sight until six hours after the commencement of the battle, this "supposed" corps is evidently introduced merely to swell the numbers of the allied army. Napoleon could not, at that moment, venture to assert that the French were "less numerous" than the English army, which he calls 80,000. He therefore invents a Prussian corps, which he says "might be 15,000;" and having thus swelled the allies to a total of 95,000 men, he adds, "ours, *less numerous*." This is surely an admission that his own army amounted to about 90,000 men.*

But the difference in the quality of the troops was even greater than the difference in their numerical strength. The Duke had not 20,000 old soldiers in his whole army. Even his English troops consisted of new levies, or drafts from the militia; and the Hanoverians and Germans were chiefly of the same description. On the other hand, Napoleon's army is described by his secretary, Fleury, as "superb, and full of ardour." Lamartine speaks of it as "his grand army of chosen men, every battalion of which had a soul equal to the utmost extremity." And Napoleon himself, at St. Helena, told O'Meara, "My troops were so good, that I deemed them sufficient to beat 120,000 men."

Such, then, was the enormous disparity between the two armies; a disparity so great that we must ever look upon the Duke's acceptance of battle at Waterloo as one of the most intrepid acts of his life. So was it regarded by Napoleon, whose secretary, Fleury, writes: "He was *surprised* when daylight discovered to him that the British army had not quitted its positions, but appeared disposed to offer battle." In

* At St. Helena, years after, he fabricated an elaborate statement, reducing the French army to 68,650 men; and this statement, by its pretentious form, has imposed on many English writers. But it is contradicted and falsified by the evidence of a variety of French witnesses. Thus, in it he calls the first corps 17,900 men. But Marshal Ney, who commanded that corps, in his published letter of June 26, 1815, described it as having consisted of "between 25,000 and 30,000

men." Again, Napoleon, in this statement, sets down the Infantry of the Guard at 11,500. But Gourgaud, his aide-de-camp, and Fleury de Chaboulon, his secretary, both concur in stating the Infantry of the Guard to have been 14,000. Several similar contradictions might, if necessary, be adduced, all showing that Napoleon, in his St. Helena tables, wilfully and falsely reduced the numbers of his army by about one-fourth, or almost one-third.

his St. Helena memoir, he says that he "was filled with satisfaction at the great fault committed by the enemy's general." And French writers tell us that he exclaimed, "Ah! I have them, then,—these English!" He evidently felt the superiority of his force to be so great as to leave no doubt of the result; and his only fear was lest the English and their general should escape him!

The Duke, however, never dreamed, from first to last, of retreat. Yet, conscious of the great disparity of his forces, he had taken the precaution to call upon Blücher for assistance. The old warrior eagerly promised it, and his arrival on the field was expected at two o'clock. The state of the roads, however, prevented the Prussians from coming into action before five in the afternoon. For six hours, therefore, was Wellington left, with a force not numbering 50,000 men really available for service, to meet the attacks of 90,000 of the best troops in France. At last, in the afternoon, two divisions of Prussians came up. This has often been represented as a lucky accident, saving the Duke from certain defeat; instead of which, it was merely part of his settled plan. Without this aid, it would have been an act of temerity to give battle to a force so superior to his own.

And now, then, were to meet, in one desperate and decisive encounter, on which the fate of Europe might be said to hang, the two greatest commanders of modern times. "Never," it has been truly said, "had two such generals confronted each other, since the day when Scipio and Hannibal met at Zama."

Napoleon delayed commencing his attack until eleven o'clock, a manifest error; seeing that he must have anticipated from the first, the appearance of the Prussians; and all depended on his crushing the Duke's little army before Blücher could arrive on the field. At last, somewhat before noon, the battle began in earnest, and it may be said to have lasted ten hours. It resembled a great drama, divided into five acts; each of which, wholly distinct from the rest, was in itself a wonder.

The first onset of the French was directed against Hougoumont, a farm-house with walled orchards, &c., which formed an outpost and defence for the Duke's right wing. The capture of this place was assigned to the 2nd corps of the French army, which is described in various French accounts as of the strength of from 18,000 to 20,000 men. It was defended by a few hundreds of the English guards, and a German battalion. Its garrison scarcely ever amounted to 2000 men. Yet its assailants found its capture beyond their utmost efforts. Many fierce assaults were made upon it, hour after hour. The orchard was taken and retaken; but entrance into the house itself the French never could gain. Their loss in these repeated attacks is estimated at from 6000 to 8000 men. Their whole 2nd

corps was cut up and demoralized by its repeated failures. But at sunset this post remained, as it had been at sunrise, in the possession of its English garrison. And its successful resistance left the Duke's right wing in safety.

The second act of this great drama opened about one o'clock. The whole first corps of the French army, which had not yet been in action, and which Ney, its commander, describes as consisting of between 25,000 and 30,000 men, was directed to force the British centre. This part of the Duke's line was occupied by two brigades of British infantry, not 3000 strong, and by Bylandt's brigade of Dutch and Belgians. The latter, so soon as the French columns approached them, hastily went to the rear, amidst the hootings and groans of the British soldiers. Sir Thomas Picton had now only his 3000 English infantry, to oppose to attacking columns of five or six times their number. So soon as the French came within distance, the English poured in a volley, and then instantly charged with the bayonet. The French fell into confusion, and at this moment the Scotch Greys, the Royals, and the Enniskilleners broke in upon them. Two eagles and 2000 prisoners were taken; and the whole side of the hill was covered with fugitives. It is worthy of notice, that all the French accounts notice this great attack on the British centre as a main feature of the day, but they all forget to state *what was the result of it*. Gourgaud thus glosses it over: "The enemy's cavalry made several successful charges on one of the columns of our first corps, and about fifteen of our guns, which were advancing, were driven back into a hollow road. When the emperor perceived that some disorder prevailed, he proceeded thither at full gallop, and soon restored order."

The two principal corps of Napoleon's army had now been defeated, and driven back with loss. At last, at three o'clock, desperate at these repulses, either Ney, or Napoleon, or probably Ney with Napoleon's assent, called forward the reserve of cavalry, consisting of 6000 or 7000 cuirassiers, and the dragoons, lancers, and mounted grenadiers of the guard, and launched them on the British centre. Napoleon himself speaks of them in "Book ix.," as "these 12,000 select horse." Now there could not have remained in line at that moment, allowing for the garrison at Hougomont, and for the losses incurred during four hours of fighting, so many as 12,000 of the British infantry; and too many of the foreign brigades were unreliable. Yet upon these were let loose, in one enormous body, "12,000 select horse," one-half of whom were cuirassiers. "For some time," said the Duke, "I had the infantry in squares, and the French cavalry walking about us as if they had been our own." Such a position of two contending armies is not to be paralleled in history. Yet, wonderful as the fact is, it was

not the English infantry, but the French cavalry, that was destroyed. Napoleon's own bulletin said, "There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, several squares" (not British) "were penetrated, and six standards taken; an advantage bearing no proportion to the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket firing." And his secretary tells us, that in conversation he laid the blame on Ney, saying, "Ney behaved like a madman,—he got my cavalry massacred for me!" But the fearful consequence to Napoleon was this: that when, at the close of the day, the English hus-sars swept over the field, he had not a single regiment of cavalry to oppose to them. His splendid corps of "12,000 select horse" had been "massacred." And so closed the third act of this fearful drama.

The fourth opened portentously for Napoleon. He had lost eight hours since breakfast, and six hours of actual fighting had failed to gain for him a single foot of ground. And now, as five o'clock drew near, the foremost divisions of the Prussian army began to appear. He strives, in his Historical Memoir, to represent them as coming into the field at a much earlier period. But on this point no sort of doubt can exist. The Prussian account of the battle states, that it was half-past four o'clock before the first two brigades of their 4th corps could reach the field. And count Drouet, who was at Napoleon's side during the battle, in his speech in the chamber of peers, June 24, 1815, said, "The Prussians began to attack us at about half-past five in the afternoon."

Napoleon, in his Historical Memoir, professes to be surprised at the appearance of the Prussians, and to blame Grouchy, whom he had detached to pursue Blucher, for not coming to his aid. But nothing could be more transparently unjust. He had despatched Grouchy, with 35,000 men, to keep the Prussians employed, while he fell upon Wellington's army. He had a right to practise this device, if he pleased; but he had no right to wonder that the Prussian general refused to be so deceived. As to Grouchy, Napoleon had given him only 35,000 men, wherewith to pursue and fight 80,000. How irrational and absurd, therefore, would it have been to expect Grouchy, so overmatched, to have sent him help. But Napoleon's own bulletin, written at the time, shows that he had no such thought. No censure of Grouchy appears in it. The whole idea was an afterthought, invented at St. Helena, as an excuse for losing the battle.

This Prussian diversion, however, drew off about 10,000 of the French troops; the 6th corps, not yet engaged, and some battalions of the Young Guard. Napoleon tries to make it appear that he was now overmatched; for that 30,000 Prussians had joined the 90,000 Anglo-Belgians. But both statements

are untrue. The Duke's army was nominally only 67,655, but, really, it was less than 50,000 of actual combatants; and the two Prussian brigades which now appeared, numbered only 16,000 men, wearied with a long and toilsome march. Not yet, then, nor until Blücher himself appeared, two hours later, was there even an equality of force on the part of the allies.

But now had come the last hour of the battle, and the closing act of this vast tragedy. An hour or more of the Prussian attack showed the inadequacy of their force. The 10,000 men whom Napoleon had employed, proved themselves able to keep these new assailants at bay; and, as seven o'clock was arriving, without any impression having been made on the British line, Napoleon determined to venture his last stake, and to bring forward his only remaining reserve, the far-famed imperial guard, of which sixteen battalions, amounting to at least 9000 or 10,000 men, had not yet fired a shot. He moved them down, therefore, from their position in the third line, and gave the command of them to marshal Ney, with orders, with this new and hitherto invincible body of veterans, to force the centre of the English position. Two attacking columns were formed, and began to move down from the heights into the valley, and up the heights on the other side, on which the British infantry were drawn up.

This "attack of the imperial guard" has been so often described, that we shall speak of it in the briefest terms. Another mistake was made by Napoleon, at this important crisis, in addition to various other errors in the course of the day. The two attacking columns were not sent forward simultaneously, but the second was ten or fifteen minutes in the rear of the first. As the French guards ascended the slope on which the British stood, and came within distance, the Duke gave the word to the English guards. Napier's battery sent grape into the French column; the guards gave a volley which struck down 300 of the French in a moment. Then the bayonet-charge was given, and in a moment this formidable column of the finest troops in France was one mass of fugitives, rushing back into the valley, with the English behind them.

In a few minutes the second column appeared; but the mistake which had been made in sending the two on at an interval of ten or fifteen minutes, was now seen. Not only the English brigade upon which its assault was intended, but the guards also, just victorious over the first column, were able to pour their fire into the second. This terrible fire of musketry, with the accompaniment of grape-shot from the batteries, soon broke the column, and then, charged in front by the guards, and in flank by the 52nd and 71st regiments, it gave way and rushed down the hill in hopeless disorder. Count Drouot, in describing the scene, in the French chamber of peers, a week

after, said: "The guard, when it had reached the plateau, was received with the most terrible fire of musketry and grape. The great number of the wounded who separate from the column, make it believed that the guard is routed; a panic terror communicates itself to the neighbouring corps, which precipitately takes to flight."

Napoleon had preserved hope up to this point. But he now saw his last battalions sent back in utter disorder; the Prussians, under Blucher himself, driving his troops out of La Haye on his right, and the whole English line descending from the heights which it had for nine hours defended, and driving his frightened soldiers in crowds before them. He turned pale, exclaimed "All is lost!" and hastily left the field. All was indeed lost, for with that battle fell the empire.

We have said that the main events of this great battle constitute a series of wonders; and we deeply feel this. We cannot help regarding all the chief features of this short campaign as wondrously ordained, and we wish to ascribe the glory to the Great Ordainer.

That a campaign, meant by all the sovereigns of Europe to last for weeks or months, should suddenly have terminated on its fourth day, was an event quite absent from any one's calculation. To bring about so sudden and unlooked-for a termination, many things were necessary, which no human being could ever have thought of contriving.

It was necessary that the Duke's army should be so weak as to prolong the contest till the last moment of daylight. If he had received the 12,000 or 15,000 men who were on their way home from America, he would have ended the battle before five o'clock, and other battles and new circumstances would have followed. The total prostration of Napoleon depended on the long prolongation of the struggle, so that when Blucher came into the field, he found only vast crowds of fugitives, and the work of his soldiers during the night was to effect the utter disorganization of the French army. With that army Napoleon's power vanished, and in four days after its dissolution he had abdicated.

The several stages or acts of this great tragedy are each of them topics of admiration and of gratitude. Never were the soldiers of Great Britain thrown into greater peril, and never were they so wondrously carried through it. The defence of a farm-house, for a whole day, by a few hundred English soldiers, against the assaults of at least 15,000 French; the defeat of Ney, at the head of a corps of 25,000 men, by less than 3,000 British infantry; the sustaining the assaults of "12,000 select cavalry" during three long hours, by less than their own number of British foot-soldiers; and finally, the utter defeat of the Imperial guard itself, by a force scarcely equal to one-half of

its numbers,—all these were deeds which can hardly be paralleled in British history; and which it would be wrong to ascribe to any natural causes, or, indeed, to any cause but that overruling power which had, in a wonderful way, wrought to produce this remarkable event. The indomitable resolution shown both by the English general and the English soldiers, equalled any former instance upon record; but, looking at the fearful odds against which they contended, and at the constant firmness displayed by thousands of young Englishmen who had never before seen actual war, we cannot help being reminded of David's ascription of praise: "Thou hast girded me with strength for the battle; thou hast subdued under me those that rose up against me." The especial praise due to the British general rests, first, on his singular intrepidity, in boldly confronting so great a captain with so weak an army; secondly, on his consummate skill, shown in nine hours of defensive warfare against so powerful an assailant; and thirdly, on that penetrating eye, which saw, in a moment, the arrival of the opportunity of attack, and by throwing the whole English army on the beaten foe, changed his repulse into his ruinous defeat. This one victory dethroned an emperor; but it did more,—it gave Europe peace for forty years.

We have now concluded this, the chief part of our labour. We have rapidly sketched the great deeds of this great man. He had defeated, one after the other, almost all Napoleon's ablest lieutenants, Junot, Victor, Marmont, Massena, Ney, Jourdan, Soult; and as a fitting close, he met the master and superior of them all, the great conqueror himself. He met him under circumstances of considerable disadvantage, with an army of new levies, hastily collected, and inferior in numbers; yet he gave him one of the greatest defeats that is known in history. Hence, without claiming much weight for our opinion, we know not how to give to Wellington any other place among the world's great captains than that of the very first.

But here terminates, almost entirely, the pleasing part of our task. We are not writing a panegyric, nor have we the least respect for the popular rule, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. In biography, as well as in morals or theology, we hold to the doctrine of Richard Cecil, that "half the truth is a lie." Biographies, not a few, of the Duke, have been written; of which the public have silently thought, or perhaps said, "Well, that is as much as you choose to tell us, but we know something more."

Wellington's military career closed with his forty-ninth year. He had left England in 1809, to undertake the hopeless task of saving the Peninsula from the overpowering oppression of Napoleon. He returned home, after a few years, "the greatest actor left on the stage by the greatest events of modern times."

Long after this, the publication of his Despatches raised his character still higher in the estimation of his countrymen. No such exhibition of purity of motive, loftiness of aim, sagacity, patience, the highest kind of courage, and indomitable perseverance, had ever been made. We scarcely wonder at the enthusiasm of the editor of those Despatches, Colonel Gurwood, who told Leslie the painter, at a dinner-party, "I am bringing into full light the greatest creature that God ever made." Yet, not in these Despatches, nor in the ordinary histories of the time, do we find any satisfactory reference to one terrible blot which sadly dimmed all this fame.

England suffered one immense dishonour in Spain. More than once or twice her troops fought their way into fortified towns, the inhabitants of which were friends and allies, and behaved themselves, not to the French, but to the Spaniards, like fiends in human shape. Thus, of the capture of Badajos, Napier says,—

"All the dreadful passions of human nature were displayed. Shameless rapacity, savage lust, cruelty and murder, shrieks and piteous lamentations resounded for two days and nights in the streets of Badajos."

And of the storming of St. Sebastian, he thus speaks :—

"This storm seemed to be the signal from hell for the perpetration of villany which would have shamed the most ferocious barbarians of antiquity. The direst, the most revolting cruelty was added to the catalogue of crimes."

This last atrocity called forth an indignant remonstrance from the National Junta of Spain, in which this language occurs :—

"O wretched day! O cruel night! Pillage, assassinations, rape, were pushed to an incredible height: On all sides were heard the shrieks of women. Crimes, the horror of which the pen refuses to record, were committed on that awful night."

But did not the Duke deeply regret these scenes? Did he not punish many of the perpetrators?

Doubtless he did sincerely regret the horrible length to which these atrocities were carried; and did hang some of the offenders. But this does not entirely clear his fame. Why did whole days and nights pass before all this violence was checked? And was the Duke himself wholly guiltless in the matter?

Could such crimes have been committed by the soldiers of Cromwell, or of Havelock? But what had been the tone of morals in Wellington's camp?

The testimony of officers who were occasionally guests at the Duke's table during these campaigns, assured us, many long years ago, that the style of conversation which was customary,

was one utterly intolerable. The same testimony also gave us reason to believe that the manner of life which was common was quite conformable with the "corrupt communication which proceeded out of the mouth." Napoleon, in one of his conversations with Barry O'Meara, at St. Helena, expressed his wonder at the number of profligate women who were allowed to follow the English armies. His own personal knowledge of an English army could not extend beyond that which he met in June, 1815, but many officers of his staff had met the English forces repeatedly in the Peninsula.

This is a painful portion of the subject, but if we would write "the whole truth," it is necessary. In Holy Scripture, our great example, nothing is glossed over. There is no hesitation, no reserve, in letting us know that that same Solomon who was "wiser than all men," afterwards committed the enormous folly of collecting "seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines." And in the present case, to shut our eyes, wilfully, to any of the prominent facts of the Duke's life, is simply to prefer a fiction to the truth.

We pass on, then, to the remaining thirty years of the life of Wellington. And, assuredly, the first twenty, in which he was an active, earnest sharer in the party politics of his time, added nothing to his reputation. With all his practical sagacity and sterling good sense, he allowed himself, on three great occasions, to be led by a very inferior man,—Sir Robert Peel; and on each occasion he was drawn into a course which diminished his high standing in the public esteem.

He joined with Peel in the confederacy against Canning. He was one of those who protested, in 1827, that they could not act with Canning, lest he should do something to further the Catholic claims. The Duke, in saying this, was sincere and straightforward; but Peel, who led this confederacy, was insincere. On the 9th of June, 1828, the Duke took a prominent part in inducing the House of Lords to reject the Catholic claims. On the following morning we saw a brief note from him to a friend, which fully exhibited the earnestness and sincerity of the Duke's mind on this question. Yet, when Parliament had separated, Peel sat down at Brighton and wrote him a letter, stating his opinion, that the Catholic claims must be conceded; and tendering his resignation. This, to use a military phrase, "turned the Duke's flank at once." Wellington's first and main question always was, "How is the king's government to be carried on?" Loyalty to the crown was, with him, like the mainspring to a watch. He could not carry on the king's government without Peel, and therefore he succumbed. He consented to surrender his own convictions to what his meaner colleague represented as "a political necessity." But while Peel had, in effecting his object, absolutely prostrated, for a time, himself,

he had also greatly diminished the public veneration for his great coadjutor. The Duke had lost, before Midsummer, 1829, more than one-half of the political estimation and influence which he possessed in Midsummer, 1828.

The following year completed the disastrous work. After resolving to concede what, if it were anything, was a question of principle—a question of conscience—Peel resolved, in 1830, to be firm, even to stubbornness, on a question of mere expediency. And he easily persuaded the Duke, whose tendencies were always opposed to *movement*, to join with him in declaring that there should be no reform. This closed, for a time, the career, as a public man, of the Great Duke. He was warned not to appear at a city banquet, for fear of a popular outbreak. His house was attacked, and the windows broken, and for a year or two he became one of the most unpopular men in England. All this he owed to the unwise submission of his own judgment to the influence of an inferior and less straightforward mind.

But years rolled away, and 1839 brought the Duke's seventieth birth-day. The irritation caused by the mistakes of 1829 and 1830 had subsided, and a sense of what England owed to her great captain for the lengthened tranquillity which his good sword had brought her, continually grew and strengthened, until, about this time, he began again to be regarded, almost universally, with the deepest respect and the most sincere veneration. Peel, too, always intent on the great object of his life—the lead of the House of Commons—had now upreared a great party, and was waiting for a fitting opportunity to overthrow the Whig government, and to assume the place of power on their retirement. In all this, the concurrence of the Duke greatly aided him. Peel had now apparently returned to his first faith; and the Duke, always heartily conservative, seconded him with his whole soul.

But, strange to say, the misfortunes and rebukes of 1829-30 had taught Peel nothing. Once more he committed the preposterous fault and fatal error of building up a government upon principles in which, in his innermost soul, he had no faith. He professed indignation at the alleged leanings of the Whigs to Romanism. He was full of wrath when they proposed to lower the duty upon corn. So he overthrew their administration and formed one of his own; and then, in some three years after, he endowed Maynooth college, and altogether abolished the duty on corn! And in these acts, which were treasons to his party, whatever they might be in themselves, he succeeded in inducing the Duke to concur.

We have always considered the manner in which Sir Robert Peel gained over the Duke on the corn-law question, to have been singularly characteristic of the two men. First, Sir Robert proposed to his cabinet to give up the protective duties,

and found almost all his colleagues, the Duke included, opposed to him. He then, naturally enough, resigned. This was inevitable; but it ought to have been followed by another step. Having persuaded himself that the corn-laws ought to be repealed, he ought to have given a hearty support to Lord John Russell in carrying that measure. But when Lord John asked for that support, it was withheld; and the Whig leader, knowing that Sir Robert had a majority in the House of Commons, was forced to give up the task. Then came the question, what was to be done? With a feigned gush of loyalty and patriotism, Peel said to the Duke, "I will not desert the queen!" And the Duke afterwards told the House of Lords: "I was delighted with him, and told him I would stand by him."

Now the difficulty was wholly of Peel's own making. If he had given his hearty support to Lord John Russell, all would have gone on smoothly. But he was bent on having the glory, such as it was, of repealing the corn-laws; and therefore, he first makes it impossible for Lord John to take the government, and then exclaims, in loyal fervour, "I will not desert the queen"!

That this "ingenious manœuvre" should have succeeded with the Duke, showed convincingly that he was not the sagacious, far-seeing leader in politics which he was in war. He undertook the task which Peel had thus imposed upon him; forced the corn-law-repeal bill through the House of Lords, *without saying one word in its favour*; resigned, with the rest of the ministry, in the autumn, and declared his intention of taking no further share in party politics. And from that time commenced the last and most honoured and venerated stage of his life. Most men had known, all along, that, in taking part in political controversies, the Duke had never been actuated by any personal ambition. It was scarcely possible for either the Crown or the Parliament to add anything to the honours which he had already received. His duty to his sovereign, and the real interest which he felt in his country's welfare, had been his ruling motives at all periods. This circumstance, however, could not reconcile men to his support of Catholic emancipation, or to his opposition to reform. But now, all this was ended. His seventy-fifth year was passed, and men began to gaze on him with the calmness of admiration with which they behold the last minutes of the setting sun. "They loved his personal dignity, his manliness, his simplicity, and strength." "His most remarkable characteristic was the union of common sense with lofty feeling; of matter of fact and chivalry. He was a man of great actions, but small professions; a knight errant without extravagance; a man of business, whose career was a romance. Recalling the memory of mighty contests and of

great successes, that good grey head, with its halo of former glories, stood amidst the later times like the peak of a submerged world."

Personally, his last days were doubtless his best days. Of the middle period of his life, when a widower still in his prime, and earnestly engaged in political strife, we cannot speak otherwise than doubtfully. Common rumour, often false, ascribed to him habits and manners akin to those of the camp which he had but recently left. But, unquestionably, from his seventieth year and onwards, an outward change took place, and with Wellington the outward and the inward always resembled each other. It is well known that during the last ten years of his life he read many books on the highest and noblest subjects; of which, in busier times, he would have little cared to hear. Mr. Elliott's great work on prophecy was carefully perused by him, and it was not the only work of that class which formed part of his studies. A singular incident is mentioned by colonel Hamley, of his latest days. On the 12th of September, 1852, he wrote to a friend: "I had a letter this morning from a madman, who announces that he is a messenger from the Lord, and that he will deliver his message to me to-morrow morning. We shall see." On the 13th, not this messenger, but a different one came, and he was summoned to behold, personally, "Him, in whose hand his breath was, and whose were all his ways."

Our readers will hardly be in any danger of confounding the different orders and classes of great men. It was a strong and remarkable distinction which was made by our Lord, when he said: "Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist;—notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he." And assuredly, if John fell far below Stephen or Paul, Abner the son of Ner ranked infinitely below John. Still, honour of a certain kind was his due. And when the eye ranges over the great men of the world's secular history, it can hardly discover a name which shines with a brighter splendour, as a loyal subject, a true lover of his country, a high-minded and noble man, and a consummate general, than that of Arthur Wellesley, duke of Wellington.

THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE ATONEMENT CONTROVERSY.

1. *The True Doctrine of the Atonement Asserted and Vindicated.* By Daniel Wilson, M.A., Vicar of Islington, and Rural Dean. Seeley & Co., 1860.
2. *The Atonement: An Argument.* By the Very Rev. Daniel Bagot, B.D., Dean of Dromore, &c. London: Groombridge & Sons. 1860.
3. *The Atonement, Considered in reference to Catholic Antiquity and Existing Controversy; with some notice of the Publications of Dean Bagot, and the Rev. Daniel Wilson.* Rivington, 1860.

THERE is, we are told, no evil in the moral world without its corresponding good. The biting frost pulverizes the soil which it had hardened into stone; and the dreary winter of the Atonement controversy is already budding into spring. We have been contented too long with surface arguments and hackneyed statements of the truth. The plough begins to do its work again; and the rich sub-soil is thrown up to the surface. We have in the two pamphlets at the head of our list more of the results of patient thought upon this great doctrine than we have lately met within so small a compass; and in the third we have some views upon the subject which require attention.

The vicar of Islington first examines the doctrine of the Atonement as it is laid down in the word of God, and proceeds afterwards to point out the perils which arise to the church from inadequate and erroneous views regarding it. The doctrine he lays down is that which we believe to be the only scriptural one,—namely, that Christ died on Calvary, that he might offer a propitiation for man's guilt; that his sufferings were vicarious; that he stood in our place; that he became our substitute, and endured the penalty which our sins had incurred. The proofs of this he gives from Scripture, and confirms his argument from our Prayer-Book, and Articles, and Homilies. Before entering on this inquiry, he premises two cautions: "the one, against making statements in reference to the Atonement which would seem to represent God the Father as a God of wrath and anger, taking pleasure in the sufferings inflicted on his Son;" the other, against speaking on the Atonement "as if it were the only method that God could have adopted for man's salvation." We have no right, he thinks, thus to limit the power and resources of an infinite Being. We agree with him in this; and would add, that there are other points in doctrinal theology on which it often gives us pain to hear broad assertions made as to what God is obliged to do,—what he can

and cannot accomplish. We agree with Mr. Wilson: "It is enough for us that this is the divinely-appointed method by which God has been pleased to render man's salvation consistent with the vindication of His own attributes as a God of holiness, justice, and truth;" and yet, when we consider the vast, unspeakable worth of the sacrifice, we are almost driven reverently, and in silence, to fall back upon the conclusion that God himself saw no other method of saving man; for while His perfect wisdom would select the best of all methods, His perfect goodness and mercy would surely lead Him to choose the least expensive one. Does not the text (Isa. lix. 16) lead to the same conclusion? "He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor; therefore his arm brought salvation unto him, and his righteousness it sustained him." But we receive the caution, and feel that it is better to be silent and adore.

Mr. Wilson traces the whole of the false system which now agitates the church to "an attempt to graft Christianity on ancient philosophy." This is perfectly true. Those who have some acquaintance with the history of the church during the second and third centuries will at once perceive how shallow and how threadbare is the whole device. It is nothing more than a reproduction, very slightly modified, of the heresies and absurdities—for many of their notions were too absurd to be graced with the name of heresy—of the mongrel Christians of Syria and Asia, who had a smattering of the Alexandrine philosophy, mixed up with an imperfect acquaintance with the facts rather than the doctrines of the gospel. The following sentences would find a place in one of the early chapters of Mosheim's or Neander's history, and be quite as applicable to some of the so-called Christians of the second and third centuries, as they are, in Mr. Wilson's pages, to the Oxford movement.

"The Platonic axiom lies at the root of the whole, that human reason can, under favourable circumstances, attain to truth and certainty. This doctrine is connected with the mystical pantheistic notion that certain emanations of Deity pervade the whole human race. Christ, we are told, is the representative man. Christ dwells in every man—the source of all light, the real bond of human society and of the whole universe. Hence it follows, that the same Divine influence which inspired the sacred writers also inspires mankind at large, whether heathen or christian."

This pantheistic notion, carried out to its full extent, invests the world, and indeed all nature, animate and inanimate, with the attributes of Deity. It was the source of the degrading superstitions of ancient Egypt. It now gives a charm, and offers an excuse, for the worst indecencies of the Hindoo

idolatry in the eyes of Hindoo sages, and is the very ground on which practices too disgusting to be mentioned are justified by refined and accomplished Brahmins. And now, amongst the leaders of public opinion in England, there are men who avow these principles, though they shrink with horror from the conclusions to which they lead. It is a mournful sight, when English divines are gravely considering the merits of that pantheism which the wiser heathen of Rome long since treated with contempt! If they are too proud to be instructed by the Bible, they may at least blush when they turn to Cicero and read his treatise *De Naturâ Deorum*. The grave and delicate irony of the wise old heathen may put to shame the superciliousness which flouts the authority of St. Paul. There is an eloquent and argumentative chapter in Jules Simon's recent work on "Natural Religion," which, as coming from a very free thinker and an unprofessional quarter, may also, perhaps, be listened to. We have seen no attempt to answer it. Mr. Wilson's valuable pamphlet will, we have no doubt, be the means of bringing repose to many anxious minds, and of showing the dangers of the new theology to those who are exposed to its baneful influence.

2. Not less valuable is the argument of the dean of Dromore. It is thrown into the form of propositions, which, in a short treatise of fifty pages, the dean undertakes to examine and illustrate. We give them in full:—

"1. We shall endeavour," he says, "to show the general nature and necessity of an atonement.

"2. We shall prove that an atonement could not have been offered by the sinner himself.

"3. We shall show what should be the necessary attributes of such an atonement as God would accept.

"4. We shall show that Christ as Mediator has offered an atonement possessing the required characteristics.

"5. We shall prove by Scripture testimony that His sufferings and death did constitute an actual atonement for sin.

"6. We shall briefly examine some of the leading popular objections against this doctrine.

"7. We shall deduce a few practical reflections for the subject."

These, of course, are not fully discussed, but a few heads suggestive of thought are presented to the reader in a very lucid manner under each of them. Thus, under the sixth proposition, replies are briefly suggested to four popular objections: namely, that the death of Christ may be accounted for simply as His having died as an example, and to prove the truth of the doctrines which He taught. Why, then asks the dean, should His death be so often spoken of as a sacrifice for sin; and why do we not find a sacrificial phraseology employed by the sacred writers in describing the death

of others as well as the death of Christ? Besides, the truth of Christ's doctrines had been already proved by His miracles. And, again, this method of solution will not account for the agonies which He is said to have endured when there were none to witness them. Here the reader will perceive that within a few lines the dean has compressed abundant materials for much thought and reflection. In the same way, and in the space of three pages, he suggests the answers to the other objections; namely, the injustice of making an innocent person suffer for the guilty; or, that which represents the atonement as necessary to induce God to lay aside His wrath, and to become merciful in consequence of the death of Christ. No; replies the dean, "the atonement is not the *cause* but the *effect* and consequence of God's love to man; the death of Christ did not *create* mercy, but was the means of *displaying* mercy." And, lastly, he considers the objection that an atonement interferes with the freeness of divine mercy; and proves, in few words, this is not the case. The doctrine of Scripture is, that sinners are saved by grace, but redeemed by the blood of Christ. The pardon of our sins was procured by the sufferings and death of Christ, but is conferred as a free gift upon every sinner that believeth in Jesus. We are "justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." (Rom. iii. 24, 25.)

This little work is, in short, a manual of the whole controversy. It will suggest to the clergy the proper manner of dealing with it; and it will suggest to the thoughtful inquirer the right answer to all the greater difficulties, if not to every quibble, which the German school are too ready to suggest.

3. Our third pamphlet professes to take a moderate view. There is much to be said on both sides. "The views of Mr. Maurice are mistaken;" but still "his system embraces elements of truth." And "there is an important department of the question to which justice has been done by neither party." These sentences occur on the first half page, where we also meet with the following:—"Some years since, it was affirmed by a popular and pious church historian (and the astounding assertion obtained extensively a credence as astonishing) that the church of Christ had been destitute of the doctrine of justification by faith for the greater part of the entire fifteen centuries that preceded Luther and the reformation." So many dogmatic statements, and so much virtuous indignation, come upon us rather abruptly on the first page of a tract, which the writer tells us is meant to "*suggest considerationes modestæ et pacificæ.*" Thomas Scott, the venerable commentator, is reported to have said that, although a Calvinist himself, he liked a man's Calvinism to come upon him *by degrees*. We have the

same feeling with regard to virtuous indignation. It should be poured out upon us on the last page; not upon the first; although it is true it might have evaporated if kept back so long, and so never have been poured out at all. Did our author ever read father Paul's history of the council of Trent? The holy fathers were probably as well acquainted with patristic literature as himself, and with the history of church matters too, for the fifteen centuries he speaks of. Now when Luther's heresy came before them, the holy fathers, we are told, looked at one another in sore perplexity. Was there any such doctrine as justification by faith, in any sense of those words? or was it more than a barbarous jargon hatched in the teeming brain of the rebellious heretic? Well, upon the whole, it was admitted, after long discussion, that there must be some such doctrine, whatever it might mean; for had not St. Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, made mention of it, and, in fact, made use of those very words? But what was the doctrine? Here again the holy fathers were in dire perplexity. Ages had passed, they said, and it had been scarcely heard of in the church. Ages had passed, and there had either been no discussions on the subject, or they were so few, obscure, and dubious, that they candidly acknowledged they knew very little about them. At length it was made out to their satisfaction that there were at least nine different ways, or more, (we have not his folio at hand, and quote father Paul from recollection,) in which the doctrine might be understood, and from these they had to make their choice. Had these wise divines been content to take the guidance of St. Paul, it seems to us very probable that they would have decided aright; they preferred to grope among the fathers, and so decided wrong. The writer of this pamphlet has followed their example, and he shares their fate; both he and they stumbling among the dark mountains of what he is pleased to call catholic theology. There is nothing, then, so very "astounding," it seems, in the statement of the popular and pious historian. The church of Christ had really been destitute, or all but destitute, of the doctrine of justification by faith for the greater part of the fifteen centuries which preceded Luther and the reformation.

What follows in this treatise is to us of little importance. "Modern orthodoxy, we are told, in connection with the doctrine of our Lord's atonement, embraces the most opposite and conflicting views within its limits; and all of them, at the same time, views of the atonement entirely unknown to catholic antiquity." Now, in the first place, we must take leave to deny the truth of this sweeping statement; and, in the second, we entirely decline to defer to catholic antiquity on points of Christian doctrine. We prefer what our author terms "the shibboleth of modern orthodoxy," or "the theology which

Milner (the historian) designates as perfectly scriptural." It signifies little to us what "the fathers tell us with one voice as to the immediate object of the sacrifice of Christ;" for One is our Master, even Christ, and He nowhere tells us we are to seek for the real meaning of His own instructions in the writings of the fathers. We have given our reasons repeatedly for refusing to bow down to their authority in matters doctrinal; in our number for February, 1860, page 83—6, as well as in other places, and we need not resume the subject.

It is only necessary to add this further remark: it is loosely or carelessly asserted by one party in our church, and with equal carelessness admitted by another, that we are somehow bound to the theology of the first four general councils, and that this implies a recognition of patristic authority in matters of doctrine. The fact is simply this; that when the court of High Commission was formed under queen Elizabeth, it was of course necessary to define its powers, and to show the limits within which it was restrained. And with this view, and this alone, it was determined that nothing should be held or accounted heresy which had not been so deemed by one of the first four general councils. This, in fact, was a mere "statute of limitations," to prevent the exercise of what would otherwise have been an intolerable tyranny. The councils are appealed to, not as doctrinal authorities, but simply as historical witnesses. How else, indeed, can they be recognized by a church which solemnly maintains in her article that "general councils have erred, and may err again, even in things pertaining unto God; inasmuch as they are composed of fallible men, all of whom are not governed by the Spirit and Word of God"? Art. 21.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Idealism considered. By Rev. W. Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield, &c. London: Joseph Masters, 1860.—We have unhappily been obliged but too frequently to introduce the name of Mr. Gresley to our readers, in pointing out what we considered the serious errors of a system of which he has been one of the ablest exponents. Our satisfaction is great in proportion, now that for once we can meet with cordiality on common ground. This pamphlet is a popular yet searching exposition of the follies into which the Idealists have fallen. It is written chiefly with reference to the volume of "Essays and Reviews," lately published; and he takes a standing point not far remote from that which we ourselves have occupied: "While these pages are

passing through the press, I have seen an article on Dr. Temple's Essay in the *Christian Observer* for September, in which I am happy to find several points of coincidence with what I have myself written. It is indeed time that all those who believe in God's revealed word, should join together and contend earnestly for the faith which is assailed." Mr. Gresley concludes a very solemn remonstrance with a stroke of irony; he supposes a paper of questions put forth by the vice-principal of Lampeter College to his candidates for orders; or the same questions might be imagined as proposed by the head master of Rugby to his sixth-form boys: they embody some of the principles and doctrines which are taught in the volume under consideration. Or, we will add, they may supply some useful hints to the archdeacons and episcopal chaplains who congratulated Mr. Maurice on his preferment to the Vere-street Chapel, at the next ordinations. We venture to copy the examination paper.

"Questions by an Ideological Examiner."

"1. Give reasons for supposing that the account contained in the Bible of the creation of Adam and Eve, and the descent of the human race from them, is not to be considered as an undoubted historical fact, but 'the concrete expression of a great moral truth;' that 'the idea of creation is to be rejected,' and it is rather to be believed that, in point of fact, mankind have in all probability been developed gradually out of mushrooms.

"2. Explain why the declaration of God contained in Gen. vi., 'Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life,'—and in Gen. vii. 21, 'And all flesh died . . . in whose nostrils was the breath of life. . . . And Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark'—is contrary to fact, and that the flood did not extend beyond the primæval region of North Asia.

"3. Explain the process of reasoning by which it is proved, ideologically, that when we read in Holy Scripture that God did tempt Abraham, and bade him offer his son for a burnt-offering, what is really meant is, that 'the fierce ritual of Syria, with the awe of a divine voice,' urged him to do so, and his faith consisted in deciding not to follow the suggestion.

"4. State your views of the Exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, and explain why it is probable that the destroyer whom God sent to slay the first-born of the Egyptians, was a horde of Bedouins.

"5. State your reasons for thinking that it is impossible, in the nature of things, that miracles can possibly take place; and consequently, that the creation of the world, the incarnation, the deeds said by eye-witnesses to have been performed by our Lord Jesus Christ, His healing the sick, cleansing the leper, opening the eyes of the blind, feeding the multitude, and lastly, His resurrection from the dead, are not deserving of credit.

"6. If miracles are not to be believed, explain how that large portion of Holy Scripture which contains the account of miracles having been performed, being false, can be said 'to be given by inspiration of God, and to be profitable for instruction.'

"7. Explain why it may be true that the decision of the council

of Nicæa was 'the greatest misfortune which ever befell the Christian world;' and that it would have been much better to have left things alone, and allowed men to believe Christ to have been God or man, and to have worshipped Him or not, as they chose.

"8. Explain the theory on which you ground the notion that persons disbelieving the facts of Holy Scripture, are nevertheless very proper persons to be ordained as bishops, priests, and deacons of the church of England.

"9. Interpret the following clauses in the questions asked by the bishop in the ordaining of priests:—Are you determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge,'—'to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word?'

"10. Do you consider it lawful for individuals to act as it is supposed by ideologists that the writers of Holy Scripture have done,—that is, to state as certain facts, for instance, the creation of man, the deluge, the miracles of our Blessed Lord, the resurrection, when they believe that such events have not really taken place?"

Paul the Pope, and Paul the Friar: a Story of an Interdict. By T. Adolphus Trollope. London: Chapman and Hall. 1861.—What Mr. Trollope calls a story deserves the higher name of a history. The history, too, of an important epoch in the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. There has been in England for fifty years a preposterous sentiment amongst educated people, of false charity towards the church of Rome. It has been, we might say, nothing less than the drivellings of a national idiotism in many quarters. It is too much to ask those who are the subject of it to study the real character of Rome in her canons and official edicts. Perhaps they may condescend to make themselves better acquainted with it through the medium of a story, and no story can be better fitted for the purpose than *Paul the Pope, and Paul the Friar*. However, one hope remains: Englishmen alone, of all the nations upon the earth, refuse to see the hateful character of the hideous apostasy. Her own children have learned first to distrust, and now to abhor, their unnatural parent, and the crisis is coming. "The wind," as Mr. Trollope expresses it, "of the coming shock may already be felt. Or would not the metaphor more correctly represent the fact, if it were said, the crash is already in our ears; and its first consequences are such as to render its final issue no longer doubtful to any man."

Egypt in its Biblical Relations and Moral Aspect. By J. Foulkes Jones, B.A. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.—A book of travels in Egypt ought to be replete with instruction; it ought to supply to the unlearned reader the place of comments on the Pentateuch, and elaborate disquisitions on the historical parts of the Old Testament; and, to a great extent, this volume fulfils these conditions. It is written with a vigorous pen, by an author who keeps in view, without obtruding it, the opportunity presented by almost every scene in Egypt, of throwing some light on Scripture. As a book of travels, overloaded as we are with such productions, it is not devoid of interest; as confirming the truth of Scripture on a hundred points without the labour of an argument, it deserves higher praise. It ful-

fills the promise held out by the Preface. "As a traveller," writes Mr. Jones, "I could not be unmindful of the physical and social conditions of the country through which I was passing; though here, rather than go into much nicety of detail, I have thought it best to give my own impressions of the scenes which fell under my notice. Still, writing as a religious traveller, it has been my chief object to note those points in the life and history of ancient Egypt, which serve to illustrate its connection with the religion and book of God. Herein I have had occasion to touch upon its chronology, mythology, ritual, and civilization; not, indeed, for the purpose of a scientific investigation, but simply with a view to the practical vindication of the Bible, or the general elucidation of Christian truth."

A Journey in the Back Country. By Frederick Law Olmstead. London: Sampson Low and Co. 1860. — Mr. Olmstead is no new writer on the somewhat hackneyed slavery question. He has in previous works given the public the benefit of his observations during journeys made in the sea-board slave states and in Texas. In the present volume he has, in a sensible and honest, though rather Yankee manner, given us his impressions of the condition of the slave in the cotton-growing states round about the Mississippi, and also his more matured opinions on the subjects treated of in his former publications. Now that the right of the slave states of America to secede from the federal union is being agitated, Mr. Olmstead's present volume will, we think, command an extensive circulation, both on account of its own intrinsic merits, and by reason of the interest which the subject on which he treats at present excites. Concerning the policy of slavery, we have so recently given our opinion, that we shall not again open the question. The slave states occupy more than one-half of the superficial area of the American Union, and comprise two-fifths of its population. The free states have, however, both physical superiority and law on their side. Let there be a separation between the free and slave states, and slavery will be abolished for ever. It is not the superior force of the southern slaveholders that keeps the slaves in subjection, it is the Union; it is congress rather than the cowhide. The repeal of the fugitive slave laws must be a necessary result of separation of the states. Let that be accomplished and the slaves will find ways and means to free themselves.

A multitude of practical expositions, often of great merit, are constantly issuing from the press; of these we can notice but a few, and out of justice to those we are obliged to pass over, we feel reluctant to single out others. But we may perhaps be allowed to call attention to *The Penitent's Prayer: a Practical Exposition of the Fifty-first Psalm.* By the Rev. Thomas Alexander, M.A. Nisbet and Co. 1861. It is fervent and eloquent. It brings out the spiritual meaning and application of this wonderful psalm, and its appeals to the conscience are deep and stirring. It is a book to put into the hands of an anxious inquirer, and it may prove a blessing too to many a thoughtless reader.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

ONE subject has absorbed attention during the last month. In its presence Italy has been little thought of, and the rest of Europe and of the world forgotten. The great American Union, the colossus of republics, has fallen to pieces. The bonds which held it together have been suddenly dissolved, as suddenly as our icebound rivers and canals after the recent frost. On the 19th of December South Carolina seceded from the great federal union, "the United States of America," by a deliberate, and even a unanimous, vote of its convention; and by the last mail the news arrived that Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida have followed her example. Georgia would, no doubt, join with them; and Virginia, which, it was hoped, would have acted as umpire between the north and south, was on the point of seceding; and, as the state conventions or parliaments assemble within a few weeks, there is little doubt that all the slave-holding states will successively declare themselves independent. Thus America, as one great republic, exists no longer on the map of nations.

We are not yet in a condition to perceive all the consequences of a revolution at once so sudden and so astonishing. We will trace its progress in a few words, before we venture some conjectures with regard to its results.

Though it has come upon us thus suddenly at last, the probability of such a crisis has been all along foreseen. Washington, Madison, Jefferson, and the older republicans, were always apprehensive of danger; and Wilberforce spoke of it amongst his friends, with a sort of prophetic confidence. The execution of Brown a year ago, and the violence of the slave-owners—a violence which at length assumed the character of actual ferocity—prepared us for the worst. The election of an anti-slavery president, by a large majority of votes, was the natural recoil, the consequence of their own tyrannical behaviour; the free states naturally feeling that the time had come when some steps must be taken in self-defence, or that slavery would subdue and subjugate the whole Union. Still no immediate rupture was expected; nor indeed would it have taken place, had not, as it appears to us, a deep infatuation possessed the slave-holding states. The danger to themselves from a rising of the blacks, who now amount to about four millions, is not to be overlooked. In Virginia great fears are already entertained. Every plantation has its patrols; and kegs of powder, it is said, have been found secreted in several places. Possibly enough there may not be a word of truth in this; but it shows the fears of the slave-owners, even if put forward as an apology for their severities to the slaves. It seemed reasonable to suppose that whenever the disruption occurred, the free states would have been the first to promote it. But here again the violence of the southern states has precipitated the contest, and most probably to their own destruction.

Hitherto the president has acted with dignity and caution; indeed the conduct of all the northern and free states is marked with a

calmness and forbearance in striking contrast with the savage violence of the south; and we must bear in mind that Mr. Buchanan is still in office; the new president not entering on his duties till the 4th of March. In an address, which might serve as a model of such compositions for our own statesmen, he invited the whole Union to observe a day of national humiliation. It was kept early in the month with great solemnity in New York, and generally throughout the northern states still loyal to the Union. The dues collected at the port of Charlestown, the Liverpool of South Carolina, belong to the federal government, but the state has seized upon them. The presidential government sent a ship of war to protect her revenue and collect the duties while afloat. She was fired upon and prudently retired. We are now told that she will return, accompanied by two frigates, to renew the attempt. The harbour is commanded by Fort Sumter, which is in the occupation of the federal troops. Each side waits till the first blow shall be struck, and Europe looks on in anxious expectation.

The president addressed a special message to the senate and house of representatives, on the 9th inst. "The fact cannot be disguised," he says, "that we are in the midst of a great revolution;" yet he does not despair. "I appeal through you to the people of the country to declare, in their might, that the Union must and shall be preserved by all constitutional means."

But now with regard to the future. By "constitutional means" the president understands concession; he suggests a compromise. "The proposition to compromise by letting the north have exclusive control of the territory above a certain line, and to give southern institutions protection below that line, ought to receive universal approbation." It is hardly consistent with this to say, "The present is no time for palliatives; prompt action is required." If, however, the suggestion should be carried, the free states then surrender at discretion, and slavery is lord of the ascendant. But the southern states now declare that no concession will satisfy them unless it be the making slavery the law of the whole Union, and bringing every state into complete harmony with themselves. Even supposing this to be effected, the difficulty is not removed. The question is only postponed for a year or two. Slavery is hateful to millions in the northern states, who will no more acquiesce in such a compromise than should we in England. The battle must one day be fought out; this they feel; and better now than at a future day. A peaceable separation is still possible, and the federalists will, we hope, abandon their just claims rather than make the appeal to the sword. The horrors of a civil war would be too appalling; it would be a war of assassination; for South Carolina in her frenzy has declared that death shall be the penalty of all who shall be taken in arms against her.

Whatever may be the issue of the struggle, there seems at present no reason to apprehend that England will be involved in it. This could only happen through the madness of the slave-holding states, who, in their present temper, might possibly resent our undisguised sympathy with their northern neighbours; but, happily, their interests will keep their passions in check. If it is for the interest of Manchester to offer a market for their cotton, it is no less their interest to

stand well with Manchester. If they should fight amongst themselves, the cultivation of cotton must be suspended, for civil war is destructive of internal industry. If the slaves should rise, the export trade may cease entirely. Great anxiety prevails in commercial circles on this account. The cotton trade employs or supports at least four millions of our population; and rather more than eighty per cent., or four-fifths, in round numbers, of the cotton consumed in England, is supplied by America. The potato famine in Ireland furnishes no exaggerated picture of what the condition of our manufacturing poor would be were the supplies of cotton to be cut off. The subject has for some years engaged attention; it is now forced upon us, and good will be the result. The growth of cotton by free labour in our own colonies will be encouraged. Africa is capable of yielding vast supplies. In Australia cotton of the best quality can be raised. India, with railway communication and water carriage once in action, will be able to furnish almost any quantity of the inferior qualities; and thus, within four or five years, we may reasonably hope that England will be able to supply her own necessities with a free-grown produce, and that American slavery, if not previously extinguished, will die out and perish. It has thriven, and is held together, by the monopoly of the growth of cotton.

And thus the ultimate consequence of the violence we so much deplore may still be for the benefit of the whole civilized world. Meanwhile the sky darkens, and we see above the western horizon only that which calls forth deep anxiety.

Nor, if we turn to Europe, do we find relief. From every quarter we receive tidings full of mistrust, and boding war. Napoleon has withdrawn his fleet from Gaëta, and the bombardment was resumed on the 22nd, by sea and land. Terms, such as were seldom offered to a dethroned king, and never to one in circumstances so desperate, were proposed by the besiegers, and refused by Francis II., only to occasion a vast effusion of blood. No further progress has been made in the settlement of the affairs of Italy. The pope is still at Rome, where he probably will remain so long as his imperial keeper continues to protect him. Hungary is on the eve of revolution. The emperor of Austria offered, but a few weeks ago, to make large concessions; the Hungarians received them, as coming too late, with little favour; probably, too, they doubted the emperor's sincerity. If so, the result has justified their conduct. He has suddenly revoked most of his concessions, and seems prepared for war. His exchequer is bankrupt; he has in vain attempted to raise a loan; his kingdom is disorganized; and his army is disgusted with the incapacity of its generals, who led them only to defeat and shame at Solferino and Magenta. How, then, can he sustain another war? The probable answer is, that he trusts to a secret understanding with Russia, or some other great power. The king of Prussia has addressed his army in a few words which at any other time would have startled Europe. He tells them, in effect, that their services will soon be wanted. But why, and in what direction, he has not explained. Denmark is supposed to be the neighbour with whom he invites a quarrel, as it is again at variance with the duchy of Schleswig on questions of internal government; and Germany seems quite disposed to widen the breach, and to espouse the cause of the dis-

contented province. To complete the picture, the emperor of France continues to augment his fleet, and with it of course to compel England to an enormous expenditure in the same direction.

What a contrast is presented in our own happy England! We have national sins, and national sufferings in consequence; much to amend, and much to repent of. But withal, we are a united, prosperous, and happy people. Other nations are passing through the fires, and learning wisdom in the storm and earthquake. It is for England, in the full noon of her prosperity, to bow her head in the dust, and gratefully to adore the Providence which instructs her by means of national distresses and sorrows which are not her own.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

- A Correspondent whom we highly value expresses his "astonishment that (at page 36 of your January Number) you should quote with approbation a passage from the Address of the Bishop of Oxford. The very same paragraph from which you quote contains a most unfair charge of *dishonesty* against clergymen who do not hold *baptismal regeneration*!" We can only reply, that there is a large number, we fear, of young clergymen with whom the opinions of the bishop of Oxford carry more weight than those of any other living authority; and that it is well they should know what he thinks upon the subject of their prevarications. With regard to baptismal regeneration, after the decision of the Privy Council in the great case of Mr. Gorham, it neither becomes the bishop of Oxford nor any other prelate to bring the charge of dishonesty against those who hold the views of the Evangelical clergy. It is merely an exhibition of childish petulance. We feel it no great boast to make, that we have probably considered this question as long, as dispassionately, and with as much research as the bishop of Oxford; and we are fully satisfied that his own views, not ours, are to be held *on sufferance*, if at all, by honest-minded members of the church of England.
- R. H. T. asks whether he "is rightly informed that the opinion that the deluge was *universal*, is very nearly exploded, not only by men of science, but by the greater part of eminent ministers of the Gospel." We think not: though archdeacon Pratt, and some excellent men, are in favour of a partial deluge. To say nothing of the words of Scripture, the traces of a recent deluge are apparent all over the globe; in Britain, and the island of Ceylon, quite as clearly as on mount Ararat: besides, a stupendous miracle must have been wrought, to which no reference whatever has been made in Scripture, if the deluge were partial. The waters which buried the loftiest mountains of Armenia must literally have "stood on heaps," if they did not spread themselves over the rest of the world. The parting asunder of the Red Sea and the river Jordan would have been trivial in comparison. The theory of a partial deluge compels us to pile miracle upon miracle in order to get rid of what after all is no serious difficulty to those who receive the Mosaic records.
- A MOTHER, who is anxious that we should consider the Lord's-day question, will see that her wishes have been anticipated.

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PAROCHIAL MINISTRATIONS, AND THE SPIRIT IN WHICH TO CONDUCT THEM.

THE magnitude and importance to which parochial ministrations have now attained, are such as to attract and command public attention to a degree which they have never before done. An energy is displayed, a power put forth, a skill in the subdivision of labour exhibited, altogether new and peculiar. The vast increase in the population of our town and city parishes is one cause which has led to this result. Another is, that pastoral duties are better understood, and more generally recognized, than they formerly were. Appliances and instruments are furnished by the Pastoral-Aid, Scripture-Reader, and other kindred Institutions, which did not once exist. There is a disposition, too, on the part of the people, to listen to the instructions of the clergy, and a degree of intelligence and discrimination in the reception of the truth, exhibited by them, which stands in favorable contrast with the experience of former days.

The clergy, too, have begun to rise to their position. They have recognized the responsibility which rests upon them, and have girded themselves to the work in a manner which they never did before. Populations which were formerly allowed to slumber on amid the cold formalities of dry and heartless orthodoxy, have been recently roused to life and action and self-support. It may be questioned, indeed, how far the clergy may be suffering in their own spirit and in their pulpit ministrations from the constant strain and effort to which they are exposed, but the fact itself is notorious, that the demand made on the parochial minister is very different from what it formerly was. The means at his disposal are far greater, the opportunities for usefulness far more numerous and varied, the personal influence which he is enabled to exercise far wider than it used to be.

That all this is the result of a larger outpouring of the Spirit's grace upon the church, I thankfully admit. In fact, if Divine grace were withheld, all this varied machinery would be worse

than useless, a mere automaton movement, without life, vigour, or power.

Still the question arises—and an important question it is—Do the direct spiritual results, great as they confessedly are, adequately correspond with the vast machinery set in motion? Have there not been periods of the church when the relative amount of spiritual blessing, as compared with the means employed, has been greater than it is now? Can we not point in the present day to particular localities, where, with apparently feeble instrumentality, surprising results are taking place?

It may be useful to look somewhat closely into the matter, and ascertain where the defect, if there be such, lies; and whether an improvement in the tone and spirit of those who regulate our parochial ministrations, might be likely to bring down a larger blessing upon our church.

(1.) I would venture, then, to ask, in the first place, whether the great primary object of the Christian ministry is kept in view with sufficient precision and distinctness—I mean, the salvation of souls? St. Paul thus describes the aim of his own ministry: “Warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.” It may admit perhaps of doubt how far the clergy are able, amid their varied and pressing labours, always to maintain that single eye to the Divine glory which they would desire. Everything ought to be planned and arranged with the direct aim to bring about this great result—the salvation of the largest possible number of the souls of our people, and the edification and building of them up in the faith of the gospel. I need hardly point out the many snares and temptations which lie in our path, the tendency of which is to divert the mind from this primary object. There is a sort of spiritual rivalry which is very apt to creep in and spoil our work. To secure the most complete and effective school, the largest congregation, the greatest number of communicants, the fullest attendance at our different classes and congregational gatherings,—all this is very attractive and gratifying to the natural man; and when viewed in its right light, as the result of the Divine blessing resting on our labours, it is a legitimate ground of rejoicing; our undivided energies ought to be put forth in the work before us, so that nothing should be lacking on our part to make full proof of our ministry. But here lies the danger. Self-gratulation and self-complacency intrude and mar the simplicity of the design. It is the same in our preparation for the pulpit. How difficult is it to preserve a single aim and purpose; to prepare, not what will be most attractive and most applauded, but what will most tend to edification,—direct appeals to the heart and conscience; the bold exposure of sin; the pressing home of personal religion on our people; the simple, plain, honest statement of the whole truth as it is in Jesus. Few

ministers of the present day would venture to adopt the startling language of Christ and his apostles in the exposure of sin, and the close application of truth to the individual conscience.

(2.) Again I would ask, Do we duly honour the Holy Ghost in our parochial ministrations? Do we bear in mind that it is "not by might nor by power," but by "the Spirit" of the Lord of hosts, that the desired result will follow. When candidates for ordination are asked—"Do you think that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office of ministration?" and when the bishop, at the ordination of the priest, pronounces the solemn words, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God," our church distinctly recognizes the doctrine evidently taught by our Lord and His apostles, that a special gift of the Holy Spirit is promised to those who are duly called of God and His church to minister in holy things, in order to qualify them for the discharge of their high functions. St. Paul calls it "a grace given," the "gift of grace." He bids Timothy to "stir up the gift that was in him." When the inward and outward call concur, we may humbly look for the bestowal of this special ministerial gift of the Spirit in answer to prayer. But I conceive that we can only expect this as we look in simple faith for the fulfilment of the promise. We are bid to wait for the Spirit, to look for and expect the Spirit's aid, to lean upon the Spirit's support and direction, to invoke and honour the Spirit throughout our ministry. This does not in the least degree supersede the necessity of diligent study, fervent prayer, and active effort. But while we are using the appointed means, the eye of faith is to be fixed on our Divine Counsellor and Guide. The Spirit's gracious influences must be daily sought, and recognized in every ministration on which we enter, whether it be the public address, the private admonition, the visitation of the sick, or the instruction of the young. The result will be, that an unction, a power, a heavenly afflatus, will accompany our labours, which no mere natural talent or skill can produce. Barnabas was "full of the Holy Ghost and of faith," and the direct consequence was, that "much people was added to the Lord." We are too apt to go forth in our own strength, and fail—fail, not in securing applause, and producing an impression on the minds of others, but in winning souls to Christ, and building up His church and people. If we are to be made to triumph in Christ, if the strongholds of Satan are to be overthrown, if any great revival of genuine piety is to take place among us, there must be a more constant and habitual dependence on the Holy Ghost, who can alone convince of sin and quicken to newness of life.

(3.) I pass to another point—the duty of practising more mutual sympathy and affectionate co-operation in each other's

work. Are not the clergy too much isolated? In the country, it is the general complaint that they stand alone. They often feel very keenly the want of brotherly intercourse and counsel. I am aware that, in many cases, it is almost impossible to obviate this difficulty, more particularly if the neighbouring clergy are not altogether congenial in sentiment; but where clerical meetings are at all practicable, it is impossible to overrate their importance, even where the number assembled is small, and the distance to be traversed considerable. It is as true in the spiritual as the social life, that as "iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." I rejoice to feel assured that these periodical gatherings are increasing among us, and that men of kindred minds are being often brought together. No labour ought to be spared to promote and encourage these meetings, and render them really profitable. To the younger clergy their value is incalculable. No sacrifice should be considered too great in order to sustain and promote them. It is the want of this mutual sympathy and co-operation which tends to deaden the spiritual life, and to dishearten and discourage the weak in faith among us.

But even in our larger city parishes, where a considerable body of clergy is brought together within a comparatively small compass, the duty of mutual co-operation requires to be urged. We are in danger of working too much alone. Our own immediate duties absorb us. We seldom hear each other preach, or attend the ministrations of our brethren around. We complain of the want of time, the pressure of daily duty. And yet the apostolic admonition remains uncanceled: "Look not every man on his own things," (his own parish, his own congregation, his own school, his own church,) "but every man also on the things of others," not in the way of curious interference, but of brotherly love and sympathy. Many a fellow-labourer becomes downcast and disheartened because he seems to stand alone. He is not so successful as others. He meets with difficulties on which he would be glad to consult his brethren, if he had the opportunity. He has cases of deep interest among his people which it would be a relief and refreshment to his soul if he could talk over with a clerical friend; but he is discouraged; he fears to intrude. Now here our duty is obvious. Mutual help and sympathy should be our joy and delight. We ought to bear each other's burdens, to "rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." An occasional exchange of pulpits, a ready offer of aid in case of difficulty, mutual consultation and advice between the elder and younger clergy,—all this would obviously tend to knit and bind together the ministers of Christ's church, and make them feel their mutual relation to, and dependence on, each other. We may say of the clerical body as St. Paul does of the church in general, "The eye cannot say

unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the hand to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked: that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another." Ministers of religion, no less than private members of the church, ought to maintain and cultivate these feelings of mutual aid and sympathy. There is a danger of losing sight of this common bond of union in the present day. A few men of high mark are invariably selected to take the lead on all public occasions: you see them on all platforms and their names made prominent, wherever it is desired to attract public attention to a given Society, to the exclusion of others who, though not with equal brilliancy, yet with a fair measure of power and energy, might with advantage take their places by their side.

(4.) Another thought which has occurred to me in connection with this subject is, that we should inquire whether anything can be done towards furnishing a larger and more efficient supply of young men to aid the elder clergy in their ministerial work. There is a general complaint among us of the difficulty of securing curates of the right stamp to assist us in our larger parishes. We want more vigorous and efficient helpers, who are competent to take some of the details of parish work off the hands of their seniors, to conduct our bible classes and school lectures, to address the working classes in a useful and attractive manner, and generally to co-operate in the vast amount of ministerial work which accumulates on the hands of the incumbents of our populous parishes. The difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of fellow-labourers arises partly from the fact that our most able young men are quickly appointed to independent spheres of labour. New churches are being built, and young clergymen of promise and ability are eagerly sought to fill their pulpits. Another difficulty is, that far more is required of a young clergyman now than formerly. In the office for ordaining deacons, his duties are defined to be, to assist the priest in divine service, to read Holy Scripture and Homilies in the church, to instruct in the Catechism, to baptize infants, to seek out the sick, and to communicate their names to the curate, and to preach when admitted by the bishop. All this would imply duties of a more subordinate character than those now commonly imposed upon a clergyman recently ordained. It is not easy to point out a remedy for the want now complained of, but I think that much might be done if the elder clergy were to lay themselves out to train and direct their younger brethren in a loving and affectionate spirit. Paul and Timothy furnish a beautiful specimen of a rector and curate. Paul calls him "mine

own son in the faith." He tells the Philippians, "Ye know the proof of him, that as a son with a father, he hath served *with* me," not *under* me, "in the gospel." Yet Paul seems to regard such helpers as rare. "I have no man," he adds, "like-minded, who will naturally care for your state, for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's." It is worthy of remark in this view, that in several of his epistles Paul unites the name of Timothy with his own in his opening salutations, describing him equally with himself as the servant of Jesus Christ. The differences and misunderstandings which sometimes arise between the senior and junior clergy of our parishes, have, I know, given great pain to some of the bishops of our church, and led to a desire for some inquiry into the cause. There are doubtless faults on both sides, and where there is an obvious want of congeniality of mind between those working in the same place, it is often far better that a separation should take place, than that friction and irritation should be allowed to continue. But I venture to think that if more confidence were reposed in our young men, and more tenderness and sympathy shown to them by their superiors, important good would result. Let them be specially invited to our clerical meetings, and let them be encouraged freely to deliver their sentiments on subjects selected for discussion. Let them be steadily summoned to united prayer, and the study of God's word, with their incumbent. Let them be consulted in the arrangement of the parochial work. Let them be dealt with in a kind, loving, and delicate spirit. Let our people see that we love and honour them, and place confidence in them, and they will be gradually encouraged and gain experience in their work and prove true yoke-fellows in the gospel of Christ. If there be one thing more than another which tends to weaken influence in our parochial ministrations, it is the differences which so often prevail among ourselves. I do not refer to the controversies which exist between the various theological schools among us, where fidelity to the truth demands a distinct avowal of our principles, but to those misunderstandings which spring up from time to time between those who are agreed on all essential points, but who "fall out by the way," so that, like Paul and Barnabas in apostolic times, they are compelled to separate the one from the other, and to work apart. If we notice the parishes where the fullest measure of Divine blessing appears to rest, we shall find that it is not so much where the greatest amount of natural talent and ability are brought to bear, as where harmony and love and mutual co-operation exist the most completely among those who conduct their ministrations.

(5.) Another topic, closely connected with the above, follows—Do we sufficiently watch over the temper and spirit in which we carry on these ministrations among our people? There is

always danger where much energy is required, a great amount of work to be got through in a short time, and when a variety of conflicting duties press on the attention, lest our own spirit should suffer. "He that is slow to anger," we are told, "is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city." Our Lord had frequently to remind his disciples, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." What a tender, a loving heart was that of our Lord Christ! Bold and uncompromising, and even severe in rebuking sin, yet how full of love and tenderness was He towards the individual offender! How did He weep over Jerusalem! How did He yearn over lost souls! The spirit of St. Paul was the same. "Of whom," he says, "I told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ." "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." Our aim should surely be to imbibe more of this spirit; to let this "mind be in us which was also in Christ Jesus." Hasty expressions, quick replies, dictated by the pressure of business and the want of leisure, often inflict a wound which all our subsequent public preaching cannot heal. The parochial minister is the friend, the adviser, the comforter, of his flock. He ought to be easy of access at all reasonable times, and ready to listen with sympathy to the tale of sorrow and distress.

(6.) One more remark, and I have done. Do we confine ourselves as strictly as we ought to do to our ministerial and spiritual duties? In our large and populous parishes a certain amount of secular business is indispensable. The incumbent is chairman of the parish vestry, trustee of parochial charities, and necessarily called to take some part in parish matters of a secular nature. The fact, too, that in these town parishes the various religious and charitable organizations are carried on by the machinery of committees, renders his frequent attendance at these committees indispensable. If he were habitually to absent himself, matters would speedily fall into disorder and confusion. But all this requires the utmost watchfulness and circumspection. These duties are important in their proper place, but they are not the direct and immediate work to which, as the minister of Christ's gospel, he is called. His business is, to deal directly with the souls of his people, either from the pulpit, the lecture or class-room, or by house-to-house visitation. There is a great danger lest the mind become secularized by these subordinate matters, and the life and freshness of religion fade in his own soul. Lectures on secular subjects, if given by the clergy, should not be allowed to engross too much of their time. I believe that these lectures may be made, in a subordinate way, a means of much good; but they do not form the

direct and immediate work of the Christian minister. He is required at his ordination to be diligent in prayer and reading the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh. The obvious intention of this requirement is to fix his mind mainly on his one great work—the salvation of the souls of his people.

The position of a country clergyman in a small rural district is so different from that of the incumbent of a populous city parish, that his temptations to secularity spring from causes altogether different. The danger, I presume, in this case is that of sinking the pastor in the country gentleman. The cultivation of his grounds, the oversight of his glebe, the intercourse required with the gentry around, these and similar objects tend to interfere with the direct ministerial work. His reply, perhaps, will be, that the parish entrusted to his care is too small to occupy his entire time, and that these are legitimate employments for filling up his vacant hours. I cannot admit the force of this argument. When the apostle enjoins, "Meditate on these things, give thyself wholly to them," and when our church bids us "to apply ourselves wholly to this one thing, and to draw all our cares and studies this one way, and to sanctify the lives of ourselves and our families so as to fashion them after the rule and doctrine of Christ," I cannot allow that the minister of religion is at liberty to give himself to secular pursuits on the plea that his parish is too small to occupy his whole time. In the present day, and with the pressing demands upon the church, abundant scope is given for the full employment of the energies of those whose parochial charge is small, in promoting and organizing ministrations affecting the interests of the church at large. The press, the platform, the diocesan, or other machinery at work, will furnish abundant openings for usefulness. This is amply proved by the fact, that some of the most useful and efficient public men in our church are those whose parochial charge is small, and who are therefore at liberty to devote their leisure to objects affecting the interests of the church at large.

Let the one earnest desire of each of us be, to "take heed to ourselves and to the doctrine, to continue in them, for in so doing we shall both save ourselves and them that hear us."

I feel that, in offering the above suggestions, I have laid myself open to the serious charge of assuming the office of censor. My apology is, that the difficulties and hindrances here adverted to, are derived not so much from observations on others, as from the result of my own personal experience and sense of shortcomings. Having, during many years' experience, found them to beset my own path, I have supposed it likely that they may obstruct the path of others who are simi-

larly circumstanced. It will not, I hope, be supposed that, in making these remarks, I shut my eyes to the cheering truth that very considerable life and vigour are attending our parochial ministrations in the present day, for which we have the deepest cause for thankfulness. Blessed results are following in all directions. But this fact only renders it the more necessary to consider whether, if certain hindrances were out of the way, a still larger blessing might not be looked for, and whether the spiritual effects experienced in a few directions might not be extended to many more. What mighty results might we not anticipate if, in answer to the united prayers and energies of the church, God were to grant a still more copious and abundant effusion of His blessed Spirit! Then would these dark clouds now hanging over us speedily disperse. Superstition on the one hand, and scepticism on the other, would hide their face, and the ministers of religion be at leisure to devote their undivided energies to the direct and immediate work before them—the conversion of souls, the edification of believers, the building up of the mystical body of Christ, till “we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.”*

DANIEL WILSON.

Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1859. By C. J. Ellicott, B.D., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: J. W. Parker and Son, West Strand, 1860.

MR. ELLICOTT'S treatment of the gospel narrative is so interesting, that it is difficult to lay down his book when once it has been taken in hand. There is a continuous history, on the basis of a harmony of the four evangelists, in which we are kept throughout in company with the Son of Man, and are helped to trace out all His progress, so far as His footprints are marked in the sacred story. Where the track fails, the gaps are supplied by reasonable conjecture, offered with a becoming diffidence, but as the result of much consideration. The notes of time and place are carefully examined and fixed, and the history is broken up into distinct portions (those between our Blessed Lord's baptism and His crucifixion being five in number), each having its peculiar

* The substance of this paper was read recently at a Clerical Meeting, in a condensed form.

characteristics, and being such as often serve to account for changes of conduct, otherwise not easily understood.

The tone of the narrative is that of solemn reverence for the sources from which it is derived, as well as for the holy character of its subject. There is no doubt of the gospels having been given by inspiration of God; their incidents are those which "inspired pens have been moved to record" (viii.); and it is evident that the author has a solemn conviction that he is walking over holy ground. Of the atonement he speaks with no hesitating lips, and in no equivocal language. He deprecates the eagerness with which the disputers of this world pounce upon everything that can be turned into a difficulty and made the ground of an objection; and instead of adopting their method, he often shows that a little explanation is all that is wanted, and then offers suggestions by which things which have an aspect of discordance may appear in their own proper harmony. He declares that he does not feel "the slightest sympathy with the so-called popular theology of the present day" (vii.), meaning that of the negative or rationalistic school, as will be seen in the following passage, which we quote, partly for its own sake, and partly as exhibiting those views of prevalent heresy which led him to the selection of his present subject:—

"Already forms of error, more subtle than ever Ebionite propounded or Marcionite devised,—forms of heresy that have clad themselves in trappings of modern historical philosophy, and have learned to accommodate themselves to the more distinctly earthly aspects of modern speculation, have appeared in other Christian lands, and are now silently producing their influence on thousands and tens of thousands, who bear on their foreheads the baptismal cross of Christ. Already, even in our more favoured country, humanitarian views with regard to the person of our Redeemer are thrusting themselves forward with a startling and repulsive activity,—intruding themselves into our popular literature, as well as into our popular theology; yea, and winning assent by their seductive appeal to those purely human motives and feelings within us which, while we are in the flesh, we can hardly deem separable from the nature of even sinless man. Already, too, a so-called love of truth, a bleak, barren, loveless love of truth, which the wise Pascal long since denounced,—a love of truth that, like Agag, claims to walk delicately, and to be respected, and to be spared,—is gathering around itself its Epicurean audiences; already is it making its boast of fabled civilizations that rest on other bases than on Christ and His Church, daily and hourly labouring with that restless energy that belongs to the walkers in dry places, to make us regard as imaginary or illusory these holy prepossessions in reference to the evangelical history, that ought, and were designed by God Himself, to exercise their unquestioned influence and sovereignty over our whole inner life." (pp. 4—6.)

With no lurking doubts, but with a most entire confidence in the gospels, as having "divinely-ordered differences and

characteristics" (10), he explains as follows what are the sources of his history :—

"Our sources are the four gospels, four inspired narratives, so mysteriously overruled in their interdependence, that, regarded from the point of view in which the history of our Lord alone ought to be regarded,—viz., as a history of *redemption*,—they are all, and more than all, that our most elevated conceptions of our own spiritual needs could have sought for or desired. Such words, perchance, may sound strange in an age that has busied itself in noting down the seeming deficiencies of the gospels, rather than recognizing their divine fulness; that looks out for diversities rather than accordances, and that never seems to regard its historical criticism with more complacency than when it presents to us the four inspired witnesses as involved in the discrepancies of a separate story. Such words, I say, may sound strange, but they are the words of soberness and truth; and I will be bold to say that no patient and loving spirit will ever rise from a lengthened investigation of the four evangelical records without having arrived at this honest conviction,—that though here there may seem difficulty, because faith is to be tried; there a seeming discrepancy, because we know not all; yet that the histories themselves, no less in their arrangements and mutual relations than in the nature of their contents, exhibit vividly the pervading influence of that Spirit which it was declared (John xvi. 13) should guide, ay, and infallibly has guided, their writers into all truth." (pp. 10, 11.)

We believe that we shall render the most acceptable service to our readers, if we give an outline of the plan of this valuable work; and we have no fear of being reproached by any who may be induced by the recommendation which we now venture to offer, that they should possess themselves of the volume. It will long occupy a place amongst our own most valued hand-books on the study table.

We must pass over the history of the birth and infancy of our Blessed Lord, and the one recorded incident of His youth, in His visit to the temple when He was twelve years of age, followed by the silence which entirely withholds from us a knowledge of the next eighteen years, except possibly there be one faint glimpse afforded by a single word, in a reading not absolutely certain, but of good authority,—*ὁ τέκτων*,—the carpenter, Mark vi. 3. We equally abstain from touching upon His baptism, and the temptation, in order to reach at once the period of His public ministry. Mr. Ellicott divides the history of that portion of the Redeemer's life into five parts.

The *first* extends over twelve months, from its beginning to its close, namely, from March, A.U.C. 781, to March, 782, which are the same years with A.D. 28 and 29. (He inclines to A.U.C. 750, which is B.C. 4, for the date of the birth of Christ, in preference to A.U.C. 749, B.C. 5.) Its scene is chiefly in Judæa.

The *second* period is only three weeks in length, from 19th

March to 14th April, A.U.C. 782, A.D. 29. The scene is eastern Galilee.

The *third* lasts six months, from 15th April to about 15th October, A.U.C. 782, or A.D. 29. The scene, north Galilee.

The *fourth* occupies five months and a week, beginning, as in the other instances, with the close of the last period, and extending to the 7th or 8th of Nisan, being the 17th or 18th of March, A.U.C. 783, or A.D. 30. Its records relate to various journeyings towards Jerusalem.

The *fifth* is the holy week, and that alone, immediately consecutive on the preceding division.

Thus two full years, and no more are accounted for. (See note, p. 149.)

Mr. Ellicott, dating our Lord's ministry from the time of His baptism, immediately followed by the temptation, speaks of as having lasted altogether about two years and three months. In that short period, many are the days of the details of which no records whatever remain. This would be strange if the chief purpose of the Lord's coming had been to set us an example, or to be a great teacher; but it is perfectly intelligible to us, when we believe that He came into the world to save sinners, by the vicarious sacrifice of Himself upon the cross.

Mr. Ellicott, in his arrangement of the history, has found, in common with those who have gone before him, some of the chief notes of time in the Jewish festivals. One only is involved in obscurity, that which is called simply "a feast of the Jews," *ἑορτή*, without the article, John v. 1, which he believes, on what seems to be satisfactory grounds, to have been the feast of Purim. He acknowledges himself to be under great obligations to Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der Vier Evangelien*, whom he has generally followed, yet never accepting any of his deductions without careful and independent investigation.

After the temptation, our Lord is represented as returning to the valley of the Jordan, and reaching Bethabara on the day after the Baptist had borne his testimony to Jesus. On the morrow, with His five disciples, He proceeded into Galilee, and therein to Cana, where His mother was; He attended the marriage feast, and wrought the well-known miracle. Thence He went to Capernaum, ready for the journey to Jerusalem, in order to attend the passover. For all this, the authority is John i. 15, to ii. 12. He proceeded to Jerusalem, as related in the next verse, and here began,

I. *The early Judean Ministry*, of the particulars of which St. John is the sole narrator, as well as of the return of Jesus into Galilee. (ii. 13—iv. 43.) He went up to Jerusalem, to celebrate the first passover of His public ministry.

Arrived in the holy city, He expelled the traders from the temple; wrought miracles on the feast day (ii. 23); held His

conversation with Nicodemus, and, finding Himself not safe, owing to the enmity shown to Him (ii. 24), He left Jerusalem (iii. 22), "most probably for the north-eastern portion of Judæa." (p. 127.) All that the evangelist says is, "into the land of Judæa;" the conjecture as to the part of the country which He selected arises out of the circumstance of His baptizing those who became his disciples. That He made more disciples than John, and that He baptized them by the hands of His disciples (John iv. 1, 2), is all that we know of a period of his ministry which extended over no less than eight months, till late in December (A.U.C. 781, A.D. 28), four months before the harvest. (John iv. 35.) Influenced again by the enmity of the Pharisees, He retired into Galilee, passing through Samaria, and resting two days at Sychar, after his conversation with the woman at Jacob's well,—a blessing to the people of that place. (John iv. 1—42.) He proceeded into Galilee, and once more visited Cana, a place already prepared, by His first miracle, to welcome His arrival. There, by the power which could work miracles afar off as easily as upon objects in His presence, He relieved the harrowing anxieties of the nobleman, whose son at Capernaum was at the point of death. (John iv. 46—54.)

If the time of the next event has been rightly fixed, there followed no less than two months, of which not a single action or word is known, unless, as the author supposes, Luke iv. 15, Matt. iv. 17, Mark i. 15, relate to this time, in which case it is further recorded that He taught in the synagogues of Galilee, being glorified of all, and that He preached, saying that the time was fulfilled, and the kingdom of God at hand, and exhorted the people to repent, and to believe the gospel.

After this He journeyed to Jerusalem, to attend a feast (referred to above), held by Mr. Ellicott, and many others, to have been the feast of Purim, which, in A.U.C. 782, A.D. 29, fell on the 19th of March. This was the time of the miracle at Bethesda, of the indignant hostility of the Pharisees, arising out of it, and of the dignified defence of Himself by the Lord, which occupy the whole of John v. It is noticed (p. 141), that the Lord's assertion of His "unity, in dignity and honour, with the eternal Father," is here the turning point of the gospel history, provoking, to the highest pitch, the vengeful hatred of the adherents of the Sanhedrim. Jerusalem was no longer a safe abode for Him who had so declared Himself, and He departed, probably a day or two afterwards, from Jerusalem, to return once more into Galilee.

Here this portion of the history ends. We only question whether it ought not to have ended with the previous departure from Judæa, when the ministry in Galilee seems, in fact, to have commenced.

Let us now rest a moment, to notice that while the Lord's

work, during these whole twelve months, is accounted for, the details of it are few indeed. Eight months and more preaching, and ordering the baptism of disciples, somewhere in Judæa, two months and more preaching in Galilee, with growing fame,—such is the history of probably eleven months. Three days in Samaria, one miracle wrought when He was at Cana, the journey to and from Galilee, the feast week in Jerusalem, and the return to Galilee,—such are all the remaining portions of a year's history—of one of those two precious years which appear to have made up the sum total of the Lord's ministry on earth.

The ministry in Galilee follows; but this is only "roughly" so termed, as in the former case (p. 143), since the interval between the feasts of Tabernacles and of the Dedication "was probably spent in Judæa." (Note 3, p. 143.)

To this period belongs the whole of St. Matthew's and St. Mark's account of our blessed Lord's ministry, and much of St. Luke's. There is a universally recognized difficulty in reconciling the accounts of these three evangelists, with regard to the order of time, in the first three weeks, which constitute the second division of the history of the Lord's ministry. Mr. Ellicott selects that of St. Luke as the basis, chiefly because that gospel professes to give the history in order, and has St. Mark in accordance with it, while he points to a peculiar characteristic of this part of St. Matthew's gospel as accounting for the discrepancy which asks for explanation. He observes that here this evangelist "appears to have wittingly adopted a peculiar arrangement, viz., a separation into different groups of the discourses of our Lord, and of the historical events with which they stood in connection; and that such an arrangement almost necessarily precludes strict chronological adjustments." (p. 155.) He says that this can be easily verified; and he adduces examples.

The Galilæan ministry provides the second and third divisions of this part of the Lord's history, and spreads over a little more than half-a-year.

II. *The Ministry in eastern Galilee* was short, occupying no more than three weeks, but full of recorded incidents. Its limits appear to be from the sabbath after the feast of Purim, 26th March, A.D. 29, to the eve of the passover on the 14th of April following.

The former is the day assigned for our Redeemer's preaching in the synagogue of Nazareth, and declaring that on that day the scripture which He read from Isaiah was fulfilled in their ears. His warnings produced a revulsion of feeling against Him; and they who heard Him sought to take away His life. Passing through the midst of them, He went His way, and changed His abode to Capernaum, on the lake of Genesareth,

where He taught a more willing and attentive people on the sabbath days. (Luke iv. 30—32.)

Mr. Ellicott, without stating his reasons, postpones at this point the contents of Luke iv. 33—44, (accepting probably the order observed by Mark i. 16—21,) and takes next the miraculous draught of fishes, and His calling of the four fishermen to leave for ever their earthly calling, that they might be fishers of men. Then follows the preaching in the synagogue at Capernaum on the sabbath (Luke iv. 33; Mark i. 21), and the deliverance of the demoniac from the cruel bondage of Satan; on the same day, the cure of the mother-in-law of Peter (Mark i. 29), and the multitude of beneficent miracles described v. 32—34. What a day of “holy activities” and “ceaseless acts of mercies!” (p. 166.)

On the day after that sabbath, at dawn, multitudes followed Him into the retirement which He had sought for prayer (Mark i. 35; Luke iv. 42), and entreated Him not to leave them. But He had a mission to fulfil to other cities also. The circuit which followed, is considered by Mr. Ellicott to have lasted only a few days, ending at Capernaum as early as the day before the next sabbath. To that journey Mr. Ellicott assigns the healing of the leper (Luke v. 12), though with some hesitation, because of the words of St. Matthew viii. 1.

Returned to Capernaum, He had to encounter pharisees, some even from Jerusalem (Luke v. 17), who had come with evil designs against Him. But the whole city flocked to the house where He abode. He cured the paralytic who was let down through the roof, and He answered the murmurs of the scribes and pharisees. On the same day He called Matthew (Matt. ix. 9), and dined at his house.

The following day was the Sabbath, the *δευτερονπρωτον* of St. Luke (vi. 1.), by which difficult word Mr. Ellicott understands to be intended “the first Sabbath of a year that stood second in a sabbatical cycle.” (p. 173.) This was the day on which the disciples gathered and rubbed the ears of corn.

The next incident recorded by St. Luke, and by the other two evangelists, is stated to have happened on the Sabbath; but Mr. Ellicott sees reasons (p. 175, and note) for regarding it as a holy day, which did not fall that year on the weekly Sabbath, but on the day, or the day but one, after. It is the healing of the man with the withered hand. The discussion connected with that miracle aggravated the intensity of the hatred of Christ's enemies, and issued in a conspiracy to take away His life. A day or two after, the twelve were called, and the sermon on the mount was delivered. St. Luke's report of it is regarded as a “condensed recital” of it. (p. 180.) The pharisees, who had come to Capernaum with evil purposes, appear thus far to have failed in their attempts to poison the

minds of the people, or even of the elders of the synagogue; and, on our Lord's return to that city, He was entreated by the people to heal the centurion's servant (1 Luke vii. 1); and so He did. Next day, He raised from death the son of the widow at Nain. The affecting scene which occurred in Simon's house, and the mission of John's disciples, are introduced here as next in order. Then follows a journey, in which the Lord preached the kingdom of God in cities and villages (Luke viii. 1); but only, as Mr. Ellicott thinks, occupying a day or two (p. 184), and probably ending at Capernaum, where His friends, in alarm for Him, sought to restrain his exhausting zeal. There, too, were the scribes and pharisees waiting for Him, and ascribing His miracles to satanic power. He warned them of the fearful nature of their sin. (Matt. xii. 24; Mark iii. 23.) The afternoon or early evening of that day was spent upon the shores of the lake; and a multitude having assembled from the neighbouring towns, the Lord spake to them from a fishing vessel, by parables, beginning with the sower. (Luke viii. 4.)

In the evening He crossed the lake, to seek repose on its eastern shores; and He quelled the storm which terrified the disciples. (Luke viii. 22; with Mark iv. 35.) The Gergesene demoniac was delivered from the enemy who oppressed him; and the destruction of the herd of swine, by the devils, took place. (Luke viii. 26; and the other evangelists.) Immediately after, our Lord returned to the western shore, and there He found the multitude longing for His presence, and the anxious Jairus with them. That day He healed the suffering woman, and restored to life the ruler's deceased daughter.

The following Sabbath was spent at Nazareth, where He had again to encounter unbelief, though rage appears to have subsided. That evening or perhaps, the next day, the Lord set out again on a circuit, preaching, and taking the direction of Capernaum; at the same time He sent out the apostles for the like purpose, two and two. (Mark vi. 1—13.) As early as the evening of the second day they met at Capernaum, (Mr. Ellicott is prepared for this being heard with surprise,) and they went out at once to seek retirement. The tidings of the Baptist's murder had just arrived, and for safety perhaps, but also for privacy, they crossed the lake once more. But rest and retirement were not to be enjoyed. The multitude followed Him; and, at the north-eastern corner of the lake, He fed the five thousand by a miracle.

We have avoided perplexing the reader's eye more than seemed absolutely necessary, by references either to the gospels or to Mr. Ellicott's pages. We have also simply given his order of events and his notes of time, without stopping to discuss their merits, or to set forth the grounds which he

alleges for his arrangement. We have not space for that purpose. But it is due to him to say, that he more than once admits the difficulty of his task, and acknowledges that we ought not to be "too confident, either in the construction of our chronological tables, or in the correctness of our collocation of individual events (p. 194);" and that "the arrangement of the whole period is a matter of the utmost doubt and difficulty." (p. 196.) We are sure, however, that every reader must be thankful to him, if only he has approximated to a true arrangement of the narrative, of which there can be little doubt.

The miracle of feeding the five thousand is assigned to the eve of the passover, A.U.C. 782, A.D. 29, (see notes 152, 192, and 201,) the ground for which is John vi. 4.

III. The third division is distinguished as *The Ministry in northern Galilee*, though comprising expeditions in other directions. Here we have to follow the Great Teacher through journeys of longer duration and of wider compass. The time extends from after the feeding of the five thousand to our Lord's return to Capernaum shortly before the feast of Tabernacles, towards the middle of October, a period of about six months, bounded by two great festivals. (p. 201.) The light of the gospel spreads out to the frontier lands. Miracles are of more rare occurrence. Teaching characterizes this division of the Lord's ministry. Here St. Luke is almost silent (about thirty verses to the whole six months). The historians of this period are, St. Matthew chiefly, but also St. Mark.

On the evening after the miracle of the loaves, the disciples embarked on the lake for Bethsaida; Jesus walked on the stormy sea; they landed and went to Capernaum, followed by the people; and in the synagogue, on the 15th of Nisan (that day of solemn service), the Lord delivered His great discourse on the bread of life, which we find in John vi. The hearers, some of them, murmured; but there was nothing like the malignant hostility of the pharisees; they had gone up to Jerusalem to the feast.

The Lord performed some miracles of mercy (Matt. xiv. 35; Mark vi. 35); but in a few days the pharisees had returned (Matt. xv. 1; Mark vii. 1); and their work of malignity was resumed. Thereupon He removed to the confines of Tyre and Sidon, seeking seclusion and perhaps security. It was at this time that He hearkened to the supplication of the Canaanite woman. After (probably) a short stay, He seems to have visited Sidon (p. 218,) but, certainly, passed through semi-pagan Decapolis, and ultimately came to the sea of Galilee. Here He healed the man who was deaf and almost dumb, and wrought other miracles (Mark vii. 32, and Matt. xv. 30), amongst which was the feeding of four thousand men, besides women and children. Leaving that district, having made a

strong impression on the people by that mighty work, He crossed the lake to Magdala, or some other village, in the region called Dalmanutha (Mark viii. 10), where He again encountered the pharisees, newly leagued against Him with the Sadducees. (Matt. xvi. 1.) Having warned them, and having cautioned His disciples against their leaven, He embarked again, and crossed over to Bethsaida-Julias, where He worked the miracle by which He progressively gave sight to a blind man. (Mark viii. 22.) Proceeding northward, He visited towns and villages near Cæsarea Philippi; but no record remains of His teaching, excepting a short passage containing a conversation with His disciples respecting the Baptist and Himself, and an exhortation to them and to the people to prepare to take up their cross and follow Him. (Mark viii. 27—38.) It was on this occasion that He delivered the first formal prediction of His own sufferings and death. Six days after (dated probably from St. Peter's confession of Christ, and the discourses which arose out of it), occurred the Transfiguration, followed by the healing of the deaf and dumb demoniac, whom the disciples could not help. (Mark ix. 17.) Journeying on, He came again to Capernaum, where He provided, by a miracle, for the payment of the tribute-money. His stay is supposed to have been short, and of comparative seclusion. (Mark ix. 30, 33.) It was now that He checked the pride of spirit which showed itself amongst His disciples in unbecoming contention (Luke ix. 46), and in forbidding some yet undeclared disciple to cast out devils in their Master's name. Now also, "humility, forbearance, avoidance of all grounds of offence, love towards their Master's little ones, gentleness and forgiveness, the lost sheep, and the debtor of the ten thousand talents, were the wise and loving lessons" of the Lord to His disciples. (Mark ix. 33, 38; Matt. xviii.) (p. 231.) This closes the present section of our Lord's public life, and the author leaves his "endeavour to trace the connexion of events during a period where connexion is doubtful," with a becoming and characteristic modesty. (p. 233.)

IV. The fourth division of the history of our Blessed Lord's ministry on earth is distinguished by the title of *The journeyings towards Jerusalem*. It extends from the departure of Jesus from Capernaum for Jerusalem, with the intention of attending the feast of Tabernacles, to his arrival at Bethany on the eve of the passion week. Mr. Ellicott describes the period as "six months of anxious wanderings in Judæa, and the lands on the further side of Jordan, interrupted only by brief sojourns in remote frontier towns; six months of ceaseless activities and unresting labour, of mighty deeds and momentous teaching, yet six months, if not of actual flight, yet of ever-recurring avoidance of implacable and murderous designs, that were

now fast approaching their appalling and impious climax." (p. 237.)

It is a period which presents great difficulties to the harmonist and chronologer. St. Matthew and St. Mark are almost silent respecting it; and they add no facts to those which we find in St. Luke. The latter evangelist is here rich in discourses, but he gives few notes of time or place. St. John supplies three chronological notices of three journeys towards Jerusalem, and some trace at least of these is to be found in St. Luke's gospel.

Thus, St. Luke notices a journey (ix. 51), which is regarded as corresponding with the journey to the feast of Tabernacles, John vii. 10. There is a break at Luke xiii. 22, which is supposed to correspond with a second journey to Jerusalem about three months after the first (John xi. 1,) while it is a third journey which is noticed, Luke xvii. 11, (the parallel passages being Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1), which Mr. Ellicott identifies with the Lord's retirement to Ephraim (John xi. 54) shortly before the passover.

Urged to show Himself to the world, Jesus went to Jerusalem during the feast of Tabernacles, travelling by way of Samaria, and receiving ungracious treatment in one of its villages. He went into the temple and taught. Some of those who heard Him only speculated on the conduct of the rulers, but many believed in Him. The Sanhedrim was excited; but He was not arrested; and on the last day of the feast He preached again to the multitude. Upon the Sanhedrim, sitting in council, Nicodemus now urged respect for the law. (Luke ix. 51—62, and John vii. 2—53.) 'This too is the place assigned to the history of the accused woman. (John viii. 1—11.)

On the sabbath after the feast (John x. 14) occurred, probably, all that is described John viii. 12—x. 21, including the discussion with the pharisees about Christ's office and work, the gift of sight to the man who was born blind, and the discourse on the Good Shepherd.

Whither He went, on leaving Jerusalem, cannot be decided; but as St. John usually mentions any departure from Judæa, it is inferred from his silence that that country was the scene of our Lord's ministry till His next return to Jerusalem. If so, this was the interval in which He sent forth the seventy (Luke x. 1) and made His visit to Bethany (v. 38), and in which He delivered the discourses reported Luke x. 23 to xiii. 17; from which it may be gathered that his hearers were many, and that there was an eager desire to listen to the word of life. (p. 258.)

The feast of Dedication occurred in that year, on the 20th of our December. Our Lord, having been absent from Jerusalem two months, returned to the city for the celebration of that festival. He now spoke openly in Solomon's porch, proclaiming His divinity. (Matt. xvi. 20, and John x. 24, 5.) This, which

had, on former occasions, provoked the anger of His enemies (John v. 18, and viii. 59), now excited them to the extreme of fierceness. (x. 31.) He withdrew from the city, and crossed the Jordan, where He abode for about four or five weeks, teaching many who believed in Him, until His next return to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. To this time, Mr. Ellicott assigns the visit of the pharisees who warned our Lord of the enmity of Herod (Luke xiii. 31); after which He would remain three days in that ruler's province, and then depart for Jerusalem. He wrought cures (v. 32); He healed the dropsical sufferer in the pharisee's house (Luke xiv. 2), and He delivered the parable of the great supper (v. 16). Publicans and sinners crowded around Him (xv. 1); and to the scribes and pharisees, who murmured at His receiving such persons, He spake the parables of the lost sheep, of the coin, and of the prodigal son, and afterwards addressed to His disciples, in the hearing of the pharisees, the parables of the unjust steward, and of Lazarus and the rich man. (Luke xv. 4—xvi. 31.) The conjecture which assigns this portion of St. Luke's gospel to the time of our Lord's abode beyond Jordan, receives some corroboration from St. John (x. and xi.), who, after noticing our Lord's withdrawal to Peræa, next tells of the message of the mourning sisters of Lazarus; after which He remained two days where He then was, and would take two days more for the journey; and found, on His arrival, that Lazarus had lain four days in the grave. This seeming coincidence is confirmed by the use of the name of Lazarus at that time in the parable. Proceeding to Bethany, He wrought that miracle of power and of love, the account of which, and of its effects upon the people, is related in John xi. The chief priests and the pharisees, alarmed lest all men should believe on Him, took counsel together to put Him to death (v. 53), and He withdrew for a while to Ephraim, a town supposed to have been distant from Jerusalem about twenty miles. He had one journey more to make before the coming feast, mentioned by the first three evangelists. (Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1; Luke xvii. 11.) It was through the midst of Samaria and Galilee. Its recorded incidents are few. Now the ten lepers were healed (Luke xvii. 12); and Jesus was led to discourse on the coming of the kingdom of God (v. 20); and He spake the parable of the unjust judge (Luke xviii. 1). Under the guidance of Matt. xix. 1, and Mark x. 1, we next trace His steps to the country beyond the Jordan, and judge that He returned to the scenes of His recent preaching on that side, in Peræa, near to Judæa. Thither the multitude followed Him, and there the pharisees laid snares for Him, and tried to entrap Him by questions on the subject of divorce. There, too, occurred the incidents of His blessing the little children, and talking with the rich young man (v. 13, &c.). The journey to Jerusalem

commenced. Jesus set forth at the head of His disciples, and by the way He spake to them, for the third time, of the death which awaited Him. (Matt. xx. 17; Mark x. 32.) This was the singular time selected by the wife of Zebedee for her ambitious request in behalf of her sons, in anticipation probably of some great manifestation of the expected kingdom. Jericho was reached; the blind men received their sight; Zacchæus was called, and entertained the Lord. All men were full of expectation: and to restrain misconceived hopes, the parable of the pounds was spoken. (Mark x. 46, and Luke xviii. 35—xix. 27.) Six days before the passover, Jesus arrived at Bethany. (John xii. 1.) (p. 276.)

Our necessary limits preclude our touching upon the history of those days, or on the following period which ends with the ascension. We can only testify to the nice discernment which is still exercised in the recognition and treatment of difficulties, and to the reverential tone which pervades the survey of that sacred season. We are thankful for the author's thoughtful labours in this as well as in the other parts of his lectures.

The attempt which we have made to give a summary of an important section of these lectures, affords, we are fully conscious, a mere skeleton, of the driest bones. It is incapable of giving any just conception of the real character of the book itself, which owes much of what is special in it to the lights which it throws upon the successive stages of the history, derived incidentally from the previous progress of events, or from some feature of the attendant circumstances. These often serve to account for actions which otherwise have nothing to explain them. For instance, the varying attitude of the people, and the progressive hostility and hatred on the part of the pharisees and their associates, is made to account for the course of our Lord's action at one time being different from what He saw fit to pursue at another. By such aids, Mr. Ellicott constantly finds a clue to the order of events, otherwise most uncertain, or a strong corroboration of the conclusions to which other considerations have conducted him. Hence a bare outline, such as ours has been, may fail to secure assent, where the author, speaking for himself, would satisfy the reader's judgment.

The notes are copious; and they and the text together provide ample materials for the exercise of criticism, and much on which we could write with pleasure. But we forbear, only repeating our thanks to Mr. Ellicott for the most interesting, instructive, edifying, and satisfying summary of the history of the Life of our Blessed Lord with which we are acquainted.

LORD AUCKLAND'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland, with a Preface and Introduction. By the Right Hon. and Right Rev. The Bishop of Bath and Wells. In Two Volumes. London: Richard Bentley, 1861.

Two motives appear to have influenced Lord Auckland in the publication of these memoirs of his father. The one, the laudable desire of contributing some interesting materials to the history of an eventful period; the other, the no less laudable purpose of placing his father's character in a juster light, and freeing it from the imputations cast upon his memory in some memoirs of his contemporaries, published in the last few years. He alludes particularly to the memoirs of Lord Malmesbury, and those of the Right Hon. George Rose. The Right Rev. prelate has, in our opinion, been successful in both respects. His father, the first Lord Auckland, was evidently a man of high integrity, an accomplished statesman, and a patriot; he was also a person of the most refined taste, and some of the letters now published deserve to be quoted as amongst the purest models of epistolary composition. We might mention one, announcing his intended marriage to a friend, which is not surpassed for grace and delicacy by Cicero in ancient, or by Cowper in modern, times. We wish we could add that something more of Cowper's piety had been visible in this correspondence. Lord Auckland was a virtuous, and according to the standard of the times, even a religious man. Much of his time was spent abroad: and he appears to have respected the Lord's-day, and never to have forgotten that he was a Protestant. Of a diplomatic functionary of the time of George III., this is a great deal to say; and we trust there may have been a depth of piety beneath which does not appear upon the surface.

Lord Auckland, then Mr. Eden, became under-secretary of state in 1772, and while yet a young man, gave his attention to a subject then shamefully neglected—the mitigation of our harsh laws; and in 1778, carried an Act, 19 Geo. III., the principal objects of which were, to enforce a strict and salutary attention to the morals and health of prisoners, to introduce a system of solitary imprisonment for certain crimes, and to establish penitentiary houses. He was understood to have had the friendly assistance of Mr. Howard and Sir William Blackstone in framing that Act; and Howard was appointed one of the three inspectors. In the same year, he was appointed one of the commissioners to America, for the purpose of restoring peace. He was young for such an office, being only in his thirty-

fourth year; and he was associated with four other commissioners, persons of considerable importance: the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. George Johnstone. Yet the great Lord Mansfield appears to have regarded him as the main stay of the whole affair. "I wonder," he says, "that they (the ministry) part with you. I do not see who can, in any degree, fill your place at home. I fear you will be fatally missed . . . With respect to the commission, I rejoice in it exceedingly. I am now sure no mischief will arise from an improper exercise of extraordinary powers, which I dreaded before; *that* alone is doing great good. I keep my thoughts of the measure to myself. I pray God I may be mistaken . . . I think the confidence you are known to be in, as well as your own talents and knowledge of business, give a dignity and an air of seriousness to the commission, which I was afraid it would have gone without." On his return, he accepted the appointment of chief secretary in Ireland, when the Earl of Carlisle was lord lieutenant. In 1785, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles; in 1788, ambassador to Spain; on his return, he was promoted to an Irish peerage; and the next year, 1789, he was appointed ambassador to Holland. Soon afterwards, he took office under Mr. Pitt, and entered the cabinet as post-master general. On the resignation of Mr. Pitt in 1801, Lord Auckland, who had differed from him with respect to the policy of the catholic question, remained in office under Mr. Addington. On the return of Mr. Pitt to office in 1804, Lord Auckland resigned. He seems from this time to have belonged to the party of Lord Grenville; under whom, in 1806, he took office as president of the board of trade, and sent in his resignation with the rest of the ministers the following year.

From this period of his life, he passed his time in retirement. His last years were embittered by the loss of his eldest son William, in 1810. Lord Auckland never recovered the shock, and died suddenly on the 28th of May, 1814. Thus it will be seen, that the affairs in which he bore no insignificant a part, were of the highest importance; and that the period in which he discharged the duties of a British statesman, was one of the most stirring in the national history.

The law of politics seems to follow the newly-discovered law of storms. The motion, though always onwards, is not direct; not in straight lines, but cycles. At stated periods, the same subjects return upon us, almost in the same order, but with some new combinations, and with augmented force. We have now, at the beginning of 1861, just concluded a great commercial treaty with France; we have, at the same time, great misgivings, which we do not even effect to conceal, with regard to the disposition of France towards us. Precisely the same

thing happened to our grandfathers in 1787. They, too, were anxious about America and her independence, and so are we. The subject of slavery perplexed them, and it perplexes us. They had, to complete the parallel, a furious zeal for enlarging their land forces, and a passion for the reconstruction of the navy; and like ourselves, they had a reform bill often talked of, but always laid aside. It almost seems as if the treadmill should be quartered in the arms of the most favoured nations, or the stone of Sisyphus, or Ixion with his wheel. There may be progress in many respects; no doubt there is; but there are disturbing forces too; and often the flight of the boomerang which falls again at your feet after performing its whirling circle in the sky, rather than that of the arrow from the bow, or the ball from the cannon, describes the national career.

The correspondence on the subject of the commercial treaty is, just at this time, of great interest. A large proportion of our readers are clergymen; but we cannot persuade ourselves that the subject is one on which they ought to feel no concern. A clergyman, to be respected, must now be far more than a mere scholar and divine; perhaps we should rather say that what was once accounted scholarship is no longer thought so. There are circumstances in which the most zealous parish priest will make but a poor figure if he can do nothing better when a strike occurs than merely to declaim against it; or when the policy of the French commercial treaty is discussed, to shrug his shoulders and express his apprehension that the introduction of French wines may lead to an increase of drunkenness. Right or wrong he must have a reason to give for his opinions, and a good reason too; or his authority will fall into contempt, and his advice will have but little value even with the working men of his parish. We had occasion lately, in dealing with a group of colliers who told us they were "out on the strike," to feel the vast advantage of a slight acquaintance with the first elements of political economy. It was affecting to see how patiently the poor fellows listened while we argued with them on the relations of labour and capital; how cordially they thanked us as our way-side lecture closed, and how silently they moved away. Mr. Pitt writes constantly to Mr. Eden while the negotiations are on foot. The great financial minister was warmly interested in the success of the treaty of commerce. He consulted Wedgwood, the father of the English manufacture of earthenware, Watt of Birmingham, and other scientific manufacturers. "It cannot," he says, "be too generally understood that our sole object is to collect, from all parts of the kingdom, a just representation of the interests of all the various branches of trade and manufacture which can be affected by the French arrangement, and

that we are perfectly open to form an unprejudiced opinion on the result." The basis of the projected treaty was very simple, though the details appear complicated. It was that England should be placed on the same footing with the most favoured nations, and that France, in return, should be allowed to import her wine and produce into England, as well as her manufactures, upon the payment of moderate duties. Mr. Pitt states the question thus :—

"Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden.

"(Private.)

"Downing-street, May 31st, 1786.

" Specific instructions shall be prepared, as soon as possible, relative to the particular articles we wish to have enumerated; but I rather hope to have the advantage of hearing from you on the subject in the meantime. The chief articles are certainly those mentioned in my former letter, and they are few. The great point will be, on what principle to regulate the quantum of duty to be fixed on each. Perhaps the best rate for all the articles to be enumerated would be *that at which they were admitted from the most favoured nations, before the late prohibitions.*

"And in this way, one stipulation would provide for all these special articles. I do not, however, know what effect this would have on the cottons, as the amount of the duties formerly subsisting on them (though meant to be enclosed in one of our letters) was, I believe omitted. Perhaps, in any settlement, the prohibition may be insisted upon by France on such branches of the cotton as would interfere with East India articles; but they are only of the finer sort, and might, I understand, be easily distinguished by *the weight*. The other sorts we certainly might expect to have admitted on moderate duties, if we give an adequate return for that and the other advantages we may gain by the treaty. In some at least of the articles to be imported here, and which the French may wish to specify, the same principle would, perhaps, answer for fixing the rate of duty here. It would make the duty on linens a moderate one. It would reduce the wines to a level with those of Portugal, which is going a great way in that article, though I think we ought not to refuse going so far if we get all that we have a right to in return for it. Perhaps in the brandies it may be desired to substitute a lower duty than the present; and I am far from thinking that it may not be worth our while to admit of some abatement.

"It is, indeed, just possible that France may state that anything like the present duties on wines and brandies would be exorbitant, in comparison with the low duties which would be fixed on our hardware and some other articles. They have not, however, yet pointed to any such argument; and if they should, the answer is obvious, for both wines and brandies can afford to pay, without interfering with the consumption, duties so high in proportion to the value as would amount to a prohibition on the cost of articles we have to send to France; and, in truth, now that our Excise Bill is, I think I may say, *secure*, I see no reason why the importation of various sorts of French wines may not come up to what it was in the beginning of

the century, which, I think, appears by authentic accounts to have amounted to 10,000 or 12,000 tons. Much of this, however, is a little premature at present; but I mention what occurs, wishing to have your opinion beforehand on every point where I can. If no general standard can be found such as I have referred to, the duties must be fixed separately on each article. The proposed principle, I conceive, would be to establish such moderate duties on each as will be advantageous to the revenue, and not too much check the importation. And, even in this way, the detail on the few articles to be specified will not, I hope, be long. I trust, indeed, that a short time (if there occurs no unexpected difficulty) will bring this great work to a prosperous issue. . . .

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Sincerely and faithfully yours,

"W. PITT."

The premier, however, had many difficulties. The following letter is from Mr. George Rose, whose hair, the editor remarks, seems to have stood on end at the idea of opening the silk trade:—

"Mr. George Rose to Mr. Eden.

"Great George-street, Wednesday, May 31st, 4 p.m.

"My dear Sir,

"I think I have as little political cowardice as should belong to any one in any situation in the smallest degree responsible, but I tremble at the very mention of a repeal of our manufactured silk laws. I verily believe the prohibition even of that article is unwise; at the same time I consider an attempt to make an alteration respecting it as the most dangerous that can be thought of. Consider the situation of Spitalfields, where there are more than 40,000 weavers and other workmen, in the capital itself. Recollect the consequences when the Duke of Bedford made a less alarming experiment.* I am persuaded that the very people who have held the language you mention, would now avow that to their fellow manufacturers. The condition, too, that they would annex to the measure is a serious one. You will see by the accounts herewith sent, that the revenue arising from raw silk is more than £200,000 a-year.

"You will, I trust, be satisfied upon the whole with the dispatch you will receive herewith; it lays the foundation of a treaty on the surest footing which circumstances will admit. We have carried our wine measure so far most triumphantly; we shall go through the committee to-day with little opposition, and have *the debate* upon the report, which I hope will not be later than Friday, but of that we cannot be sure.

"The cambric business cannot be arranged till next session; it would be parting with too much out of our hands.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"GEORGE ROSE."

The question of the introduction of French ribands then, as now, gave rise to the most opposite conjectures. Lord Carmarthen writes:—

* Alluding to a riot of the Spitalfields weavers.

" Whitehall, August 25th, 1786.

" (Private.)

" *Quant aux rubans, nous ne brillons pas de ce côté là.*

A shorter and more direct negative was never given than by a meeting of those concerned in the riband manufacture to the general question of opening the trade of that manufacture. Anything short of absolute prohibition seems, in the eyes of these gentlemen, to involve *them*, and of course *the country*, in immediate ruin and destruction. So much for Spitalfields; for the two gentlemen (Wilson* and Venning, if I remember right) who were previously examined, appeared infinitely more reasonable (though not very sanguine in their expectations of a beneficial intercourse in that article) before they had consulted their *commettans*."

And Mr. Pitt :—

" Downing-street, September 4.

" (Private.)

" My dear Sir,—We have been working hard to expedite your dispatch, and I have scarce a moment left for a private letter. In the main, I trust you find everything satisfactory, and I doubt not you will be able to reconcile the French Court on the two or three points on which *we cannot give way*. The ribands and modes are of this description, and the rate of duty on the linens *cannot* be lowered beyond our former offer. In the glass, I hope and believe we shall be able to comply. The interval necessary before the reduction of the wine duty should take place will be very speedily ascertained; both these particulars will be sent to you by another messenger, who will probably reach you before all the points in the present dispatch are exhausted; and you shall have, at the same time, an account about the *British-made wines*. In the meantime, it is enough to say that the duty on them was raised last session, and is much higher in proportion to foreign wine than formerly. I will not enter further, at present, on the subject of my former private letter, except only to repeat my sincere desire at all times to keep in view whatever you feel material, either for your credit or satisfaction, in any arrangements that may be in question. On the other points, I will write again very speedily. I foresee that, at all events, it will be impossible for your presence here not to be very material when the Treaty comes to be discussed in Parliament. I write, as you see, in the utmost haste."

Lord Sheffield thought all the advantages of the treaty were on our side :—

" ... The treaty seems very much of the same kind as the American and the Irish, viz., the reciprocity is all on one side; for I have not discovered, since I received your letter this morning, a single advantage the French have gained. Observe, however, that I only know extracts from two articles, viz., 6th and 7th. You say they contain the material points respecting the duties and general principle of the business. I should be most afraid the French would quarrel with them when they find our manufactures filling their warehouses. I hear they consider the treaty as an experiment for two years, and are much

* Probably the uncle of the Bishop of Calcutta, to whom, in youth, he was apprenticed.—See *Bateman's Life*.

French ministers on the subject of the naval force to be kept up in other parts of the world; and you will inform me of any ideas which they may in the meantime suggest on this subject." But however diplomatists might endeavour to cajole each other, pamphleteers and ladies threw out significant hints. Mirabeau, so terrible in the Tribune, soon afterwards gave vent to the national hatred of England, as a pamphleteer. Mr. Eden reports to Mr. Pitt: "I sent to Mr. Rose a very singular pamphlet of Mirabeau's. We sent it a week ago to the office, and you probably have seen it; if not, it is well worth your perusal, because, though it contains little, there are some strong and remarkable expressions in it, and though he speaks impertinences of England, he does justice to your *coup de maître*" (referring to the commercial treaty). Perfidious Albion was then as now a theme on which Parisian ladies were eloquent. The ambassador had invited M. de Montmorin to dinner:—

"M. de Montmorin hinted to me yesterday, whether, in the present undecided state of things, it would be proper for him to come; he said that his own feelings held such objections in great disregard, but that the temper of others was more sensitive. And in the evening, when Mrs. Eden and I went to Madame de Polignac's, the ladies made war upon our whole nation with considerable violence. The queen was present, and was too polite to seem to hear it, but was exceedingly silent and reserved. Madame de Polignac told me she could not give it to me here, but that she would write a letter to Spain, to state all the perfidy of England towards a nation that wished to be in friendship with her. I could only desire her to recollect (personally) that '*les petites brouilleries sont presque toujours suivies des plus étroites amitiés.*' If you had been twenty months in France you would think these female politics are not immaterial. I am anxious to know whether M. de Montmorin will come."

There was a sick man, too, in those days—for our historical parallel is not exhausted,—and he dwelt, as now, at Constantinople. The gentler sex do not seem to have treated him with the consideration which poetry and experience, happily agreeing for once, would have taught us to expect. This may be explained in part by the fact that Russia was then governed by a woman's hand.

"Here, again, female politics enter for something. . . . The empress of Russia (Catherine), as far as I can learn, wishes to avoid the war with the Turks, and to rest upon their returning to the terms of the last peace. The emperor (of Germany) hesitates about it, and is

Frigates.	five ships	28 guns.
"	fifty "	26 "
"	one ship	24 "
Corvettes ..	ten ships	20 "
"	nine "	18 "
"	two "	14 "
Gunboats. .	four	

In this memorandum, which is printed in the Appendix, the name of each ship is given, and the station at which she lay. At the close of the war this magnificent fleet was annihilated. We believe only one ship of the line remained to France.

much impressed by a famous expression of M. de Vergennes, 'Une partition de l'empire Ottoman n'est pas difficile, mais je ne vois pas la compensation pour Constantinople.' "

It is with a feeling of relief we turn from these intrigues to a few letters of Mr. Wilberforce. Pascal tells us there are three kinds of greatness : wealth or station, intellect, and virtue. He might have added, that while the world is fulsome in its admiration of the first and second, it overlooks the last. Wilberforce was a great man ; but his greatness was of the neglected kind. We who view him as an historical personage, or whose recollections go back no further than the time when he was an agreeable and benevolent old man, seem to have agreed that, as an orator and statesman, or even as a man of letters, he has been over-praised. But his moral influence, in the most stormy times, has never been called in question ; and it ought to be conceded, in order to account for this, that in whatever degree we subtract from the popular estimate of his mental prowess, in the same proportion we exalt his moral grandeur. It is a fine sight for moralists, and a noble study for young and ardent politicians. Wilberforce, at the bursting out of the French revolution, the personal friend of Pitt, the vigorous supporter of his administration, never diverted from the one grand purpose of his life. Amidst all other conflicts, battling still for Africa. Despising, or affecting to despise, nothing that concerned his country's honour ; yet true, as the needle to the pole, to the sable down-trod negro. How earnestly he worked in the face of discouragements which few would have encountered, may be seen incidentally from the correspondence of which we transcribe a part :—

" London, 5th Jan., 1788.

"My dear Sir,—I earnestly wish that your representation of the barbarity and impolicy of the slave trade may excite its due impression on the minds of M. de Montmorin and his coadjutors. Your expectations of success do not seem very sanguine ; but look back to the other negotiations that you have conducted, and ask yourself, if you could have preconceived the result of them would be so favourable as it actually turned out. As to the proposition you throw out, at the close of your memorial, for a suspension of the trade, I cannot say that it strikes either Mr. Pitt or myself in a very eligible point of view. Taking the question generally, the inconveniences attendant on the change we propose will be felt most sensibly at first, whilst the compensating benefits are of more slow and silent growth. This holds true both as applied to Africa and the West Indies, as well as to every country engaged in the trade. After the expiration, then, of the term of suspension, the utter abolition would be attempted under the most unfavourable circumstances possible ; add to which, we must expect that the flame which is kindled will gradually die away, and the public attention be attracted by some new object. Many of the reasons which I am persuaded will have suggested themselves to your

mind, whilst you have been reading the last few lines of my letter, and which I therefore will not trouble you by reciting at large, are applicable to the provisional convention of which you speak, about which Mr. Pitt agrees with me in opinion. You see with how much frankness I write; it will at least afford you a proof that I give you credit for taking so warm and so sincere a part in this business, that you will wish all ceremony to be waived, and all reserve in the discussion of it.

"I gave the notice you suggest a few days before parliament adjourned, and Mr. Fox declared in his place that he had entertained thoughts of bringing the subject into public notice, and that he should be happy to cooperate with me in so good a work. I hear something of a society that has been set on foot in Paris. What are its objects, and is it respectable from the rank, character, and number of its members? I have some idea M. de la Fayette is one of its leaders.

"Once more let me repeat my earnest wishes that the negociation may be pushed forward with all practicable expedition. I am clear that much of our success in this country will depend on its being brought to a desirable issue before the decision of parliament be finally taken.

"I shall always be glad to hear from you; and I remain, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

"*Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Eden.*

"London, 18th January, 1788.

"My dear Sir,—I think M. de Montmorin's memorial of the 5th of January suggests the very conclusion that you drew from his conversation, that the French cabinet is afraid of committing itself so far as not to be able to withdraw its pledge, though nothing should be done in this country. It seems also, as you say, to apprehend that our attempts will be ineffectual; but it is with the greatest pleasure I assure you that nothing is worse founded than this apprehension. The fire is kindled in various parts of the kingdom, and the flame every day spreads wider and wider. The papers I enclose will show you what has been done at Manchester, which, it should be remembered, is deeply interested in the African trade, both as its manufactures form one capital branch of export, and as many of its inhabitants (as is stated to me) have large concerns in shipping in Liverpool. At Birmingham, to which one of the preceding observations applies, a society is instituted for the abolition of the slave-trade, and a liberal subscription entered into. Another society, originally set on foot by a few Quakers in the City of London, has suddenly increased to the size you will see by the account I transmit you, and it is hourly increasing, and I am sure we shall agree, ought not to be diminished. Besides these demonstrations of the general spirit that has gone abroad, there appears an universal disposition in our favour in the house of commons, so far as I can judge during the recess. On the whole, therefore, *assure yourself that there is no doubt of our success.*

"If the French cabinet and M. de Montmorin are sincere in their professions of an earnest desire to relinquish their share of this infamous traffic, and are only deterred from speaking a more open lan-

guage by the apprehension you have suggested, will not this representation of the state of things on this side of the water release them from the necessity of keeping back, and induce them to declare to you in plain terms that, provided Great Britain shall wholly abandon the slave trade, they will engage for France in doing the same? I place great dependence on the use you will make of the information I have given you, and on that regard for personal credit which will incline the French ministers, if they see a probability of their acceding to the measure at all, to adopt it in that way which will be most honourable to them; as if they cheerfully, at least *pari passu* with this country, stepped forward to obey the instructive suggestions of their own feelings, not as if they were dragged reluctantly into our train.

"The particular mode of our proceedings in the house of commons may be materially affected by the answer you obtain from M. de Montmorin on this head, and therefore you will have the goodness to press him with a hot fire, and as soon as possible communicate to Mr. Pitt, or myself, the result of your renewed attack. I will put up a copy or two of some of the tracts which have been circulated throughout England with considerable effect; they are not always strictly accurate in their statements, particularly that of Mr. Cooper; the other little one is more to be relied on.

"I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

The French revolution broke out: Mr. Eden returned home, and from this point the correspondence, though still interesting, becomes less important. There are pictures of English and Irish life, sketches from by-standers of men, events, and conversations, which have now become substantial parts of history: the trial of Warren Hastings; the prince of Wales, his debts and his depravity; Pitt and Fox; the *bons mots* of George Selwyn; and Lord George Gordon's conversion to the Jewish faith, after he had led on the anti-popery mob which nearly succeeded in burning down London a second time. As we glance from page to page, the impression deepens upon us that England, at least in its higher circles, was heartless and irreligious. The shock of the French revolution, at a cost only less extravagant in blood and treasure to us than to themselves, was wanted to bring us to our senses; and happily it had this effect: England was not hardened beyond compunction; profligacy became unfashionable, and frivolities sank into disgrace.

Then we find Mr. Eden our ambassador in Spain. The filial respect of our great statesmen to their parents deserves not to be forgotten. Mr. Canning never failed to write to his mother once a week; and Mr. Eden kept a journal of the events of each day, and sent it to his mother; it displays his own character in a very favourable light. The ambassador, laden with the cares of state, finds time to note down from day to day, for the gratification of a grandmother, how the English *bambino* is caressed by the Spanish princesses; how the children prepare a

surprise for their mamma, on her birthday, previously, of course, intrusting their profound secret to every member of the household; and how they pay their respects indiscriminately on "auld fool's day," the frolicsome first of April, both to servants and superiors. The follies of children we can tolerate, those of the Spanish court arouse no other feeling than loathing. That disgusting brutality, the *battue*, seems to have been imported from Spain; for Mr. Eden describes a royal one to which he was invited, "a grande *battida*, which in plain English is a beating of the woods for game":—

"It was necessary to present himself in a uniform similar to the king's, which is not unlike what I have seen in many pictures of about fifty years ago. Thus prepared, and after being well ridiculed by my girls, I proceeded to the prince Kaffaldael's, &c. . . . In about half an hour his catholic majesty and the prince arrived, and we walked out to receive them; after which there was about an hour's conversation, before signals were made of the herds of deer approaching. In the meantime there was a great noise, in the hills behind us, of guns and trumpets, and boys screaming and men hallooing; all which is managed in such a direction, and by planting people in different places, so as to force all the game to pass by the building. This lasted near two hours. About 2000 deer passed, and two foxes, and one wild boar. The king and prince selected only the fat bucks, and avoided killing the does as much as possible, though in the crowds which passed, some of the latter necessarily suffered. The fineness of the day, and the noise of about 20,000 people who were employed, and the largeness of the herds, made it certainly an interesting sight; but in other respects it was piteous enough, for in front of the place, and within a few yards of us, the dead and the wounded were all lying, either bleeding or struggling, some only with legs broken, &c. At last it finished, and then the chasseurs ran in, and soon put all the poor beasts out of pain that had any life remaining; in order to do this, however, dogs were also necessary as to several."

But even this is tolerable in comparison with what occurs upon the next page:—

"There has been a comedy here every night for some time. There was a bull fight introduced, and the bulls were acted by calves, and all killed upon the stage, except one which jumped into the pit, where he was despatched by scissors and penknives."

Thus nations perish in the midst of wealth and with all the materials of prosperity. Between the two extracts we have just made, there is a third of some significance:—

"The king of Spain to-day showed to us some immense pieces of silver which are just arrived, in their crude state, from a newly-discovered mine in Peru. Among the rest there was one which weighed 300 lbs., and which he reserves for his cabinet of natural history. It looked like the scrap of a rock, but on striking it with metal it sounded like solid silver, and is supposed to be of the value of £1200 sterling."

But the Lord of the Indies amidst his hoards was as helpless as Belshazzar at his feast. A court abandoned to dissipation is the real hotbed of a revolution. It is not in the crowded factory or amongst the desperate population of the *faubourg* that revolutions take their origin. The head must be sick, and the heart faint, before the members are benumbed. The madness of the people is always frightful; nor are we amongst the number who maintain that it always has a just excuse. On the contrary, there have been periods in our own, as well as in foreign history, in which it seems to us to have been an epidemic, a popular insanity. But we believe the records of history will be searched in vain for an instance in which it was successful. No really good government, whether constitutional or absolute, was ever subverted except by its own misconduct; for government is of God, and He puts such honour upon His own institutions, that He protects it from violence so long as it continues to fulfil His purposes and to "rule in righteousness."

The value of such a work as this depends in some measure upon the reader. To a careless reader, the volumes are merely an entertainment; to a reflecting one they are, as Lord Bacon would have said, full of the seeds of things. In such private notes and confidential letters, the literary gossip finds indolent recreation; the thoughtful reader sees the germ of history; the student of human nature explores the anatomy of man; and the Christian, inquiring more deeply still, the slow development to the purposes of the Righteous Governor of the universe.

CHRISTIAN UNION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another," (John xiii. 35.)

DEAR SIR,—The manifestation of brotherly love amongst the followers of Christ occupies a position peculiar to itself, as having been selected, out of all other Christian graces and duties, to be *the* distinctive mark whereby Christians should be known. What could give it a stronger claim upon our earnest attention?

Amongst the many important aspects of this subject, there is a long-neglected one, which is now happily being forced upon our notice, and which you would, perhaps, not think unworthy of a place in the *Christian Observer*. I refer to the attitude which members of different evangelical churches ought to maintain towards one another.

It may seem superfluous to assert, that, if they believe one another to be disciples of Christ, they are not merely to "love one another,"

but to let "all men know" that they do so. The mark is not only to be there, but to be visible, or it misses one of its specific objects. But there are two considerations which make it peculiarly incumbent, in their case, to let this badge be seen broadly and distinctly.

In the first place, this is a matter with regard to which, in the opinion of the world around us, every man is held guilty, until he proves himself innocent. The alienation, if not positive antagonism, which so often subsists between different churches holding the same great fundamental truths, has given the world but too much excuse for the taunting proverb, "See how these Christians hate one another." Knowing, then, the existence of this feeling, we surely ought not to be satisfied merely with the consciousness of our own personal innocence; but should make every possible effort to remove the impression, and compel men to acknowledge that we do love one another as Christians, in spite of our differences as churchmen.

Secondly, the greater our differences, the better opportunity we have of proving the genuine character of this brotherly love. For, as I lately heard it well put by the Rev. T. Binney, in proportion as the man I love is a reflection of myself, am I exposed to the suspicion of merely loving myself in him; but if all his peculiar views and preferences are opposed to mine, and we agree in nothing but in loving and serving our common Master, then it becomes manifest that it is on that account alone I love him.

For these reasons, therefore, it seems to be our duty to make even greater efforts to manifest our love to members of other churches than to members of our own; both because the world is less ready to believe it, and because, when plainly proved, it is calculated to produce a greater effect.

But now, to come to the point which demands our consideration. How are we, as members of a national church, practically to carry out this principle towards those Protestant evangelical dissenters whose differences with us cannot for a moment be supposed to affect their discipleship to Christ, or, consequently, our duty of letting all men see that we love them as brethren? * Let us suppose a case, which is, thank God, of much rarer occurrence than formerly, but still far too common. An evangelical clergyman and an evangelical dissenting minister live and labour for years together in the same place. They are serving the same Master, and doing the same work. Their one grand object, directly or indirectly, is to bring sinners to Christ, and afterwards to build them up in their most holy faith. They preach the same gospel; ask from the same Father the gift of the same Spirit to bless their preaching; administer the same sacraments, though in different forms; appeal to the same book as their standard of faith and practice; hope to spend an eternity in the same blessed home,—and yet have very little more personal intercourse with one another, and give the world very little more proof of all this unity and community, than if one of them were a Mohammedan or a Brahmin. All that meets the eye of the world is, that they invariably worship in different buildings, stand on different platforms, sit on different committees, support different societies, are backed up by different news-

* See this argued out in a sermon, entitled, "Forbid him not," published at Seely's.

papers, and vote on different sides of almost every question that arises in the parish. Now, it would be mere affectation to pretend to doubt that, in nine out of every ten such cases, the unwillingness cordially to recognize and openly to consort with the other is on the side of the churchman rather than the dissenter. And even if the proportion were reversed, it would be much better for us to examine the state of our own eye, than to comment on the beam or the mote in our brother's eye. What then, let us ask, would be the excuse probably made by the clergyman, in our supposed case, for allowing such a state of things to continue?

He might perhaps say, that it was not brought about of set purpose, but from the force of circumstances. While their respective views on several important matters remained so diametrically opposed, it was impossible to avoid a certain amount of antagonism in their public conduct; and that the simple explanation of their so seldom meeting in public or private was, that they each had their own work to do, and there was nothing particular to bring them together,—except, perhaps, at the Annual Meeting of the Bible Society, when, unless circumstances prevented either of them from attending, they did appear on the same platform, and even exchanged a friendly greeting in the committee room. Now, unquestionably, this is often a true statement of the case; but does it furnish a justification of the facts? I submit that it is very far from doing so. For surely, as maintained above, the unavoidable antagonism that must exist on some points should render us all the more anxious to seek—ay, and if need be, to *make*—opportunities both for cultivating and for manifesting friendly feeling towards one another as brethren in Christ. Here is a great blot, palpable to all men. Ought we to be satisfied with the reflection that we never deliberately intended it? The question is, what effort are we making to remove it? If remedies do not come in our way, surely we ought to go out of our way to look for them, and never rest satisfied till they are found.

Now it was the necessity for providing a remedy against this evil, deeply felt, which gave birth to the Evangelical Alliance. And admirably adapted it is to meet the case. For, in addition to its value as a powerful agency for promoting the spirit of unity at home, and also as a bond of union and medium of communication amongst evangelical Christians in every part of the world, it constitutes of itself, as far as its own members are concerned, the strongest possible proof of their earnest desire to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. For the fact of our joining such institutions as the British and Foreign Bible Society, or the Religious Tract Society, merely shows that our differences are not so great as to prevent us cooperating for those defined and specific purposes; but by no means proves that we would not much rather keep to ourselves, if those purposes could be accomplished without such a cooperation. For all that appears to the contrary, we may be merely constrained by a sense of duty to join such societies, notwithstanding their catholic constitution, and be inwardly resolved not to get closer to brethren of other churches than is absolutely necessary. But with the Alliance, the promoting and manifesting of brotherly love is not an incident, but its avowed object: so that the very fact of joining it is the strongest possible

declaration of our desire to attain that object. And let me add, that something of this kind is especially needful in countries where there exists a national church; which, if it does not necessitate, renders almost certain such an amount of separate action, and at least apparent exclusiveness, as is calculated both to alienate the hearts of those who do, and those who do not, conform to it, and to make the world believe that professedly Christian churches, as well as professedly Christian individuals, so far from loving their neighbour as themselves, are bent upon seeking "their own," even at the expense of their "brother's wealth," nay, even to the serious injury of "those things which are Jesus Christ's." Surely those brethren, who conscientiously lean the most strongly to the side of separate action in public matters, should hail the most gladly such an opportunity as the Evangelical Alliance affords to neutralize the injurious effect of such separation both upon the minds of their dissenting brethren and upon the world at large.

But now, sir, as to this question of united action, altogether apart from the Evangelical Alliance.

Few readers of the Christian Observer are likely to argue that dissenters are *ipso facto* schismatics, and therefore to be "avoided." It would require some courage to say that such men as Baxter, or Doddridge, or John Angell James answered to St. Paul's description of those who "cause divisions," namely, that "they serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly;" or to St. Jude's description of those who "separate themselves," as "mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts—sensual, having not the Spirit." And, except on this ground, or something very like it, utterly untenable both in reason and scripture,* it is difficult to see how any churchman can maintain it to be a matter of *conscience* to stand aloof from dissenters without manifestly committing ecclesiastical suicide. Could the strongest anti-state-churchman wish for a more conclusive argument against—not merely the expediency, but—the *lawfulness* of having a national church, than the admission that letting all men know that we are good churchmen, is incompatible with letting them know that we are Christ's disciples by the love which we manifest to all other of His disciples, wherever they may be found. If loyalty to a national church, or a due regard to its interests, could only be maintained by cutting ourselves off from open communion with other members of Christ's body, how could any one with a safe conscience remain within its pale? A national church is a human institution,—one of the various forms in which Christianity may be outwardly embodied; Christian union is an essential element of Christianity itself, the special appointed mark of Christ's disciples. If it were really impossible to serve the two masters, who could hesitate as to his choice?

But there are many good men, who, without going so far as this, consider separate action as generally *expedient*, on the supposition that union with dissenters tends practically to weaken the national church. I believe there never was a more mistaken idea. On the contrary, I am persuaded that if the evangelical clergy, as a body,

*. See Appendix on "Schism," in the sermon before referred to.

came forward to meet the ministers of other evangelical churches with the frankness and cordiality that our common Christianity demands, it would do more to disarm hostility where it exists, to raise our church in public esteem, and in every way strengthen its position, than all the acts of parliament that can ever be passed, or all the church-rate victories that can ever be won. But still I am far from maintaining that united action must always be the best course. It is simply a question of expediency; and amongst the considerations which may fairly be taken into account in any particular case, one undoubtedly is—the effect which it will probably have upon that national establishment, which we believe to be so great a blessing to the country. I only plead that the cause of Christian union may also be allowed its due weight in the decision: and that while we remember the vast benefits conferred upon us by our established church, we may not forget the enormous evils which result from even the appearance of disunion between conformists and non-conformists.

It may be useful just to glance at some of the more prominent attempts that have been made to carry on united action, since the great revival of religion in England about a century ago.

It is rather remarkable, that the first of such attempts, namely, that to combine in missionary operations to the heathen, proved one of the very few failures; the London Missionary Society being now left almost exclusively to the Independents, and every other body of Christians having also its own separate organization for that purpose. The peculiar difficulty, however, in this case is easily seen; because the very object of the missionary being to make converts from amongst the heathen and form them into churches, a question at once arises as to what shall be the provisional constitution of these new churches. And happily there is not the same necessity for union in foreign missions that there is in home missions: because there is not the same prejudice to overcome, arising from the clashings and collisions of rival churches.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has been as signal a success. And really, if Christians could not combine simply to circulate the book which they receive in common as the word of God, it would be hopeless to think of union in anything whatever. This may be considered the first elementary lesson in the science of which we are treating. And yet it has its own peculiar value, as publicly testifying to the world, that if the Christian religion be variously exhibited in the creeds and opinions of Christian men, it results, not from any defect in the revelation of it from heaven, but from our defective reception of it. There it is, in that book, whole and entire; and from that book, with such aids as may be within your reach, you ought to gather your own views of it. So far we are perfectly agreed.

The Religious Tract Society is a decided step in advance. For there we agree to circulate human expositions and applications of the truths revealed in scripture; and in almost every conceivable shape and form. As a manifestation of the unity of evangelical Christians in matters of faith and practice, this society stands preeminent above all others; for, although none of its members can be considered pledged to every sentiment that it publishes, yet the fact that they can all

subscribe to publish such a multitude of religious books and tracts, proves that, in their own opinion at least, they are substantially agreed on all essential truth.

In the London City Mission, and other similar institutions, there is the additional element of *confidence* exhibited. We know, or may know, exactly what any given book or tract will say on any possible occasion; but we cannot be so sure what a living man will always say and do; and hence arises the opportunity for showing mutual confidence, and, it may be, mutual forbearance. But, in addition to the beneficial effect thus produced upon the church at large, the proof of ecclesiastical disinterestedness, which it affords, removes one great hindrance to the missionary's favourable reception by that large class of persons who are equally prejudiced against "church or chapel." And I doubt whether any one, except a very stiff churchman, who was adequately acquainted with the extent of this feeling among the working classes, would hesitate to admit, that the quite intelligible objections which are sometimes felt to this kind of united action, sink into insignificance before the immense advantages resulting from that one consideration.

I must pass over many other important societies which successfully carry out the same great principle, and hasten on to its three latest developments — United Prayer, United Preaching, United Communion.

One of the most blessed effects of the late Revival is the great increase of Christian union; and nowhere is that more strikingly exhibited, than in those public united prayer meetings, which are being so generally held—yearly, monthly, weekly, daily—throughout this and many other lands. Most important indeed are these meetings, not only for their own direct purpose, but as a declaration to all men that we are really fellow-worshippers of the same God through the same Great High Priest, and that, if there appears to exist too sharp a line of demarcation between us in our more formal assemblies, it results from no alienation of heart, but simply from the real or supposed necessities of the case.

And as an increased desire for a larger blessing on our efforts has brought us together for united prayer, so has the felt need of extending our efforts brought us together for united preaching. The Evangelical Alliance had the honour of first proposing this plan: the City Mission, that of first carrying it out—in the Theatre services. Nor could any two bodies of christian men have been more exactly in their place; the one suggesting a new application of their great principle, the other giving it effect. The testimony afforded by the ordinary operations of the City Mission to the oneness of our faith in all essential points, has acquired far greater power, and is much more calculated to arrest public attention, through the union of conforming and non-conforming ministers in these public preachings. What united prayer is to the church, united preaching is to the world: a practical declaration of our essential unity.

And now the question presents itself—Are we to stop here? Shall we join in everything else, and refuse to join in the ordinance which is the divinely-appointed type of our union, the Lord's Supper? It is readily admitted, that no *necessity* exists to assemble under the

same roof for the breaking of bread; the Lord's table is but one; and wherever, whenever, or however "two or three" believers meet together to eat bread and drink wine in remembrance of Christ, they are sitting down, at that one table, in company with "the holy church throughout all the world." The question is, whether it be not *desirable* that members of different adjacent churches should occasionally meet together for this purpose. To which our first reply is, that all the arguments for visible union in prayer, or anything else, apply with still greater force to visible union around the Lord's table, inasmuch as the setting forth of our spiritual union is one of its special objects. We desire to be more closely "knit together in love," and more distinctly to let all men know thereby that we are Christ's disciples. Is not this a powerful means for accomplishing both those objects? Besides, does not all our union up to this point render it very *undesirable* for us to stop short there? Will it not immediately be asked why we decline to take the last step? And will not an impression be left upon men's minds, that notwithstanding all our professions of mutual regard, which may be perfectly sincere as far as they go, we still shrink from unreservedly acknowledging that all the churches which "hold the Head," however variously constituted, are, by divine charter, but one church? Surely, if the principles urged in this letter be to any extent admitted, the *onus* rests with those who object to such occasional intercommunion; and very strong reasons must be required to justify us in declining it. Let us just consider what the alleged reasons are.

The first is, that if we communicate at another church than our own, we are virtually joining that church; if we communicate on common ground, we are virtually forming a new church. The fallacy of this may be made transparent by a simple illustration. If a member of one family dines occasionally with another family, does he thereby become a member of it? Or if several members of different families occasionally dine together at an hotel, do they thereby form a new family? Undoubtedly they acknowledge one another as members of the common family of man; but without in the smallest degree abandoning their several domestic relationships. I can really see no more valid reason for refusing to eat and drink sacramentally out of our own church, than for refusing to eat and drink socially out of our own house.

The next objection is, that different churches prescribe to their ministers and members different forms of administering the ordinance; and therefore, whether the intercommunion take place in church or chapel or elsewhere, some of the communicants must, either actively or passively, depart from the arrangement enjoined by their own church. And so, in each domestic circle, if there is to be any order at all, must particular arrangements be made for the family meals. But does the most scrupulous attention to those arrangements by the members of any family preclude them from ever sitting down to a meal with any other family whose arrangements may be different? If indeed the family arrangement were made on the supposition that the food partaken of could not perform its proper function of nourishing the body, unless the meal were conducted in such and such a manner, they might well be excused for declining to sit down to any meal that was con-

ducted otherwise. And in like manner, if any Christian believes that no eating of bread and drinking of wine, however solemnly and reverentially, in remembrance of Christ, can be "the Lord's Supper," unless connected with a certain ceremony performed by a person holding a certain office, he cannot of course be expected, under any circumstances, to attend what professes to be a celebration of it, without these adjuncts. But very few Christians, it is to be hoped, would go quite so far as this. And if there are any who do so, it only makes it the more necessary for us to show that we have no participation in such unscriptural views, and that we regard "Rubrics" and "Canons" as simply matters of order and arrangement *within our own family circle*, and by no means as laying down principles of universal obligation. When the joint communion is held in one of our churches, the form of administration is that prescribed by the church of England; when in a dissenting chapel, that which is customary there; when on neutral ground, that which is thought to be most convenient and appropriate under the circumstances. But in every case the ordinance is precisely the same, wholly unaffected by any of these varying accidents.

Again, it is objected that, inasmuch as clergymen of the church of England cannot legally administer the Lord's Supper in dissenting chapels, nor even in company with dissenters, on neutral ground; and dissenting ministers are equally debarred from administering it in consecrated buildings belonging to the established church, one or the other must necessarily for the time sink his official character, and attend the service simply as a believer in Christ. And are we not all constantly doing thus? What minister ever imagines, when he sits amongst a congregation to hear a sermon, or goes as a silent worshipper to a prayer-meeting, or joins the communicants as a stranger in any place he may be visiting, that he is abandoning his proper position? To refuse to be present at any service in which we are not allowed to officiate, would be the pride of office with a vengeance.

But this last objection opens a question of some importance, namely, What do we mean by "administering" the Lord's Supper? The word is apt, unless carefully explained, to convey the idea of there being two parties in the transaction—givers and receivers, clergy and laity. Now if this be so, the officiating minister must belong to both parties, inasmuch as the first person to whom he administers is *himself*. But our church expresses it much more accurately, when she orders that "the minister shall first *receive* the communion in both kinds himself." If, therefore, the people receive it *from the minister*, from whom does *he* receive it? Clearly both receive it from the same Giver, the Lord of the feast Himself, and "all they are brethren," joint-partakers of the same bread and wine. And herein this sacrament differs essentially from the other. In baptism there *are* two parties, the baptizer and the baptized; because the candidate is an *applicant* for something not already possessed. But in the Lord's Supper we meet together to enjoy what we do in common possess; and no official need be present (except as a matter of order and arrangement in any particular church) to unlock the storehouse for us, or impart strengthening virtue to its rich provisions. In almost every church, perhaps in every one, it is deemed

appropriate solemnly to set apart the elements about to be used, for that sacred purpose—in a word, to consecrate them. If the ceremony is to be performed “decently and in order,” some previous arrangement must be made as to the person who shall do this. But there is no necessity, as far as the Christian ordinance is concerned, (whatever by-laws separate churches may make for themselves,) that he shall be one who holds any particular office; the only essential requirement being, that he must be one of the communicants, that he may act as their representative in the matter; and the fact of any given person being so appointed, in nowise separates him from them, *quoad* the ordinance: he consecrates for them, and communicates with them. As to the handing of the elements to the communicants, that is a mere mechanical act which may be done by any person or persons whatever, and in any reverent way whatever. Our Master himself effectually blessed them, and gave them to His disciples, once for all: we have only to pass them on to one another.

I cannot but regard, therefore, the open communions which have been held on common ground, not only as a valuable means of cultivating and exhibiting brotherly love, but as an important testimony to the purity and simplicity of this great Christian ordinance. In our own churches we are obliged to celebrate it in conjunction with certain forms. These may be very suitable and edifying; but it is well that people should be taught to distinguish between what is divine and what is human, and to let their attachment to the national church rest on safer grounds than a blind superstitious reverence for every pin in its machinery, as if it had been put together by some inspired Bezaleel and Aholiab, after a pattern shown upon the Mount.

I remain, Mr. Editor, yours very faithfully,

SAMUEL MINTON.

London, Feb., 1861.

BEARD'S HISTORY OF PORT ROYAL.

Port Royal: A contribution to the History of Religion and Literature in France. By Charles Beard, B.A. Two volumes, crown 8vo. Longman and Co., London, 1861.

THE names of Port Royal and the Jansenists come to us like voices from the tomb. They seem to belong to an older world, with which we have no communion. A century in France removes institutions, men, and controversies, to a greater distance than three hundred years in England. If time is measured by the succession of ideas and events, the intervening period is even greater. Revolutions have been piled upon each other. Within a century the work of ages has been destroyed and reconstructed, and torn down again, and built up after another fashion, again torn down and again rebuilt. The old French character is lost, and our interest in it is that of the antiqua-

rian wandering amidst ruins over which the plough has long since passed, and which no living man remembers.

Mr. Beard has written well; he is thoroughly master of his subject; he has evidently brought to it a mind of superior power. But in the present feverish state of public thought and feeling, it will be no slender triumph if he should succeed in fixing attention upon this old-world subject.

And yet it is one that ought not to be forgotten. If we are not mistaken, it has at this moment a peculiar importance. It demands to be heard. These voices from the dead are prophetic utterances. Upon the plains of Italy a drama, one of the most important ever witnessed, is being played out, and the whole world are the spectators. What will be the issue? There are those who think they foresee the reformation of the papacy. There are those who dread the admixture with it of some gospel truth; enough to debase the gospel, not enough to regenerate the papacy. Port Royal dissipates the fond delusion of the one and the groundless apprehensions of the other. The papacy is incapable of reformation. Bible truth cannot find a lodgment in the lap of the "Mother of abominations." There can be no compromise, because there can be no real amendment.

There is something terrible in the providence so frequently observed in the case of desperately bad men. As they plunge deeper and deeper into sin, God's invitations to repentance become more touching and more paternal. They become still more hardened, and at last, even in this world, they affix the awful brand upon themselves; "vessels of wrath fitted for destruction." Thus, too, God has dealt with "the man of sin" himself. In the dark ages he was placed under a rugged discipline suited to his nature. The pope was more than once an exile; his kingdom was invaded by barbarians who professed to be his spiritual subjects. Then the voice of a German monk was heard, and the defection of the Germans followed. Then, after many a provocation, the haughty defiance of Henry VIII., and the secession of his kingdom. But all were ineffective. The papacy was obdurate. The Council of Trent is her own witness. There, in a court of her own choice, she states her own case; there she is condemned by her own approvers. No other testimony is wanted. She has changed the truth of God into a lie. She has set her own hand and seal to the deed, which will for ever remain a witness against her in this world and that which is to come. But even yet, the long-suffering of Heaven was not exhausted. A protest against her impieties issues from the meekest, the most devoted, of her own children. No rude German nails the insulting thesis on her gates. No lordly monarch defies her through his ambassador in the Vatican. It is now the still small voice whispered from the

trembling lips of the recluses of Port Royal. Never had a great delinquent a more gentle remonstrance, and yet more faithful. But it was once more despised, and Port Royal perished. It seems to have been her last warning; and her "judgment, now of a long time lingereth not, and *her* damnation slumbereth not."

The monastery of Port Royal was founded in the year 1204, by Matthieu, first Lord of Marli, of the noble house of Montmorenci. It stood in a lonely valley near Chevreuse, six leagues from Paris, till the year 1713, when it was levelled with the ground through the revenge and rage of the Jesuits. In 1602 Angélique Arnauld became the abbess. From this period, Mr. Beard undertakes to write its history: from this period it is, that its wonderful influence on French religion and literature begins; and from this point we take up the story with Mr. Beard to guide us. Mrs. Schimmelpenninck first led the way and drew attention to the subject thirty years ago. But her work, which has lately been reprinted, though useful in its day, by no means renders a more complete history superfluous; still it remains a singular and honourable circumstance, that an English lady should have led the way in the modern investigation of a most important period in the history of religion and literature in France.

Angélique Arnauld was the daughter of an advocate whose orations were once admired. Her family had long been eminent in France; its wider renown in other lands is owing to herself, her sister, and her not less distinguished brother, the celebrated Antoine Arnauld, the friend of Pascal and Nicole. Through a shameful abuse of court influence, she was installed abbess when not yet eleven years of age. She had not a spark of religious feeling, and for some years she felt the restraint intolerable. She would have run away and taken refuge with her Huguenot aunts at Rochelle, had not a dangerous illness intervened and prevented the fulfilment of the project. And yet the child abbess, except her comparative seclusion from the world, was under no great restraint: her nuns were as giddy as herself; their dress was fashionable; their conduct, to say the least, was frivolous; and on religious subjects, a degree of ignorance disgraceful even in a nunnery prevailed. The offices of the church were hurried over with negligence, and then a walk, or a game at cards, filled up the day. Their confessor, good easy man, was a Bernardine monk, so ignorant, that he was not able to repeat the Lord's prayer in French; did not know a word of the catchism, and never opened any book except his breviary. His amusement was the chase. For more than forty years no sermon had been preached at Port Royal, except at seven or eight professions. The communion was administered only at the great festivals; and even of these, the purifica-

tion was excepted, because it was also the time of carnival, when the whole house was busy in preparing a masquerade, in which the confessor and the servants all took their part. At fifteen *la mère Angélique* begins to display her character, and to reform her nuns. Cards give way to books; the offices of the church are performed with more decorum, and the recreations are harmless and more discreet: still there is no religion. The abbess herself studies ancient history and the ponderous romances of the day, and the only instruction which she obtains in view of her first communion, is furnished by a book of prayers lent her by a poor cobbler who mends her shoes. Yet at this very time, in 1605, Nicholas Boucherat, abbot of Cîteaux, inspects Port Royal, and leaves a *carte de visite*, testifying to his entire satisfaction with its discipline, and ordering only that the number of nuns shall be increased.

Thus life was dreamed away till Angélique was now eighteen. The carnival of 1608 had been celebrated by the sisterhood of Port Royal, with its usual follies. At the approach of Lent they ceased; and the young abbess, unwilling at such a season to read romances, and having no taste for tedious manuals of devotion, applied to her friend Madame de Jumeauville, an inmate of the house, for some pious work which might help to while away the weary season. A book of meditations, which some Capuchin who had preached at Port Royal had left behind him, was given to her; she read it with attention, and it made some impression on her mind. A few days after, she heard a sermon from another Capuchin monk in the convent church; the subject was, the humiliation of Christ in His incarnation:—

"How he treated it we know not. Angélique herself ascribes the effect of his discourse upon her mind less to any eloquence of human lips, than to the fact that the moment of Divine grace had now arrived; and at such seasons, a word, a thought, a look, a gesture, the meaning of which is altogether hidden from others, may be sufficient to unseal the fountain of the soul. The hour of the service, the dimly-lighted church, the solemn subject, suggesting in connection with the season of the year, the last sufferings of Christ, the effects of recent illness, may all be adduced by those who love to connect spiritual facts with natural causes, and all accepted by those who see in natural causes only the instruments of God. Be this as it may, a deep and enduring impression was produced. The abbess seems nevertheless to have distrusted the personal character of the preacher, who, indeed, afterwards gave evidence of loose morals and unstable faith, and abstained from consulting him as to the new thoughts and wishes which filled her mind. She contented herself with thanking him, in company with one of her nuns, and he went on his way into obscurity, all unconscious of the fire which his words had kindled in the heart of the church."

There was here, at least, the beginning of a new life; the

sun of righteousness arose, and there was healing in his wings; but the morning was grey, and dark clouds long floated in the sky. Angélique was now earnest upon the work of reformation, and with something of the head-long zeal which often marks the new convert even in purer churches, she was impetuous in accomplishing the reform of others before the work was by any means complete within herself. She insisted on enforcing the vows of poverty and seclusion; and, more painful still, we venture to suggest, in a society of sixteen young ladies, she enforced the Benedictine rule of silence. The fasts were rigidly kept, and the matins were now sung at two o'clock every morning. The nuns took their turn in the labours of the kitchen and the infirmary, and even a walk in the convent garden was discountenanced as a needless indulgence. In all this the abbess herself was foremost, and therefore we conclude that her "conversion" hitherto was little more than the agitation of a conscience waking up to the awful realities of its eternity. What follows is a miserable picture of monkish piety; the highest if not the only piety recognized by the church of Rome. We give it in our author's words:—

"The abbess was foremost in austerity, though, with characteristic aversion to display, she did her utmost to conceal her self-maceration. Perhaps the external fervour, as well as the secret penance, were both manifestations of the struggle between the enforced circumstances of her life and the natural desires of healthful youth. We are told that a nun who slept in her bed once missed her from her side, and drawing the curtain, saw her dropping burning wax upon her naked arm. 'What would you have?' she said many years afterwards, on being reminded of this; 'everything was right in those days.' And so, after a while, she announced the necessity of giving up the use of animal food in obedience to the rule, though not till she had tried the experiment herself. For, during the month before she made the announcement, she had, unknown to the community, confined herself to a spare vegetable diet, and now only asked the rest that they should follow her example."

This requires no comment. Those who can see in it anything to admire and imitate have not "learned Christ." They know nothing yet either of the purity of the gospel, or of "the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free." But the young abbess had now won for herself, though without intention, the fame of a reformer, and the reverence due to a saint. There were other monasteries in which the doings of the young ladies were by no means creditable to their profession. There were, in one of them, scandals of so gross a kind, that even the easy consciences of their superiors, the monks of Citeaux, were stirred to indignation; and the task now enjoined upon la mère Angélique by her superior was the reformation of the royal abbey of Maubuisson.

Madame d'Estrée was the abbess. She was the sister of

La Belle Gabrielle, and La Belle Gabrielle was the mistress of the king, an honour which she may have shared with Madame d'Estrée herself, who was equally licentious, and who had been removed from a religious house at Bertancourt, near Amiens, to provide a place of assignation nearer to the court; Gabrielle residing with her both when she was abbess of Bertancourt and now that she was abbess of Maubuisson. But now Gabrielle and her royal paramour were dead, and her own shameless profligacy the reigning monarch, Louis the Thirteenth, would no longer tolerate. Bishop Burnet has had to run the gauntlet for a hundred and fifty years with angry liberals and fiercer champions of the church of Rome, for the slanders contained in his History of the Reformation, on the monks at Sion, near Brentford, and other houses, whose abominations he declares were such that he dared not write them down. Under the same circumstances the same phenomena in human nature are likely to appear. There is nothing in the French character which should lead us to expect a greater difference than this,—that English vices would be more gross and committed with more reserve; French ones more shameless. We are happy to be relieved from the necessity of attempting our own description of a religious house in France. We find it done to our hands in the work before us, and Mr. Beard repeats the story from an authority which he gives in the margin. Religious houses, whether of men or women, are utterly unnatural. They may not always present the disgusting features of Maubuisson, but the tendency will always be the same. The enforced separation of the two sexes is an insult which human nature will avenge, and an impiety which a holy God may always be expected to visit with stern tokens of displeasure. Here is a picture of a religious house of women :—

“The abbess was surrounded by her own illegitimate daughters, one of whom, the daughter of a person of quality, she was educating to be her coadjutrix and successor. The sisters, almost all without vocation for the monastic life, were unacquainted with even the elementary doctrines of Christianity. The Bernardine monk, who performed the functions of confessor, often reproached them with the stolid ignorance which reduced their confessions to a series of inquiries on his part, and a plain answer of yes or no on theirs. So they hit upon the notable expedient of composing, with much labour and consultation, three forms of confession,—one, for the great festivals, one for Sundays, and one for ordinary days, which were written in a book, and passed from hand to hand, as occasion required. The service of the church was chanted with such horrible disregard to time and tune, as to torture the ears of all bystanders who were accustomed to a decent celebration of divine worship. With this, their religious duties were over for the day; and the sisters passed the rest of their time in entertaining the company, who flocked from all quarters to so gay an establishment, with private theatricals, with *al fresco* collations in the

convent gardens, or other amusements of fashionable life. But nothing can be a more striking instance of the utter disregard of monastic rules which prevailed at Maubuisson, than a practice which, we are gravely informed, had grown into a custom. On fine summer evenings, vespers and compline were said together, and as fast as possible; and their religious duties thus perfunctorily performed, abbess and nuns proceeded to promenade on the banks of certain reservoirs which lay on the high road to Paris. And there the monks of the neighbouring abbey of St. Martin at Pontoise were wont to meet and dance with them."

Into such a community la mère Angélique was of course an unwelcome intruder. Madame d'Estrée was only removed by force, and with the assistance of gendarmes, who seized her in her bed, and carried her on the mattress into a carriage. Within two years she returned with a company of gentlemen; her friends gained admission by a false key; a battle royal amongst the pious ladies followed; and the gentlemen rushed in with drawn swords, and fired their pistols, hoping that smoke and noise would terrify the combatants. Angélique, in her turn, was seized and carried to a carriage which was kept in waiting; but the nuns of her party would not be separated from their mother. Some rushed into the carriage; some climbed the box; some clung to the wheels; the compassionate coachman reined in his horses; and Angélique, having now vindicated her position, marched out of the captured fort with the honours of war. Thirty-four nuns followed her in procession. From the black robe of one of them she tore veils for all; and so, two and two, telling their beads in solemn silence, they bent their way to the neighbouring town of Pontoise. But Angélique soon returned in triumph. The porter, who had been wounded in the fray, hastened to Paris, and told his dismal tale to the Arnauld family. The next day two hundred and fifty archers were despatched to Maubuisson; and that very night Angélique and her nuns, guarded by a double file of mounted gendarmes, each with a lighted flambeau in one hand and a loaded musket in the other, returned in pious triumph to the monastery from which they had been expelled. Yet for some months it was necessary to keep a guard night and day; shots were fired at the windows; and it was not till the miserable death of Madame d'Estrée, a few years after, in a hovel in one of the suburbs of Paris, that peace was perfectly restored. Maubuisson was reformed after the fashion of Port Royal, and Angélique returned with joy, when her mission was accomplished, to her loved retirement of Port Royal. So much, then, for Port Royal and its distinguished abbess. We now turn for awhile to a nother subject.

Saint Francis de Sales, canonized in 1655 by pope Alexander the Seventh, was far too good a man to appear in such ques-

tionable society as that of Romish saints. Groping along his gloomy path, buried deep in superstition, he had some gleams of light, and was not altogether disobedient to the heavenly vision. His life was pure. We should have said that he was dead to the world, had not the church of Rome, its microcosm, absorbed his passionate regards and perverted his moral sense; just as the love of the outer world perverts it in other men. He was the founder of a religious order, and, what was more, he reclaimed many thousand Protestants from the error of their way. The exact number of these converts, on the authority of the Pope's Bull, was 7200; most of them were inhabitants of the Chablais; and the pope omits to mention a circumstance which renders the fact of these numerous conversions quite easy of belief. The missionary was attended by the soldier. The governor of the Chablais, the Baron d'Hermance, a zealous son of the church, showed his garrison under arms and the whole of his artillery to De Sales and his attendants, with the significant remark, "I hope that if the Calvinists can make up their minds to hear you we shall not want all this." The Chablais was converted; the Calvinist ministers were expelled, and the catholic religion alone was permitted. Strong garrisons were distributed throughout the country; and the Romish biographer of the saint could record with exultation, that "when piety and policy work together, nothing can withstand their power." De Sales was famous, too, for his miracles. Seven of these are recited by the pope in his Bull, and so placed, to catholic faith, beyond the possibility of doubt. But the pope was cautious; for the miracles which De Sales is recorded to have wrought far surpass in number and variety those of the New Testament. The list to which La Mère de Chanzy, Superior of the Visitation, deposed on oath, and which therefore challenges the belief of the faithful, commences with the portentous article of thirty-seven persons raised from the dead! After running through almost every form of human ailment, relieved at the intercession of the saint, it concludes with more than 6000 persons cured of pestilential fevers, and many towns and villages preserved from the plague, at the time when Savoy was afflicted with that scourge. The reader will be prepared to believe,—for the authority is equally good,—that the Calvinist ministers of Geneva and France never dared to meet De Sales in argument; and that when the pope sent him to try his powers of conversion on that arch Calvinist, Theodore Beza himself "turned pale and trembled, and had he dared would have become a Catholic." Still De Sales was a great reformer within the church of Rome, and he stirred in France a spirit of devotion, or at least of religious decorum, which became for a time fashionable.

Two young men, De Hauranne, otherwise St. Cyran, and

Cornelius Jansen, the former of noble birth, the latter the child of a Dutch peasant, were students of Louvain. Caught with the prevailing taste, they became dissatisfied with the theology of the schools, left the capital, and established themselves in seclusion at Bayonne, with the avowed purpose of wholly devoting themselves to the study of St. Augustine; and there they gave five long years, which might have been better spent, to the great Latin father. The connexions of Hauranne soon obtained for him the abbey of St. Cyran, and Jansen became theological professor at Louvain. It is too long to tell how they became connected with the sisters of Port Royal. Jansen soon discovered that the theology of Augustine but ill accorded with some of the dogmas of Rome; and with greater courage and a larger acquaintance with that volume from which Augustine drank so deeply, he might have been to France more than Luther was to Germany. We pity the man who, after having penned the following letter, lived and died detesting Protestants, and in the communion of Rome. It is dated March 5, 1621:—

"I dare not confess to any one what I think, in accordance with the principles of St. Augustine, of many of the theological opinions of this age, especially of those in regard to grace and predestination, for fear lest at Rome they should treat me as they have done others, before the whole matter arrives at maturity. . . . These studies have entirely destroyed the ambition which might have led me to desire a professor's chair in the university; for I see clearly that I must either hold my peace or incur much danger by speaking, my conscience not permitting me to betray what I know to be the truth. But God can change the course of events whenever he thinks fit."

St. Cyran obtained a great reputation as a director of consciences. He became confessor at Port Royal, and some of his instructions, as recorded by the penitent herself, invite attention. Their theology is mystical: "I want neither looks, nor sighs, nor gestures; but a silence of spirit, which forbids all movement. Pray to God and be God's without affectation." Again: "Beware of exaggeration: there is most humility in a simple confession. One need not examine oneself to remember important sins. Their impression is not effaced, for it belongs to the very immortality of the soul. Present yourself before God without either thoughts or words. He will understand you well enough." And once more: "It is contrary to humility to wish to do extraordinary things. We are not saints for merely doing what saints do. We must keep ourselves in a humble mediocrity, and live in a certain disguise which suffers only that which is commonplace to appear in us." Such instructions are rather Platonic than Christian. Nor do they reach the difficulty. They have no tendency to check "the pride that apes humility." They are wanting in

the motive they should apply. They show a better acquaintance with human nature than with the gospel; with the first principles of which, indeed, some of them are at variance. They give us the notion of a physician lecturing on the diagnostics of disease, and omitting to say a word upon the method of cure. The following is in a better strain; it might have been written by Pascal; it has precisely his merits and his faults, and shows the school in which, in fact, he was educated:—

“We must forget the past. If it was necessary to think of our old sins, none of us would be happy. I am noways content with a hope which is effectual only to hinder despair. We need a firm and constant hope in God, who is as infinitely gracious to souls which are in the true way, as He is infinitely severe and terrible to those which follow the false. He who has commanded us not to look back when we have put our hands to the plough, does as He would have us do. He does not regard the past sins of a soul which seeks His kingdom.”

Now this is perfectly just, but it is perfectly *Christless*; excellent instruction, but utterly useless. Bishop Berkeley spent some time in speculating on the question whether men could be taught to fly. Had he carried his speculations further, and given us a chapter under several sections, how to soar like an eagle, to career like a dove, or to mount and droop and mount again like a lark, his instructions might all have been very good, provided he had only taught us the first lesson in the aerial science; namely, how to fly at all. Neither the pious confessor nor Pascal himself could clearly teach this lesson; for, alas! they had learned it but indifferently themselves. The blood that cleanseth from all sin, and the Spirit which imparts all righteousness, had not their commanding place in their theology; and we do not hesitate to pronounce it, as taught apart from those great doctrines, practically useless.

In the course of the discussion on the Jansenist controversy, Mr. Beard introduces some remarks on casuistry, which we quote with pleasure. They show that auricular confession is, in its very nature, an egregious folly; in its effect, no trifling sin. The attempt to introduce it into our own church ought at once to be visited by the expulsion of the offender:—

“The practical origin of what is known as ‘casuistry,’ may perhaps be traced to the use of auricular confession. By the very nature of confession, and of the relation which it establishes between the director and his penitent, the former is called upon not only to balance conflicting duties, and to decide in difficult cases of conscience, but also to distinguish between venial and mortal sins; and, beyond this, to estimate with the minutest accuracy the relative magnitude of sins, in order to apportion to each a fit expiation of penance. But the centralizing and regulating spirit of Rome forbade the abandon-

ment of so delicate a task to the judgment of the individual confessor: and treatises were composed for his guidance, laying down certain general rules, by help of which the moral quality of actions might be distinguished. . . . Casuistry is a word which has an ill sound in protestant ears. It is associated with ideas of practical moral laxity; of ministers of religion busied in finding excuses, rather than in forging reproofs for sin; of an ethical system, accommodating itself, not to the eternal necessities of God's law, but to the petty exigencies of human life. And this is the inevitable tendency of any system which aims at enforcing right, and prohibiting wrong, by the enumeration of all possible cases, and not by the inculcation of the few great principles. Thus it is a true and universal reproach against all national law, which necessarily proceeds on this principle, that its administration often carries out rather the letter of the enactment than the spirit of the legislator. Thus, in a case more analogous to that of the casuists, the result of the pharisees' attempt to supply the omissions of the precise ceremonial law by the still more precise-teaching tradition, was the neglect of weighty matters, 'justice, mercy, truth,' for the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin. The majesty of duty, the awfulness of sin, can be fully apprehended only by the conscience which seeks to understand them by meditating on the ample precepts of Christianity. When the soul is fully possessed of the love of God, and the aspiration after a divine perfectness, the meanest duty becomes just, the most trifling sin grows terrible. But when, balance in hand, we set ourselves to weigh the minimum of duty which we think will enable us to escape punishment—the maximum of indulgence which shall not amount to transgression;—when conscience is taught to occupy itself in finding by-ways of escape from obligation, and in devising excuses which take its sinful character from sin,—the inevitable result is a lowering of the ethical standard, a partial abandonment of the simplicity of Christian morals."

St. Cyran was arrested and imprisoned, for he had raised up three formidable foes—the Jesuits, who hated him for his piety, the Capuchins, who were jealous of his influence as a confessor, and Richelieu, the Wolsey of France, prime minister and cardinal, who detested him for the sincerity of his allegiance to the pope. For a favourite scheme with Richelieu was to make the Gallican church a patriarchate, and to place himself at its head; a device which St. Cyran would certainly oppose. So to prison to Vincennes he went, and his brother missionaries to the Bastille. But his captivity was at first only the lightest of his sorrows; for God, as the Psalmist speaks, had not yet brought his soul out of prison. He was overwhelmed with the terrors of a troubled mind, which his biographer Lancelot thus describes:—

"He fell at first into a profound but not unnatural depression. God, who wished to make him humble, suffered him to be tempted with horrible imaginations, and fears of His judgment, which caused him inconceivable anguish. All that he read in Scripture only added to

his terror. If he found that the blind who lead the blind fell with them into the ditch, he thought that the saying applied to himself. If he opened at the text, 'Every plant that my Father hath not planted shall be rooted up,' he imagined that his own time of uprooting was come, and that his imprisonment was the beginning. It seemed as if God had abandoned him for a season, and the Devil, to use the words of Scripture, had obtained permission to sift him like wheat."

Some of our own martyrs fell at first into the same profound depression. The cause was no doubt the same in either case; the want of that simple reliance on the cross of Christ which is the sole, and, soon or late, the unfailing, source of peace. Hope sprang up at length in their souls and, we doubt not, in St. Cyran's, from the same quarter,—a deeper study of the word of God, and a fuller acquaintance with the gospel as in itself the perfect cure of sin. "The calm," his biographer continues, "returned after the tempest; and if God did not deliver him from his fetters, as He did St. Peter, He at least freed him from his pains, and filled him with a thousand consolations, by means of the very scriptures by which He had been pleased to afflict him." Peace came, then, not by penances, or alms, or devotions; "the entrance of the word" gave "light" to his dejected spirit; and now, after years of imprisonment, he could write thus:—

"I am careful to complain of nothing, knowing that God does all. I am His, free or in prison; and am grieved that I cannot be His in a third way, by martyrdom, which I have at heart, and which clears away in one moment all the rust of life."

There is a tinge of superstition in this wish; and in the same letter there is a reference to souls in purgatory, "who do not complain," he says, "because they see continually what they owe to God, and are content to behold themselves His prisoners." We scarcely know what to make of this. If he were in earnest, as at the moment no doubt he was, the mists of superstition were thick around him still. But we find him, on the same page, jesting on the subject in a way which strikes us as savouring of something which at Rome would be punished as profanity. A lady of rank asked him one day, in the chapel at Vincennes, for the favour of his prayers: "Alas, Madame," he replied, "the prayers of souls in purgatory are without efficacy." Could the man who trifled thus upon the subject have believed in any worse purgatory than that to which he playfully refers,—the castle of Vincennes? In this fortress St. Cyran remained five years, and was released only when broken down with hopeless sickness. He died as he had lived, in communion with Rome, and in his last moments received her sacraments. He defended her cause against the Calvinists, and regarded all the reformers with pious horror; but there were gleams of spiritual light upon

his soul, and therefore Rome regarded him with just suspicion, and cast out his name as evil.

His friend Jansen was made bishop of Yprès, and died while St. Cyran was a prisoner; but not until he had lighted a torch which was to set the Gallican church in a blaze. He did not live to apply it; he died in 1638, and the first edition of his book was published at Louvain, in 1640. It bore the title of "The Augustinus of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Yprès; or, the doctrine of St. Augustine, touching the health, sickness, and remedy of human nature; against the Pelagians and Masilians."

"Never did any book receive a more stormy welcome. Within a few months after its appearance the university, the Jesuits, the executors of Jansen, the printer of the 'Augustinus,' the Spanish governor of the Low Countries, and the papal nuncio were engaged in a warfare of pamphlets, treatises, pasquinades, pleadings, synods, audiences, which it would be impossible to attempt to set forth in historical sequence. Meanwhile, St. Cyran, in his prison at Vincennes, received the work which was half his own, with affectionate exultation. 'It was the book of devotion,' he said, 'of these latter days—it would last as long as the church. After St. Paul and St. Augustine no one had written concerning grace like Jansen.' A second edition was published at Paris in 1641; a third at Rouen in 1643; and before long, the controversy, which every day grew hotter in the Netherlands, burst into a flame in France."

There were many reasons why the Jesuits should quarrel with Port Royal; there were many reasons why the church of Rome should disparage the theology of St. Augustine. For Port Royal had now begun to occupy no small share of public favour. The foundation was for a time removed to Paris, and the education of the most illustrious ladies of France was committed to the care of the abbess. Even the royal patronage was extended to it, and the new house of Port Royal de Paris acknowledged the king for its patron and the queen-mother for its foundress. As we do not wish to embarrass our narrative with details, we will here add that the new house was consecrated in 1625, but that some years after, namely, in 1648, the original Port Royal des Champs was re-occupied, at her own passionate desire, by Angélique and her nuns, and the fortunes of the house at Paris interest us no further. Meanwhile, however, a few pious gentlemen had taken up their abode in the deserted monastery, and used it as a "retreat." They soon increased. There were amongst them priests and soldiers, courtiers and lawyers, students and physicians; and without explaining how they came there, or by what ties they were bound to their voluntary seclusion and penances self-imposed, we introduce them at once to the reader as the Messieurs de Port Royal,—the most illustrious fraternity France ever boasted. For here, in

time, there resorted Arnauld, Nicole, Fontaine, De Saci, Pascal, Racine, Tillemont, Quesnel, and a crowd besides, only undistinguished because of the superior lustre of these greater names. On the return of the nuns the gentlemen of Port Royal continued to reside at a modest mansion in the neighbourhood ; and in a separate article we propose to accompany Mr. Beard through his second volume, in which he traces with an able hand their influence upon religion, society, and literature in France.

The Jesuits, then, were not unreasonably alarmed. The sanctity of the Port Royalists, and their deadness to the world, stood contrasted, not in the most favourable manner, with their own secularity and ambition ; and they were naturally anxious to undermine their influence at the court. Nor could they fail to see that the simplicity and uprightness of heart of such ladies as *La Mère Angélique* and her companions disgraced their own intriguing policy. Jesuits never hate by halves. Theirs is a depth of malice unknown to any other community with which history, pagan, protestant, or catholic, has made us acquainted. It was resolved to destroy Port Royal, and the Augustinus furnished the opportunity. Now, there is nothing more perplexing to a Roman theologian than the works of the great bishop of Hippo. If he professes to accept them, how can he defend the theological dogmas of Trent ? If he rejects them, how shall he justify his contempt for the greatest of the ancient fathers ? Augustine is a worse thorn than Luther ; a more formidable opponent than Calvin. It is easy by a stroke of the pen to dismiss a heretic. It is a task which has hitherto baffled the skill of Rome herself at once to canonize a saint and in the same breath to denounce his theology. A cautious attempt had been already made, in the publication of a Bull by Paul V., which had been renewed by Urban VIII., interdicting all debates upon the subjects of free will and grace. Of this the Jesuits now took advantage. They began by denouncing Jansenism from the pulpits ; the tocsin sounded from Notre Dame ; Jansen and his doctrine were more dangerous than the Huguenots. " We have no longer to do with the heretics of Charenton ; we must fight against children of the church, who, like vipers, mangle their mother's bosom." The flame spread ; it raged and roared both in France and the Low Countries for a long five years. At last the faculty of theology at Paris drew up seven propositions condemning the doctrines of grace as held, or supposed to be held, by the Jansenists. Many of the bishops joined the faculty, and demanded justice against the new heresy ; but twenty doctors, and many others, at once protested on the other side. The propositions, they said, were fabricated ; they were not what Jansen had taught. The parliament of Paris interposed to prevent the publication of the

the censure. Seventy bishops, led by the bishop of Vabres, petitioned the pope for his decision ; and the queen-mother induced the young king, Louis XIV., to write to the pope, demanding a definition of catholic faith. Meanwhile, the Jansenists were not idle. Arnauld was employed with his pen, and two pamphlets followed each other, learned, but dull and ponderous. Thirteen bishops remonstrated with the pope, protesting that the seventy bishops in no sense represented the French clergy. For an infallible church, ever boastful of its unity, the spectacle is not unedifying. The pope himself was perplexed. At last, at the end of the year 1651, he appointed a congregation of four cardinals, assisted by eleven theological assessors, to examine and report upon the propositions, now reduced to five ; and each party sent deputies to Rome to support and plead its cause. The congregation commenced its sittings in September, and lasted till May. We are inclined, even now, to commiserate the poor old pope in his difficulties, in which, it seems, his infallibility did not help him. The Jansenists complained that they could only gain audience of the pope, or put their memorials into his hand, by chance or by surprise ; for the tribunal was prejudiced against them :—

“ The congregation declined to hear the debates and recriminations of the opposite parties, and on the only occasion on which the Jansenist deputies were allowed to appear before them, no reply and rejoinder were permitted. One speaker expounded what he conceived to be the orthodox doctrine of grace ; another laid before the judges what was afterwards known as “ *L’écrit à trois colonnes*,” in which three senses, in which the five propositions might be understood, were carefully distinguished. One was the Calvinist or heretical sense ; one the orthodox, or rather Jansenist ; the third the Molinist, which was to be as little received as the first. Only the approach of night put a term to these learned and subtle harangues, each of which lasted more than four hours. Even to the end, the balance of victory did not decisively incline to either side. Innocent, who concealed a vigorous will, and a firm policy, beneath a gentle, caressing, indecisive manner, cajoled the Jansenists into the belief that he was unwilling to give judgment against them. He was old, he said ; canon law was his profession ; he had never studied theology : this, pointing to the crucifix, was his only adviser in such matters. Even when the blow had fallen, he admitted the defeated doctors to an audience ; gave them his pontifical blessing and good store of indulgences ; assuring them, meanwhile, that the doctrine of Augustine was still that of the Holy See. Nevertheless the blow did fall ; and the Bull condemning the five propositions was issued on Whit Sunday, May 31st, 1653.”

And now, Pascal appears upon the stage with his “ *Provincial Letters*.” Nothing in theological warfare ever produced a sensation so extraordinary. The world of fashion, the frivolous, gay world of Paris, paused to wonder and admire. They were printed like our Spectators from time to time, on single sheets.

The first letter was scarcely published when every other subject of conversation was abandoned. The saloons diverted themselves with fruitless speculation as to the authorship of these wonderful letters from the country. The wits looked forward from day to day for the delicious morsel, and for the first time both wits and ladies began to gain an insight into the great quarrel which raged in the Sorbonne. Doctors in theology were profoundly moved, and it is difficult to say whether, amongst the Jesuits, rage or consternation had the upper hand. Divines acknowledged that the unknown author was a master in theology. Scholars and men of taste proclaimed that he was a writer of exquisite humour. And as the letters appeared in succession, all Frenchmen confessed that even the French language flowed from his pen with a grace and a refinement altogether new. The letters, thrown off at first in haste, and under the inspiration of genius bursting to give expression to long pent-up thoughts, became more elaborate as they advanced. The composition of a single letter was often the work of twenty days. The eighteenth Pascal is said to have re-written thirteen times; he apologizes for the length of the sixteenth on the ground that he had not had time to make it shorter. "Nicole and Arnauld revised his letters, furnished him with facts and quotations, and, it is said, even sketched the plan of the ninth, eleventh, and twelfth. But the clear style, the art of dialogue, the keen wit, the subtle irony, the nervous eloquence, the grave moral vehemence, were still Pascal's."

The Provincial Letters in the hands of an English reader, are like the epigrams of Martial, or a satire of Horace, in the hands of a school-boy. Without historical notes the point is lost. Scores of readers have eagerly taken up the Provincial Letters, and laid them down, after reading a few pages, with a deep feeling of vexation. In fact, they are not intelligible without a commentary, for the wit underlies the argument; and unexplained, the wit is lost. Not the least valuable part of Mr. Beard's first volume is that in which he gives a brief outline of the argument and the allusions, so as to enable every reader to comprehend the drift at least of these wonderful epistles. We give his analysis of the fifth letter, in which the allusions to passing events are fewer, and consequently the subject clearer, than in many of the others:—

"In the fifth letter, he goes to a Jesuit father, skilled in casuistry, to inquire if the accusations which he has heard against the moral theories of the society are true. And before long, he engages his informant in a disquisition on the famous theory of probability. There are many casuists of repute, who have given their opinions on specified cases of conscience. The opinions of different casuists on a particular case may be different, or even contradictory; but the opinion of every one of these learned men must be at least probably

true; for he would not have enunciated it without reasons which appeared to him sufficient. Much more is this the case, if two or more casuists agree in the same opinion; and a probable opinion is one which a Christian may lawfully adopt and act upon. If he acts upon a probable opinion, his confessor is bound to absolve him from the consequences of his act. No man is obliged to balance probabilities, or to take the opinion of the majority of casuists, rather than the minority; he may adopt the opinion that suits him best, provided he can find a single authority for it. And as, of course, it will frequently happen that one casuist says one thing, and another precisely the contrary; it follows that a man is justified in taking whichever course he pleases. The troublesome ideas of right and wrong are thus entirely estimated from the sphere of action. Another great feature of casuistical morality, which Pascal discusses in the seventh letter, is, the method of directing attentions, 'the importance of which, in our system of morals,' says the Jesuit, 'is so great, that I should almost venture to compare it to the doctrine of probability.' To take away the sinfulness from a sinful act, all we have to do is, to direct our attention, in the performance of it, towards a lawful object. Are we going to fight a duel? The desire of vengeance is criminal; let us direct our attention to the defence of personal honour, which is lawful. Do we wish to buy a benefice, and are fearful of being involved in the sin of simony? Let us not pay our money as the price of the benefice, but direct our intention to give it to the incumbent as a motive which shall induce him to resign it in our favour. Are we as servants, commanded by our masters, to assist in the perpetration of some crime? Let us direct our attention away from the sin to our wages, and we are safe. Once more, we have a method which will supply whatever defects may belong to the doctrine of probability, and make the path of right easy to the tenderest feet. Some of my readers may have already called to mind *Tartufe's* way of reconciling his amorous overtures to his host's wife, with his ostentatious sanctity. *Le Tartufe* is the true offspring of *Les Provinciales*.

"These two great principles are not barren of practical results. With the help of others less general in their operations, such as the interpretation of terms, and due allowance for circumstances, they empty every sin in turn of its sinfulness, and deprive every duty of its obligation. If servants are in conscience dissatisfied with their wages, they may make up the deficiency out of their master's property. It is not sinful to wish for the death of enemies; and a son taking care to direct his intention properly, may even desire his father's death. Duelling and assassination are innocent in many conceivable cases. We may kill any one who strikes us, who gives us the lie, who slanders us, who insults us with a scornful gesture. An ecclesiastic may lawfully get rid of those who threaten to publish the scandalous crimes of the community to which he belongs. We may kill a thief, always provided that he has stolen a crown's worth of our property. Judges may take bribes, and, of course, may decide causes according to the principle of probability. The obligation of truth-telling is destroyed by the lawful use of equivocation and mental reservation: promises may be kept and broken at pleasure. Calumny is a legitimate weapon against those who speak ill of us. Is it

wonderful, that at the end of the tenth letter, when Pascal, by the help of his Jesuit father, has extracted all these precepts from the works of the casuists, he should break forth in a torrent of indignant eloquence, which closes against him the doors of his too confiding teacher?"

As the work proceeds, the letters wear a graver character, and Louis de Montalte, the imaginary author, no longer writes to his friend in the country, but to the Jesuit fathers. They complained that he used weapons of ridicule upon sacred things; he reminds them of the wide difference there is between laughing at religion, and laughing at those who profane it by their extravagance; and he defines the limits within which wit and satire are lawful weapons. But the Jesuits had not henceforth much raillery to fear:—

"Every letter now to the end is full of clear, close reasoning, and vehement invective, exchanged sometimes for bitter sarcasm, but rarely relieved by gleams of humour or fancy. With every letter his voice assumes a deeper and a sterner tone. 'The best comedies of Molière,' says Voltaire, 'have not more wit than the first Provincial Letters.' Boesuet has nothing more sublime than the later ones. The key note is at first struck from the salons where the wits congregate; but the harmonies grow graver and more solemn, till we seem to sit beneath the pulpit of Port Royal."

But, after all, it remains a question whether these five notable propositions were really contained in the *Augustinus*. Pascal declares that he could not find them there; and neither his honesty nor his penetration will be called in question. Mr. Beard determines that although the express words are not mentioned, yet the sense is there. We shall not venture to decide, —at least, not till we are sure that we understand what the propositions mean. They "deserve to be recorded," as our author says, "in all their original obscurity." This obscurity was, we may remark, by the way, useful to both parties. It gave rise to the cavil that the propositions might be taken in an heretical and in a catholic sense. Then sprang a double question,—if condemned, in what sense were they condemned? If really maintained by Jansen, in what sense were they maintained? And every one of these questions originated a controversy for itself. The propositions were as follow: Mr. Beard gives them as presented to the pope in the original Latin, which he thus translates:—

"I. Some commandments of God are impossible of performance to just men, according to their present strength, even though they be willing and striving to perform them; and the grace which would make these commandments possible, is also wanting to them.

"II. In the state of fallen nature, no resistance is ever made to internal grace.

"III. In order to produce merit or demerit in the state of fallen

nature, liberty from necessity is not required in man, but liberty from constraint is sufficient.

"IV. The semi-Pelagians admitted the need of prevenient internal grace for all actions, even for the beginning of faith; and they were heretics, inasmuch as they would have this grace to be such as the will of man could either resist or obey.

"V. It is a semi-Pelagian error to say that Christ died or shed His blood for all men, universally."

We were not acquainted with Mr. Beard as a writer; but his name cannot remain long unknown. We feel it, however, to be no disadvantage, but the contrary, that we can review his book without the slightest knowledge of the author, his predilections, or his party. A pure, clear style (the certain indication of a powerful mind), and a congenial subject, are happily combined. And the author appears to us to reverence and appreciate the great truths of our salvation. He is, however, too anxious to make it appear that spiritual religion may be found alike in protestant churches and under the dark shadows of the papacy. In one sense this is true. God's people are to be found in every church in which Christ is recognized as a divine Saviour, and therefore in the church of Rome. But the point of real importance is one that Mr. Beard has scarcely touched. As long as her children acquiesce in her outward forms, no matter how far their hearts may be from God, so long are they dear to Rome. Conformity to the church covers every sin. Had the saintly men and women of Port Royal been as frivolous and worldly as they were devout, their genius, rank, and learning would have secured for them a high place in the affections, perhaps in the calendar, of Rome. When they began to be in earnest, Rome began to suspect them; as they grew in grace and spiritual discernment, her suspicions darkened into hatred. Just in proportion as they "walked in the light," Rome discouraged and oppressed, and at last disowned them. It is not enough to show that piety may exist in cloisters. What is the tendency of the Romish system? What encouragement does Rome offer to the sincerely pious? Rome herself gives the answer. It echoes from the dungeons of the Inquisition; it roars in the fires of Smithfield; it meets us in the Bacchanalian orgies of the Carnival; it is borne to us in the chilling blast which sweeps across the deserted plain on which once stood the house of Port Royal des Champs. And therefore our calm, solemn, and deliberate verdict, as we lay down the lives of the holiest of her communion,—an Arnauld, a Mère Angélique, a Pascal and a Quesnel,—is still the same as ever,—NO PEACE WITH ROME.

HEBERT'S NEOLOGY NOT TRUE.

Neology not True, and Truth not New: Three short Treatises concerning the Rev. F. O. Maurice's Vere-street Sermons; the Rev. Professor Jowett's Doctrine on "The Righteousness of God;" the Rev. J. L. Davies' Reply to "Atonement by Propitiation," with that Treatise also, and a Summary of the Atonement Controversy. By the Rev. Charles Hebert, M.A., Mary-le-bone. London: Nisbet and Co. 1861.

WE have reached a crisis in theological opinion; but its final issue, who can predict? Are we any nearer the solution of the problem, how our own intellectual processes, or subjective conditions of mind, are to be reconciled with our modern systems of theology; or how both of these are to be brought into harmony with the disclosures and teachings of the Christian Testament? Between the human moral consciousness and the supernatural discoveries of revelation, there must be a perfect correspondence. The facts which lie far down in man's fallen nature, instead of being overlooked or depreciated, are the data on which the Bible proceeds. It assumes the lapsed and ruined condition of humanity: it does not come to reveal this fact, or to reason men into its belief; it takes it for granted, as something of which man has but too painful consciousness; and from this point, it sets out in its revelation of that infinite love which has provided for the recovery of our race. Here is the grand radical difference between our mode of philosophical thinking and the deeper utterances of the work of God. We begin with the intellectual process; the Bible begins with the moral consciousness. Our metaphysics take no cognizance of sin as a fact inseparable from man's nature; Scripture makes this the basis of all which it declares. We assume a condition of humanity which does not exist, and hence reason from false premises; on the other hand, the spirit of inspiration seizes on the very fact which our philosophy ignores, and brings into view that which philosophy never even dreamed of. Hence the effort of the present day to get rid of an external revelation, to rob that revelation of all supernatural or sufficient evidence, and to reduce our belief in its very existence to a mere fiction. And certainly it is more consistent to set aside the written word altogether, then first to admit its existence and authority, and then reason against it from our own intellectual or subjective consciousness.

Mr. Hebert, in the controversy before us, has taken advantage of his position as a believer in revealed truth. On this he plants his foot, and challenges the united strength of his opponents to force him from it. Conscious that he is standing on the side alike of religion and of humanity, he "speaks"

what "he knows," and this with a firm and manly tone; but withal in the spirit of love. We quite agree with him, that "vital differences constitute the heart of the controversy;" yet it may be conceded, that there is an advantage in the present struggle,—it is manifestly, as well as really, a wrestling for the essentials of Christian doctrine,—*'Agitur de VITA et sanguine,'* the errors of his opponents "are vital; they are so strongly pronounced, that their exposure will prove their antidote; and that the discussion of them forms an excellent opportunity for urging upon the minds of all, but particularly upon students at the universities, upon candidates for the Christian ministry in all places, and upon inquiring minds among young men in general, the investigation of the truth once delivered by Christ and His apostles."

Our author deals first with Mr. Maurice in his published works. One of the latest of these is, his Vere-street sermons, in which he asserts, that to every man, and to every man alike, has been given the spirit of adoption, so that he can claim God as his Father, and partake "the deep infinite blessing that is hidden" in this fact; that our sin consists in forgetting this; and that we are delivered from our sin only by remembering it! Is it then true, that all men have received the adoption of sons? Is it true, "that St. Paul means to say, that all men, heathen or Christian, or that even all Christians—the real and the nominal alike, have received this adoption?" Is it true, that "every lost drunkard, every reprobate son and daughter of shame, every lover of filthy lucre, every Godless and Christless child of pleasure," have been introduced into this highest privilege? These questions are pressed by Mr. Hebert upon Mr. Maurice, and demand his answer. "Mr. Maurice utters a loud declaration, that they all have received the adoption of sons." Mr. Hebert again asks,—

"Can men be serving God and drunkenness? Can men enjoy the witness of the Spirit in uncleanness? Can the love of the world, and the love of the Father, exist together? Both cannot reign. And if the former reign, manifestly the latter cannot. Therefore such have not the 'adoption of sons;' and to tell such that they have, is doing all we can to shut them up in error, and to prevent their finding the truth of salvation." Again:—"If we *are not yet* partakers of real sonship in heart, and of the inward witness of the Holy Ghost, that God is in a spiritual sense 'our Father,' then it is a delusion to believe that it is so with us: a delusion which may probably prevent our seeking to become reconciled with God, and to be adopted into His family of real and loving, and holy sons. It is a delusion which may leave a man at ease, resisting that voice of the spirit within him, which urges him continually to repent and come to Jesus. It is a delusion which may last during prosperity and pleasure, and even through sickness and trouble; but it will probably fail him at death; and after death, and in the day of judgment, it will utterly fall to

ruins. It will sink under him. It will be like wax melting, or like flax 'that falls asunder at the touch of fire.'"

Mr. Hebert next grapples with Professor Jowett on the doctrine of imputed righteousness. The professor, having arrived at the conclusion, that "the use of language and the mode of thought are different in the writings of the apostle from what they are among ourselves," he tells us that "there is no other righteousness than that of God;" that "man who is righteous has no righteousness of his own," but that his righteousness is the righteousness of God in him." Now what does he mean by this righteousness of God in man? Does he point to the righteousness of Christ which is made over to the believer? Nothing of the kind. With him "righteousness is the righteousness of God; and the righteousness of God in man is man's communion of His righteousness,—an actual participation in God's inherent original righteousness!" He says, "that the righteousness of God is an idea not difficult for us to comprehend; human justice is also intelligible; but to conceive justice or righteousness passing from heaven to earth, from God to man, *actu et potentiâ*, at once, as a sort of life, or stream, or motion, is perplexing;"—that "yet this notion of the communion of the righteousness of God being what constitutes righteousness, is of the very essence of the gospel;"—that "this is what the apostle and the first believers meant and felt;" and that "if we could get the simple and unlettered Christian (receiving the gospel as a little child) to describe to us his feelings, this is what he would describe;" but how this communion or participation in God's own inherent righteousness is to be obtained, the professor does not even deign to explain. An imputed righteousness, wrought out by Christ, and accepted through faith by man, he wholly repudiates, and treats as one of the after-thoughts of theology. Even on that fundamental passage of St. Paul in Romans iii. 21—26, he says that "the righteousness of God may either mean that righteousness which existed always in the Divine nature, once hidden, but now revealed; or it may be regarded as consisting in the very revelation of the gospel itself in the mind and the heart of man." On which Mr. Hebert, with great point and force, remarks,—

"Now the gospel is a message about God's righteousness, which, with Mr. Jowett, means God's *inherent* justice or righteousness; which is a mere property or attribute of the Godhead. Therefore this second proposed interpretation of the righteousness of God is this. The attribute 'righteousness' means *the revelation of the attribute*; which is much the same as saying, the uncovering of a picture is the picture itself. Is not this a descent '*ad absurdum*?'"

An imputed righteousness flowing from the perfect obedience and propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, and accepted by faith on

the part of man, ~~an~~ "after-thought of theology." Will the Professor tell us from what point he dates his theology? Is theology a novelty in the world? Was Divine truth never intellectually and reflectively realized till after the reformation in the sixteenth century? Is not theology as old as religion? Is not religion coeval with man? And was there ever a religion out of paradise, in which the fact of sacrifice and propitiation was not fundamental and essential? Has the "after-thought of theology" no existence in Scripture? And if all the fathers were silent on the point of an imputed righteousness, would not the testimony of Scripture outweigh their authority? Mr. Hebert depends on no such "*catena* of authorities." The Bible is independent of all human authority. It can give strength and weight to such authority, but the authority can lend nothing to it. While it demands every knee to bow before its shrine, it bends before none. Its voice is final; and the appeal to it is ultimate. Mr. Hebert is right therefore when he says,—

"I believe the age of *Catenæ Patrum* is gone: for people know pretty well that doctrinal opinions in the early church were *far* from being reduced *ad normam* on points which had not been brought before councils for settlement; imperfect and often discordant as those courts of final appeal were. But I believe that the opinions which I have been advocating, have been the generally-received doctrines among the most earnest and spiritually instructed of the fathers."

At the basis of this imputed righteousness lies the doctrine of substitution and atonement. If Christ was not, in the true and proper sense of the word, a substitute for man, and if His death was not a vicarious offering for the sins of the world, then indeed it would be more than trifling to speak of a righteousness transferred from Him to us, in virtue of which we are received into the favour and family of God. If there be nothing meritorious either in the life or death of Christ—if both are to be resolved into only a perfect example—then, having lost our own original righteousness, we are left without a righteousness, and consequently without any ground of hope. For to speak of a communion or participation of God's inherent righteousness, is nothing less than absurd, since it is impossible to partake that righteousness without becoming possessed of God's infinite and incommunicable nature. His righteousness is not something distinct and separate from His nature, but is one of the properties or characteristics of that nature; and to partake this nature is impossible. There can be no such thing as an infinite rectitude in a finite existence—an absolute and unchangeable perfection in a derived and dependent being. Such an idea is unknown to the Bible, which teaches us that He who knew no sin, was made sin for us, that we might be made the

righteousness of God in Him:—that of God he is made unto us righteousness; and that to be found in Him, not having our own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith, is the highest point of holy attainment, and touches on the perfection of future glory. Mr. Hebert therefore has done wisely to bring the weight of his argument to bear on the defence of the doctrine of the atonement. This is the keystone of the arch with which every other revealed truth stands or falls. Mr. Davies, who is the neologian authority assailed, “denies altogether that Christ suffered and died as a propitiatory sacrifice on our behalf.” On the contrary, he affirms, that Christ’s death is simply a wondrous exhibition of God’s love to sinners, in order that they may be brought to love God. He denies that any offering instead of sinful man was necessary; for he asserts that God is able, in perfect consistency with His own nature, to grant full forgiveness of sin, without the payment of any penalty, or the exaction of any condition whatsoever.

“This is the gist of the whole; that God can freely forgive without requiring any punishment on account of the breach of His law. As to His threatenings, God can, as it were, retract them, and pardon without making His word good. In fact, God’s work in the gospel is no more than to persuade man to believe in His love, and to love Him in return. Thus the death of Christ becomes simply a wonderful manifestation of the Father’s compassion, by the display of which He influences our hearts to believe how easy a thing it is to be reconciled to Him, who is already in pure pity reconciled to us.”

In other words, the penalty of violated law can in every instance, if God only so will it, be remitted. Though the fact of transgression carry with it the fact of death, yet He who has connected death with transgression, can at the same moment sever the effect from the cause. His forgiving love is irrespective of, and rises infinitely above, all the conditions and requirements of His moral government! And to convince our fallen race of this, He has recourse to a scheme which is wholly out of proportion and out of character with the end to be insured. Seizing upon this anomaly in our modern theology, Mr. Hebert says with great pertinence:—

“The unexplained marvel in this system is, why Christ died at all. For, if God can freely, and of mere pity, forgive without a propitiation, and if there was no need of Christ’s suffering to do away the wrath of God, why was that mysterious and inconceivable suffering appointed? Why did not God forgive, without giving up His own Son to bleed and to die? On this theory, God amazes men and angels with a wonder of wonders without adequate cause.

“In this system the very death of Christ has lost its power. It is
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stripped of its inestimable worth ; for it subsides into one of the common deaths of all men, though it was that of the Son of God. There is no wrath of God upon Him, no pressure of the weight of a world's iniquities. And why, on this system, was He forsaken by the Father ? All the course of sympathy with man which the Son had travelled along, all the self-denying subjection of Himself to degradation and suffering for the sake of winning man's love and confidence, could not but have been a series of acts most pleasing to the Father ; and the love of the Father must in consequence have rested on Him with peculiar complacency and affection and oneness, as He went down lower and lower into the valley of the shadow of weakness and death. From what cause, then, can Mr. Davies draw the sudden desertion of the beloved one, just when one would have looked for the utmost sympathy and support ? Whence can he fetch the explanation of those mysterious inward agonies, revealed by those darksome words, and followed by a premature decease ? The very phenomena of nature, the earthquake and the darkness, lose half their significance. Gethsemane, too, is no slight difficulty ; for why such overwhelming agonies of fear, if no more than an ordinary death on the cruel cross impended over Him ?

"To us there seems but one solution of this chain of wonders, the solution advocated by a thousand Christian minds, of high poets, sound divines, and eminent private Christians, whose pages burn with love chastened by adoring awe. Why was it 'a midnight nature shuddered to behold' ? Because it was 'a midnight new from the Creator's frown : ' because of 'that enormous load of human guilt that bowed His blessed head.' Any other supposition robs the Divine sufferer of His peculiar glory, tears the heart from Christianity, and takes away the crown and glory from the whole inward experience of the Christian."

Our limited space forbids us to enter upon the final summary of doctrine. It is sometimes said, that polemics are not polite ; but in the present instance it is just the reverse. Mr. Hebert is an able opponent, whether in attack or in defence ; yet he has displayed the spirit and bearing of a Christian gentleman. Astute in argument, his is a gentle and loving nature. Strong as are his denunciations of error, his sympathies and his solitudes on behalf of those who have been misled, are eminently of the school of Christ ; and if the victory be his, the glory is Christ's. The result is, that he has produced one of the most experimental treatises which has yet appeared in the course of the present controversy. It is an epitome of the subject, and will make its readers familiar with the leading features of the whole question. The hour is coming when neutrality will be impossible ; or, if possible, when it will be itself a crime. Another reformation has to be effected ; and the battle must be fought within the church itself.

We can heartily recommend Mr. Hebert's treatise to our readers, but especially to the clergy and to students of divinity.

The doctrine which he so ably advocates, is the soul of the Christian ministry. If, in the deepest sense which can be given to the words, the Saviour did not bear the punishment due to sin, then no atonement has been made; and in the absence of this true and perfect expiation, we are left without a key by which to interpret the contents of the word of God.

LITURGICAL MUSIC.—No. IV.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Conversing lately with two professional musicians, one of them observed, that he was a short time since in the cathedral, and that when the anthem was over, a gentleman complained that “that was not the sort of music he had come to hear.” “And so,” said my professional friend, “people will allow themselves to talk about what they don’t understand.”

Now, Sir, as this allegation, whether put, as here, in an accusatory form, “they,”—or as it is more common in the confessional, “I,”—stands at the very door, foundation, and root of all I have been attempting, and may yet attempt, towards the reformation of our liturgical music; I will even take this little story by way of motto for this present letter, and entreat the serious attention of all your readers to what involves no mere question of constitutional prerogative, but the very sanctities of the place where God’s honour dwelleth, and of the exercises in which we are to teach and admonish one another “in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs.”

Of course, I do not intend anything unkind, whether to my worthy friend, or other members of his profession. I have loved art and honoured artists as long as I have loved and honoured anything; and I would be, I trust, the last man in the world to wound, even by inadvertency, any honourable professional feeling. But we must speak the truth when the truth demands it. I am compelled, therefore, to assert, that it may be just the professional, and not the non-professional, who is speaking of what he does not understand.

Strange, then, as it may sound, nothing is more practically clear, than that artists are, in many cases, the least qualified, and not the best, to discern the real objects and ultimate principles of their own art; and for the very simple reason, that they are always of necessity looking *from*, instead of *to*, it. This side of the question needs, indeed, but little comment. That those whose whole professional life is devoted to the means, should become entangled, and get to mistake them, more or less, for the end, is in the nature of things. You meet it at every step. It is in all the history of art. It is the obverse side of the medal that demands our present attention. It seems taken for granted, that in order to know if the end be really answered, a

man must first have mastered the means by which that end is to be brought about. Is it possible to conceive a bolder fallacy?

What would be thought of a man being forbidden to say his shoe pinched him, till he had served apprenticeship to Father Crispin! What of his observing that the church clock had stopped, and being interrupted by "Pardon me, Sir, but are you a watchmaker?" What even of his complaining of a drowsy rambling speech, and a neighbour whispering, "Perhaps, Sir, you have not studied Quintilian?"

"Ah! but it requires only the natural possession of a foot, an eye, and common sense, for all such cases; whilst in music, there are constructive laws that lie beyond all ordinary intelligence."

Let us look the matter in the face. There are, I suppose, constructive laws involved in all the cases I have been adducing; yet there is a natural sense of substance we call feeling; and a natural sense of objects we call seeing; and a natural inner perception which, however, in its proper exercise, uncommon, we call common sense. Is there not also a natural sense of sounds we call an "ear for music?"

I almost hesitate to put seriously what should seem so purely obvious; but it is indispensable to a very serious purpose, and it is *virtually denied*.

One thing, at least, is certain. If musical common sense be incompetent to speak of music, then music, by inevitable sequence, is incompetent to speak to it. But, then, if it be thus,—if music be indeed this cabalistic something of which a man born with musical sensibilities must, till scientifically instructed, be purely ignorant,—what can plain men and women have to do with it in the house of God? And how dare we Protestants force an unknown language on innocent people?

I do not, of course, imply, that because the musical faculty is innate, it must not have its senses exercised. It is in the analogy of other faculties. There is a science of optics, and a science of perspective; yet it was "a pleasant thing to behold the sun" before Newton ever told us of the prism; and I am pretty sure that infants still distinguish distances without thinking of converging lines and vanishing points; I suspect, also, that none would pin it to its mother's apron till it had learned the theory of gravitation.

I have heard it said, indeed, that since music is a language, we need direct instruction here as in other languages. Perhaps we do; but how? All mother tongues—and *music is a mother tongue*—is learned, I had almost said, without learning. There are no more rules—as rules—for learning to speak than for learning to see or to walk. The child hears, repeats, asks questions, answers—yes, and argues very shrewdly, too—without the remotest conception that there are such things in all the world as logic, rhetoric, or even grammar.

But there is something further. Language, however acquired, is, after all, an affair of convention. Music is something more even than mother tongue. It is native language. It precedes words. The child responds to tones and sounds long ere he can repeat words. He imitates the "*moo*" before he adds the "*cow*." Music is, if I may reverently say it, God's language, speaking as naturally to our natural feelings as light and air to our natural organs. We no more want the

knowledge of musical science in order to respond to music, than we want the knowledge of pneumatology in order to breathe.

We are not yet at the end of the question. This natural play of our perceptive and sentient faculties is not only independent of scientific knowledge—it is *above* it. No doubt man is, or should be, a reasonable being. It does not follow that he is under necessity of anatomizing his perceptions, or the object of them. The highest existence is not in the cold exercise of his intellectual powers; nor are the highest qualities of things about him their capabilities of adjustment in some philosophical system. He is to be "perfect as his Father in heaven," who, though He is all wise, all holy, all mighty, has not declared that He is Wisdom, Holiness, or Power, but that He "is Love." And it will be found that, as his own being is to grow up into this emphatically moral grandeur, so that the very material marvels that surround him, and act upon him, and are a sort of material alphabet to him, have been strangely endowed with qualities that provoke a something beyond the scrutiny of a barren intellect. We have but to open our eyes to find ourselves encompassed by what eludes analysis, defies arithmetic, and refuses to square with geometry. "Earth's deathless green, and heaven's eternal blue," have virtually nothing to do with philosophical hypotheses. Vastness, grandeur, stillness, stability, order, beauty—the ineffable beauty that pervades God's universe, and melts the soul—carry us at once beyond the beggarly elements of human sciences to the dim confines of the eternity all time is looking for and hasting to. The master tones of their mighty message seem almost to disdain—I will not say, the sordid reckonings of the utilitarian, but the vaunted triumphs of the man of science. When the inspired shepherd tuned his harp to the music of the spheres, the still, small voice breathed not the language, whether of physical or metaphysical reasoning. "Lord, what is man?" is not the question of science. Had he begun to calculate, he had soon asked, What are material suns to an immortal soul? It was pure devotional sentiment, not astronomical wonder. The broad heavens were "telling the glory of God;" and the awe-struck soul sank in humility beneath the tidings. Alas! how diverse were the calculations of the "*médicisque céleste*" from the simple sentiment of the poetic boy!

I am not wandering from my subject. Music belongs, like poetry, and the stupendous power of nature of which they are both resonant, to the more indefinite and undefinable, but higher ranges of our immortal nature. Our sense of it, strictly and happily speaking, is absolutely independent of all notion of analyzing it. When men of science attempt to explain it, we accept their researches. But when, on the mere strength of these, they would assume exclusive knowledge, we must tell them with all possible firmness that we have already learned "a more excellent way"—that love is the true key of knowledge—that sensibility is the only infallible test—and that they are just as competent to gauge the power of music by their experiments on the monochord as physicians to test the heart's sympathies by the use of the stethoscope. We must be very jealous on this point. *We are threatened with an ossification of the heart of music.* And the process has not begun with, nor will it ever be confined to, music. We must not be afraid, therefore, to assert that music, however in its

lower elements explicable by science, is above science; and that those who can only feel it stand incomparably higher than those (and they are not few) who can only analyze and explain it. When David charmed away the dark spirit from the rebel king, and when the minstrel solemnized the soul of the expectant prophet, it were worse than trifling to think that Saul or Elisha had the remotest perception of musical science.

The real question, often absurdly sophisticated, is in a sentence. It is not how to compose music, but what is music worth when it is composed? Has it a soul as well as a body? Has it the breath of life? Can it speak sensibly out; and what does it say? Such questions are not answerable by rules. Who asks for rules ere he dares to understand the "Hallelujah Chorus?"

We might go farther and higher yet. It is something that *music is everybody's subject*, and, therefore, that to dole it out on mere professional terms is to defraud us all of our heritage. This touches, however, but the elementary base of our present object. When it is a question, not of music simply, but of Liturgical music—music that is to be the channel of responsible converse with "the Father of Spirits"—music that, according as it is, or is not, conceived in the spirit of prayer, may be a help or a hindrance—may be like the minstrelsy to the holy prophet, or the unholy bellowsings of the priests of Baal—when, I say, all this is in the question, and is *the* question, there can be conceived no error more monstrous, and no assumption more intolerable, than that such music can only be judged of by professional intelligence. Whether a composition is in strict conformity with science, may be referred to the scientific. That, being so conformed, it is, *ipso facto*, all we want for Liturgical purposes, or that this ultimate question must be also settled by an appeal to professional judgment, may be assumed, when we can affirm that all scientific music is Liturgical music; or that all who are learned in the schools of music are therefore taught of the Spirit. For myself, I say from my inmost soul, Would that all professional musicians were prophets! Till they are, however we may respect them, individually and collectively, for their private worth no less than their professional knowledge, I make bold to say that we, non-professional but Christian men, *cannot ignore the subject and be guiltless.*

It is, in simple truth, for no idle parade of argument, but for a most solemn and momentous practical purpose, that I have ventured to occupy, once more, the valuable pages of the Christian Observer. We want a reformation of our Liturgical music. Some of the most precious and edifying portions of our public service are handed over to a mode of utterance essentially popish in its origin, and poperizing in its influential character. Week after week, year after year, our young people are growing up in disastrous familiarity with a style of singing—I allude now specifically to chanting—in which, instead of sound ministering to sense, sense is sacrificed to sound; and words, awful in their holiness, are exhibited more or less in masquerade; their rhythm unthought of, their relative importance disregarded; some promiscuously hubble-bubbled; some jerked into pitiable prominence; some drawled out, not to increase the verbal power, but to fill up the

technical cadence. Can we wonder at formality beneath so intense a process of formalizing? Does not "a little leaven leaven the whole lump?" The remedy is within our reach; but it will never be applied till we find that it is both within our reach and our responsibilities—in other words, that it is within the functions of Christian intelligence, and a duly exercised, but not scientifically instructed, sensibility, to pronounce whether our actual music is actually doing its duty.

PRESBYTER.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Lyra Domestica : Christian Songs for Domestic Edification. Translated from the "Psaltery and Harp" of C. J. P. Spitta. By Richard Massie. Crown, 8vo., pp. 142. Second Edition. Longmans. 1861.—The literary and theological intercourse of England with Germany, which many circumstances have conspired to quicken during the last half century, has been productive of some very painful results. But whilst we owe to it those tendencies to neology and pantheism, which have lately proved such a scandal in our church, we owe to it, also, many and signal advantages: a greater fulness and accuracy in research, but sometimes carried to a pedantic pitch of excess; a more unbiassed tone of exposition, though sometimes degenerating into a one-sided candour; and a criticism which, though apt to be too exacting and precise, is, on the whole, more faithful and just than that which had been previously much in vogue. And there is one obligation, for which we can render thanks to our kith and kin in the Anglo-Saxon fatherland, with unmingled satisfaction. Their hymnology, much more varied and more rich than ours, introduced to the English reader by excellent translations, has already supplied us with many superior strains of devotion, and is likely to effect a much needed improvement in our own compositions of this kind. Mr. Massie is one of the most successful labourers in this field of translation from the hymnology of Germany. To him we owe an excellent version of "Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs," published at Hatchard's in 1854. And Mr. Mercer, in the thirteenth and enlarged edition of his Church Psalter and Hymn Books, published at Nisbet's in 1857, states in the preface, how largely he is indebted to Mr. Massie for the translation of several hymns from the German, expressly for that work.

The hymns in the volume before us are all translated from the compositions of C. J. P. Spitta, as contained in his volume entitled the "Psaltery and Harp;" thus characterized by the translator in his preface: "What particularly distinguishes these hymns is the genuine piety, and truly christian and catholic feeling, which pervade them. Love of Christ and of His word is the golden thread which runs through the whole." After all, it must be confessed, that neither in this, nor in any other of the recently published collections of hymns from the German, do we meet with as many suited for public worship, or indeed directly expressive of worship at all, as we could wish.

Nothing, in fact, is so difficult to write as that which is at once poetical and devotional; poetry having its domain in the realms of imagination, dealing much with figure, if not with fiction, and being apt to seek illustrations in the regions of mythology; whilst devotion, whether praise or prayer, addressed direct to the Most High, would violate sound taste no less than true piety, if it were in anywise to transgress the limits of simple scriptural truth. Within these limits there is so much that is transcendantly sublime and beautiful, that a large accession to our present limited number of hymns fit to use in actual worship is not to be despaired of. Meanwhile we are very thankful for the many short devotional poems, edifying in the closet or in the family, as didactic and meditative compositions, when not actually fit for congregational use as hymns addressed to the Almighty, which Mr. Massie has largely helped to introduce to the English reader. And we cannot better recommend the volume, than by subjoining a specimen of its contents, selected for its brevity, as adapted to our space, rather than for its superiority to the rest; merely adding, to the credit of the translator, that these hymns would hardly be known to be translations if it were not for a peculiar and pleasing vein of thought, unmistakeably foreign, which is to be met with throughout:—

“EVENING DEVOTION.

- “How smiling the day departed,
How sweetly evening steals on!
How jocund and how merry hearted
The birds sing their evening song!
- “The flowers have no power of singing
Their prayers with audible sound;
And yet are they silently praying,
As they bend their heads to the ground.
- “Wherever I look is devotion,
God’s praise is the general theme;
From the distant boom of the ocean,
To the voice of the murmuring stream.
- “And all around us is praying
For rest from the toils of the day;
And seems as though it were saying,
‘Poor mortal, do thou also pray.’

“*LITÆ DOMESTICA*, p. 10.”

Several reprints and compilations which though not exactly new books are yet deserving of attention, now lie before us. We notice with peculiar pleasure a new edition of *Bishop Daniel Wilson’s Life*, by Mr. Bateman, complete in one volume. About a third of the matter contained in the former edition is omitted; but, so far from injuring, we think the omission has rather improved the work than otherwise, while in substance it is the same. It is presented in a more portable and convenient form, and at a much cheaper cost. A stronger light is thrown upon the subject of the memoir, and attention is more concentrated upon his character. It is still a handsome volume, fit for the library, and will, we doubt not, have a large and lasting circulation.

Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk. William Blackwood and Sons. 1860.—Until the publication of this autobiography but few of our readers can have heard much of the Rev. Dr. Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, and one would naturally suppose that the career of such a man would be incapable of affording incidents and materials sufficient for a history. On perusing the book, however, we find that Dr. Carlyle, instead of being merely a presbyterian minister in an obscure parish in Scotland, was acquainted with most of the literary and political celebrities of the last half of the past century. His autobiography contains memoirs of the men and events of his time.

Alexander Carlyle was born in 1722. The son of a presbyterian minister, we find him, at the precocious age of six, reading the Bible to a dozen old women who had been excluded from his father's church by the crowd, which had made him leave it also. At the age of 14, he proceeded to the university of Edinburgh. He lived in an eventful age. He was present at the Tolbooth church when Robertson made his escape. He witnessed Wilson's execution. He mingled with the Porteus mob. It is needless to detail events which have been described by the pen of Sir Walter Scott, in "The Heart of Midlothian." During his residence in the northern metropolis, Carlyle made the acquaintance of many men who afterwards attained to eminence. Amongst them were Dr. Hugh Blair, Robertson the historian, and Home the dramatist. He gives us a very curious description of college life a hundred years ago. On "students dining at ordinaries at fourpence a head for a very good dinner of broth and beef, and a roast and potatoes every day, with fish three or four times a week, and all the small beer that was called for till the cloth was removed;"—making journeys into East Lothian, and dining at a tavern with the minister of the town at which they stopped, discussing small Lisbon wine—deistical controversy and moral philosophy.

In 1743, Carlyle entered the University of Glasgow. Of the town and its society he gives us a dreary picture: no post chaises nor hackney coaches in the town, "and only three or four sedan chairs for carrying midwives about in the night, and old ladies to church, or to the dancing assemblies once a fortnight. Carlyle was out in the '45." Being a staunch Whig, he was one of the four hundred who volunteered the defence of Edinburgh. After the abandonment of that city, he went on a visit to his father, who was minister of Preston Pans, where he was a spectator of the battle that took its name from the place. Shortly afterwards, he went to Leyden University, where he met with many persons who became, in after life, prominent in English history: amongst others, Charles Townshend and John Wilkes. The latter he describes as being of an ugly countenance, of daring profligacy, but a sprightly entertaining fellow. After a stay of a few months, Carlyle returned to England, and went to London, where he was introduced to Smollett, and Thomson the poet. Having some aristocratic relations, he also contrived to be carried to Court on an evening, when George the Second held drawing-rooms, his Majesty playing at cards with the Princess Amelia. In fact, while he resided in our metropolis, the future minister of Inveresk mixed with all

kinds of society: now going to a play in the Haymarket, then supping with the officers of the Horse Guards, with whom he was very intimate, although even he considered the majority of them world-given (one of these acquaintances was Captain Elliott, afterwards Lord Heathfield, the defender of Gibraltar); at other times going with John Blair, Smollett, and other literary friends, to a small tavern, where they had frugal suppers and a little punch, as the finances of none of the company were in very good order. When the news of the battle of Culloden arrived in London, Carlyle was at a coffee-house with Smollett. On leaving that place, they, in consequence of the fire-works and the unruly mobs, put their wigs in their pockets, and carried their swords in their hands, Smollett cautioning his friend against speaking a word, lest the mob should discover his country, and become insolent.

In 1746, Carlyle returned to his native land, where he preached his first sermon, which was received with universal approbation, "the genteel people of Preston Pans being all there." Shortly afterwards, he was presented to the church of Cockburnspath, "an obscure distant place; without amenity, comfort, or society, where, if he had been settled, he would have more probably fallen into idleness and dissipation than a course of study." In the last century, preferment in the church of Scotland was so difficult to be obtained, and so trifling when obtained, that, as our author says, it required great energy of mind not to fall asleep when you are in a country charge. As one might readily suppose, Cockburnspath was eminently unsuitable to such a society-loving man as Carlyle. He therefore greatly rejoiced when, in 1748, he was preferred to the ministry of Inveresk. This step, however, was not unopposed. The parishioners of Inveresk said he was too young, too full of levity, too much addicted to the company of his superiors; that he danced frequently, in a manner prohibited by the laws of the church; that he "wore his hat agee," and had been seen galloping "through the links" between one and two o'clock. Notwithstanding these objections, Carlyle went to Inveresk, where he remained minister for the lengthy period of fifty-seven years. Among the clergy of Scotland he was a leading man in those dark days, and had a great voice in the selection of the men who were either to be brought into the church, or who were to be advanced as leaders from having proved themselves worthy in the ranks. Nor was his influence confined to Scotland, but extended to England and Ireland. This autobiography was the great occupation of his declining years. He began it in 1800, when in his seventy-ninth year. He had, in 1805, advanced it as far as his forty-eighth year, when he died. He was engaged on it until within a few days of that event, the pen having literally dropped from his hands.

The book is no doubt amusing; but it has, too, a melancholy interest. Here is a life squandered, a fair amount of talent worse than hidden, and a Christian minister living and dying, to all appearance, a stranger to "the power of godliness."

Manual of Phonography. By Isaac Pitman. Pitman, Paternoster Row. 1860.—Many of our readers will, we think, find this little book worthy of their perusal. Shorthand, though largely used in England, and still more so in America, has not been so generally

adopted by educated men as might have been expected from its general usefulness and facility of acquisition. To all classes of literary men, and especially to clergymen, it is in many respects of great service. Many celebrated divines have derived much assistance in preaching from this art. We have already, in a former number (May, 1859), expressed our sentiments and opinions concerning written discourses and extempore preaching. Where a clergyman is continually engaged in looking down on his manuscript, of course he is deprived, in a great measure, of that freedom of action which the extempore preacher enjoys; while the latter, through the entire disuse of notes, wants even those seasonable restraints which they will give to redundancy of action, and, perhaps, in some cases, to extravagances of gesture. Either way has its advantages and defects. If, however, a clergyman adopt the plan of making the notes of his sermon in shorthand characters, he will, to a great extent, combine the advantages of extempore preaching with the accuracy and finish of a written discourse. Shorthand characters, being written within a considerably smaller compass than the ordinary writing, catch the eye sooner, and more words can be taken in at a glance. In the "Life of Archbishop Sharp" we find that he used shorthand, and that the knowledge of that art contributed not a little to the acceptableness of his delivery; for he so disposed his characters as to take in a whole sentence, or as much as could be distinctly pronounced in the same breath, with one transient glance of the eye; and so disposed those sentences distinctly under each other as to be able, when he had taken his eye off, without any difficulty to recover the place where it had left the page. And we are informed that he was so expert at this, that it was sometimes thought that he had preached extempore, or that if he had notes, that he made little or no use of them. His whole attention was not required to watch over his words. Dr. Chalmers nearly always preached his sermons from shorthand notes, and this he did so skilfully, that it has been said that unless one were near him to observe the fact, it was difficult to know he was reading. A knowledge of shorthand would materially enable a clergyman to read a discourse as if he were speaking it, or, to use the words of archbishop Whately, "to read as if he were not reading."

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE queen opened her parliament in person on the 5th of February; and it is gratifying to remark that the affectionate loyalty of her people, exhibited on these occasions, seems rather to increase from year to year than to suffer any diminution. The attention of the great council of the nation has been directed, so far, to questions of internal government. We are no enemies to the present administration. We should be sorry to see them displaced. But we are not

sorry to have to relate that they have been for once defeated. Mr. Hubbard brought forward, on the 20th instant, a motion "for a select committee to inquire into the present mode of assessing and collecting the income and property tax, and whether any mode of levying the same, so as to render the tax more equitable, could be adopted." The chancellor of the exchequer, on the part of the government, resisted the motion, which was carried, however, by a majority of 131 to 127. All that the house is pledged to is inquiry before a select committee; but that select committee will be singularly incompetent, or that inquiry very superficial, which does not soon discover that the large, unclamouring class who live by what has been, with scarcely an exaggeration, termed the sweat of the brain,—the clergy, physicians, men of letters, and, in short, all professional men,—are now suffering a great injustice through the unequal pressure of this tax upon them. A majority of the house of commons has, it seems, at last arrived at some such conclusion.

The state of the laws affecting the relief of the poor has been partially discussed, and will require much further consideration. A month's frost brought them unexpectedly to the test, and showed that they could not meet a sudden emergency. Now a month's frost is not an occurrence of so unusual a nature in our climate as that it ought to disarrange our social relations as regards the working classes. Yet tens of thousands were thrown into a state of sudden pauperism, from which an annual poor-rate of more than five millions could afford them no relief. It is felt that this state of things ought to be redressed; but we add, with unaffected sorrow, that the working classes themselves are most to blame. Their utter want of forethought is undeniable. They live like children, careless of to-morrow, and like children spend their last sixpence upon any frivolous indulgence that meets the eye. It is not one labouring man in a hundred, we question whether it be one in a thousand, who seriously endeavours to provide against future want. An artisan, with twenty or thirty shillings a-week, will spend more upon a day's pleasure than a respectable tradesman or clergyman of two or three hundred a-year would think of squandering in mere indulgence; and the amount spent in strong liquors, beyond the wants of nature, is something really frightful. Every one of us has an interest in reforming a state of things which disturbs, and may one day violently dissolve, our social fabric. The truth is, that the English working man is not taught to be self-reliant. Beyond the labour, by which he barely sustains himself and his family from day to day, everything is done for him; whereas he ought to be assisted to do everything for himself. His religion costs him nothing. The education of his children is taken off his hands. Even the annual confinement of his wife, if he live in a well-ordered parish, is so far from being expensive, that it is a positive source of gain. Medical assistance costs him nothing, and the baby's clothes are forthcoming from the ladies' charitable "bag." It is much, if he can be induced to subscribe to a sick club; much more, if the sick club is not a mere pretext for a monthly carouse at the public-house. Thus, while in health and full employment, he is taught to be helpless; and when the day of adversity comes, he is a starving man, and his wife

is in despair. No laws can remedy the evil; a higher moral sense alone can reach it. Kind exhortations frequently repeated from the pulpit might do much; instruction in domestic economy in our national schools would do still more, if it were wisely given. There are amongst our labouring men and women noble exceptions. It was calculated by the late Mr. Dandeson Coates, (no mean authority on such matters,) that nearly one-third of the whole income of the Church Missionary Society came from the pockets of the poor, and was paid in pence; and the £40,000,000 lodged in the savings' banks, chiefly by maid-servants and the poorest tradesmen, tells what might be done. What is done, the flaunting gin palace in the poorest streets, and the sudden wealth of its proprietor, too frequently proclaim.

The speech from the throne contained no promise of parliamentary reform. Mr. Bright, and a few men of extreme opinions, have expressed their displeasure at the marked omission; but the country is well satisfied. A bill, however, is now before parliament, which proposes to transfer the forfeited franchise from St. Albans and Sudbury to Lancashire and Yorkshire, and to the new boroughs of Birkenhead and Chelsea with Kensington. It is favourably entertained, and we believe is expected to pass. This is one of those changes which every ancient institution requires from time to time, to adapt it to the circumstances of an ever-changing world. Professional reformers do not display their wisdom when they depreciate "bit by bit reforms." They are the safest of all reformatory measures; in old institutions, the only safe ones.

The church-rate contest is, of course, renewed. We are more hopeful than we have lately been, for the friends of the church are more united, and more disposed to accept a compromise. The violence of the anti-church and state party has been prematurely displayed, and will, we believe, defeat itself. Still the difficulty remains, how to exempt a dissenter from a tax which a churchman is obliged to pay, without, at the same time, holding out a premium to dissent, and offering a grave affront to the conscientious churchman.

But to our own readers, the most interesting, and in its consequences, we feel assured, the most important occurrence of the month is, the declaration of the whole bench of bishops in condemnation of the Oxford "Essays and Reviews." It is, as it ought to be, expressed in language which admits of no misinterpretation. The censure is the gravest that could be uttered. "We cannot understand," says his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, writing on his own behalf, and that of all the other prelates, (with the exception of the vacant see of Worcester,) "how their opinions can be held consistently with an honest subscription to the formularies of our church, with many of the fundamental doctrines of which they appear to us essentially at variance." This declaration is the more welcome to the country, and in our opinion the more honourable to the spiritual heads of our church, because they do not screen themselves behind any foregone judicial censures. His Grace proceeds to say: "Whether the language in which these views are expressed is such as to make their publication an act which could be visited in the ecclesiastical courts, or to justify the synodical condemnation of the book which contains them, is still under our

gravest consideration." A clamour has, of course, been raised by the partisans of the infidel cause, and the newspapers and reviews of a certain class ring with coarse invectives against the bishops for prejudging the essayists, and more particularly against the primate, for giving expression to their views in a letter to Mr. Fremantle, from which we have quoted. The latter point is easily dismissed. It has always been the custom of our political leaders, even the constitutional advisers of the crown, to indicate their policy, on questions upon which publicity was important, in letters to their constituents, or even to private friends. Sir Robert Peel's annual addresses to the electors of Tamworth may be given as an instance of the one, and Lord John Russell's letter to the bishop of Durham as an instance of the other. And as to the charge of prejudging the case, they are cases of criminality so flagrant that every virtuous mind prejudices them at once. Take the case (and it is not too strong an illustration) of an obscene print exposed in Holywell-street. The passer by is disgusted. He prejudices it. But he may still doubt whether it is sufficiently coarse and explicit in its depravity to come under Lord Campbell's Act, and whether more good or harm would result from a prosecution. We respect the christian courage of the bench of bishops, and feel grateful to them for their promptitude. Had the bishops of five-and-twenty years ago behaved with equal resolution when the Oxford tracts appeared, how different would have been the present condition of the church of England! The infidel movement we are now deploring is nothing else than the natural recoil from Tractarian violence and semi-popish credulity.

On the day before the queen opened her parliament the emperor Napoleon met his chambers. The want of precise information in our own royal speeches is now a grievance of old standing with constitutional grumblers, but that of the emperor Napoleon was so contrived as to be emptiness itself. "Words full of sound signifying nothing." But his conduct has since atoned for the deficiency. Gaëta was allowed to fall, and surrendered, on the 13th instant, to the Sardinians. The unpitied king of Naples, accompanied by his queen, who seems to have been worthy of a better fate, were received into a French frigate, and deposited at Rome. Thus, it is clear that Napoleon III. has washed his hands of the Neapolitan monarchy. Now the pope will have his turn. A pilot balloon, in the usual form of an unofficial pamphlet, prepares the way. We may expect that the French army, which for eleven years has occupied the ancient capital of Italy and the world, will now at last be withdrawn. What is to follow is evident enough. The pope's temporal power will not last a week. The news of the fall of Gaëta was received with a demonstration on the Corso which would have been a revolution had no French troops been present. The matter seems to be perfectly well understood; the French will retire when the revolution is ripe; and the pope will cease to be a temporal sovereign, except, perhaps, within the boundaries of his ancient city and some narrow confines. The king of Sardinia, too, has opened his parliament; the first great council worthy of the name which Italy has seen since the conscript fathers sat in the capitol of ancient Rome. Victor Emmanuel spoke with a

warmth and manly openness of heart which augur well; and he paid a tribute to English sympathy which naturally delights our countrymen. But his difficulties are now beginning. To reconcile the interests and local prejudices of many states, and to form one united kingdom, will require a master's hand. And the lesson which democracy teaches just now is by no means favourable to the success of the experiment.

America presents a painful, and, even to us in England, a humiliating spectacle. We had outlived our former quarrels, and had begun to take a sincere pride in the greatness of a nation the offspring of our own. We were well satisfied that, while England displayed to the world an almost perfect example of liberty beneath a limited monarchy, America should be the great model of republican government. These hopes are not only blighted, they are destroyed. Whatever be the result of the present agitations, all confidence in republican government is gone. With the first severe pressure it gives way, with the first hard blow it flies to pieces. We knew that this had always been the case with ancient republics; we knew that the republics of mediæval times had exhibited the same weakness; we knew that in the Low Countries a republic had been unfortunate. At home it was never tried. For even the genius of Cromwell would not reconcile the English mind to the absence of a king for a single twelve month. And now America has failed. It is true that every effort is made, and will no doubt continue to be made, to effect a compromise; but no compromise can heal the deadly wound. We view with deep regret the many proposals that are made by the North, though made only to be treated with scorn by the South. A large party would concede everything except perhaps the actual establishment of slavery amongst themselves. This would be a fearful price to pay for a heartless compromise, but the South will listen to no terms. Louisiana and Georgia have joined the secession; the union is rent asunder; and we fear that blood will be profusely shed, for the violence of the southern states seems, if possible, increasing. On the 4th of March, the die will be cast, if not before; for on that day the new president enters on his office, and will announce his policy. On the previous day, the 3rd of March, the most absolute monarch in Europe will, by his own fiat, have raised twenty millions of his subjects from slavery to freedom. Strangest of all contrasts, most improbable of all improbable events, the autocrat of Russia instructs the United States in the first elements of justice, humanity, and good government!

But we are not likely to forget that there is a vast minority in the United States whose voice is scarcely heard in the wild uproar. Friends of liberty without licentiousness; friends of the slave, because sincere followers of Christ; who honour all men, however sable their complexion; they do not share in the madness of the people; they are to be found rather in prayer meetings, in private intercessions, in calm deliberation. When the fury of the storm has passed, their voice will again be heard, and who can doubt that for their sakes, and for His great name's sake, the God of nations will yet disperse the clouds and lift up the light of His countenance upon their country!

We have waited till the last moment, hoping that some further explanations would relieve us from the painful necessity of advertg to the conduct of the bishop of Durham in the use that he has made of his patronage in a recent appointment to the rectory of Haughton-le-Skerne. If the statements in the newspapers be correct, a valuable living of £1300 a-year, with a population of only 1000 souls, has been given to his own son-in-law, a mere youth, three or four years in orders. We shall trust ourselves to make but few comments. Evangelical religion is wounded in the house of her friends, and we are grieved and disappointed. Well may impious reviews taunt "Evangelicals" with their inconsistency, when Dr. Villiers can be pointed at as exhibiting an instance of *nepotism* such as no minister of state has, of late years at least, displayed. A bishop's patronage is held in trust for God and his church; not for the aggrandizement of his friends and family. It is not a field on which favouritism can be allowed to show itself,—no more than upon the judges' bench. His Lordship's correspondence with the churchwardens of Darlington appears to us strongly opposed to the christian simplicity on which no man has preached more boldly, and the want of which no man has denounced in less measured terms, than he himself. We have no intention of sheltering ourselves under the authority of other men's opinions or advice, or we might print an extract here from a letter which we have received from a veteran in the church, who reminds us that "the Christian Observer has always disclaimed partiality as to men, though not as to principles;" and that we "owe it to the cause of truth, as well as to the evangelical body, that we should not shelter any man merely because he professes our opinions." "The course pursued by the bishop," he adds—and, with an aching heart, we adopt the sentiment—"appears to me to inflict a deeper wound on the evangelical body than any act of its professed friends for many years." Surely it is not yet too late for his lordship to retrace his steps. A confession of error would be a testimony to the power of divine truth which even the world would receive with reverence. True religion would be more honoured in his recovery than injured by his fall; and the hearts of thousands, who can never cease to love the bishop of Durham, would be filled with returning confidence in one on whose elevation they have, perhaps, too fondly dwelt; and "the thanksgivings of many would abound on his behalf."

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WHAT IS INSPIRATION?

THE fundamental doctrine of Scriptural inspiration has been recently so mangled and perverted, that its defenders have necessarily been led to consider the negative side of the question, and have applied all their energies to prove that the view adopted by the new Oxford school, as it is called, is *not* the true view of inspiration. But the subject must be regarded in its positive as well as in its negative aspect; if we destroy the false theory, we must not omit to build up a true theory in its place. We therefore ask our readers' attention while we endeavour, simply and plainly, to answer the question, "What is inspiration?" It is needless for us to descant upon the vital importance of the question. Every one will see that it stands upon the very threshold of religious inquiry. If we are unsettled about it, we are still groping in the dark. If the minister of Christ loses this truth, he loses the foundation of all his teaching. He may still be an useful man among his flock; by precept and by example he may still raise the moral tone of his people; but for what has ever been considered the main object of his labours—"the turning men from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God"—he is totally incapacitated, if the credentials of his mission be taken away. His sole authority is the truth of the Bible as God's word; and if this basis be shaken, the whole of the superstructure built upon it must fall to the ground. Feeling, then, how awfully important the subject is on which we are about to treat; feeling, too, that it is a subject which, of all others, must be handled in a reverend and prayerful spirit; that "the place whereon we stand is holy ground," we proceed to inquire what is really meant when it is said, "that all scripture is given by inspiration of God."

Now it may, we think, be stated generally, that the different theories which have been broached on this subject resolve themselves (more or less modified) into one of these four.

I. That the Holy Spirit actually dictated every word that is written in the Bible, so that the human writers were mere machines, and had no more to do with what was written than the pen with which they wrote.

II. That the Holy Spirit directed and controlled all that was written, so as to make the writings *infallible*, but that the human writers were allowed to pursue their own method and manner, and to use their own intellectual powers.

III. That the Holy Spirit exercised a general superintendence over the writings, and inspired the writers in matters of religion; but that in other matters—for instance, in matters of history, science, &c.—the writers were left to themselves, and were thus liable to fall into the same errors and inaccuracies as other authors.

IV. That the Holy Spirit inspired the writers of the Bible only in the same measure and manner in which He inspired the writers of other good books; *e. g.*, Plato, Milton, &c.

It may seem, perhaps, that this last theory is totally incompatible with the most vague and general profession of Christianity; and it is probably true that no so-called Christian would consent to it thus directly stated. Still, we constantly find expressions in the writings of men who have not ostensibly renounced the profession of Christianity, which, if pressed to their full consequences, would admit of no higher view of inspiration than this.

To proceed, however, to examine what is the true scriptural view of inspiration. A little consideration will seem to show us that the first and the last of these four theories must be discarded. If the human writers were merely passive instruments in the hand of the Holy Spirit, how is it that we can trace so clearly in the writings of each their own distinguishing characteristics? Why did Isaiah, the courtier, write more elegantly than Amos, the herdsman? Why should St. Paul, who was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, show a more intimate acquaintance with Rabbinical learning than Peter and John, the humble fishermen of Galilee? In short, how is it that we find each of the writers using exactly that style which our knowledge of their antecedents would lead us to expect? Such a theory of "verbal inspiration" is surely quite untenable on the principles of common sense. The fourth theory, too, must be discarded at once by all who profess to make any distinction at all between reason and revelation. The question, then, lies between the second and the third theories. Did the Holy Spirit guide the scripture writers in *all* matters, or merely in matters connected with religion? We answer unhesitatingly, In *all* matters. It appears to us that the third theory is, in fact, quite as dangerous, though far more specious and plausible, than the fourth. It is from unguarded concessions on this

point that the thin end of the wedge has been inserted, and that eventually the flood gates have been opened to the grossest infidelity. It is said "the Bible was intended to teach us religious truth, but not historical or scientific truth;" therefore, on questions of religion it is inspired; on questions connected with history, science, &c., it is as liable to error and inaccuracy as any other book. We accept the premises, but deny the conclusion. The Bible *was* intended to teach us religious truth; but then, from the very nature of the case, that religious truth is so inseparably bound up with the history, that if you impugn the one you must necessarily weaken the other. To take an example. The fact that mankind sprung from a single pair is stated in the Bible as a historical truth; but then, if it fall to the ground, one of the most vital truths of religion falls with it. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." What possible meaning can be attached to these words if Adam be not the natural head and fountain of our race? The whole significance of the Fall is lost. Or again; will any one say that the religious truths derivable from the scripture account of the Noachian deluge are not weakened, if it be held that that deluge was merely a partial disaster, extending only over a very small portion of the globe. These are two instances in which the historical accuracy of the Bible has been impugned by the maintainers of our third theory, and it is hard to say where their criticisms may end. For who is to draw the line of demarcation between religious and other truth? It must be left to each man's own private judgment to decide. And what is this but making reason the arbiter of revelation? If each man may pick out one part of the Bible, and say, "This is religious truth, and therefore inspired and infallible," then pick out another part, and say, "This is *not* religious truth, and therefore I may accept it or not, as I choose," we shall find but a very small residuum on the inspiration of which all agree. The great principle that reason is competent to judge on the *evidences* of a revelation, but not on the *subject* of a revelation, must be, on this theory, at once exploded. Because it is the subject alone that furnishes the evidence in this case.

Granting, however, for a moment that such a discrimination between religious and other truth were possible, yet surely it must be allowed there are but very few, here and there, who are competent to make it. What, then, becomes of the Bible as the "People's Book?" It must again be relegated to the learned few, and taken out of the hands of the unlearned many; for assuredly these latter will, on this theory, find in it nothing but perplexity. I imagine the case of an humble, earnest inquirer seeking in his Bible a safe rule of life. Suppose he were told, "The book does, indeed, contain God's word, but it

is amidst a mass of human errors and inaccuracies. It is for you to separate the gold from the dross. You must first decide what is religious and what is not strictly religious truth, and then you may eliminate God's word from man's word." Would he not justly answer, "I cannot first decide which is and which is not religious truth; it is for this very purpose that I go to the Bible to decide for me?"

It may, however, seem to some of our readers unnecessary thus to argue upon a point upon which all orthodox Christians are agreed. But it is a question whether they *are* thus agreed; or, rather, it is a question whether the majority have really and deeply thought upon the subject at all. At a clerical meeting the other day, the subject of "Inspiration" was discussed; and the four theories stated above were proposed, the only difference being that the third theory, though exactly the same in purport, was smoothed down in expression. It is a positive fact, that the majority of the clergy present gave their opinion in favour of the third theory. We believe that they would have all shrunk with horror from the consequences which might have been legitimately drawn from their view; but this proves to us that the subject is one which, at this time especially, requires to be constantly sifted.

Once admit the fallibility of the Bible, and you pave the way for the introduction of the "goddess Reason's" worship. You grant all that Rationalism requires.

We conclude, then, that the Bible not only *contains*, but is, the word of God; and that "the human writers were 'never so left to themselves, as not to have the Holy Spirit presiding over them and keeping them from error.'"

Having thus attempted to show that the position of those who would make reason the arbiter of revelation is untenable, we must now consider how far our own position is tenable. We hold that the whole of the Bible was written under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit. We will try to state as fully and as impartially as we can the objections urged against this theory. It is alleged (1) that this doctrine of inspiration is totally incompatible with the new discoveries of science; that geology and astronomy alike are at variance with the physical facts recorded in Holy Scripture; that all attempts to reconcile the two accounts have failed; (2) that, consequently, scientific men are daily leaving the ranks of believers, and that Christianity will soon be abandoned to a few ignorant and bigoted fanatics. (3) It is further stated that this lamentable result is being brought about by the unwarranted assumptions of those who defend the popular theory of inspiration; that their view is not borne out by Scripture itself; that the Bible contains nothing which could lead the impartial inquirer, unbiassed by preconceived notions, to suppose that its writers were not as

liable to error as other men in ordinary subjects; (4) that any attempt to handle the question of scriptural inspiration freely, is received in such a damnatory spirit, that many who would fain speak out are afraid to do it; and that hence, throughout the length and breadth of the land, there is spreading a smouldering scepticism, which is worse, because it is more dishonest, than open infidelity.

Let us briefly examine the force of these allegations. (1.) It is, of course, impossible, in the short compass of a single article, to consider in detail the apparent discrepancies between scriptural and scientific statements. Neither, indeed, do we think such a consideration necessary for our purpose. For we contend that no amount of mere inaccuracies in science would prove that the authors, when they wrote them, were not under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Nay, the very nature of the case would not lead us to expect scientific accuracy; for any book written for the people at large must be written in popular language, otherwise it is wholly unintelligible to those for whom it is intended. If, then, the Holy Spirit had directed the writers of the Bible to speak of scientific phenomena as they actually *were*, and not as they *appeared* to be, their language would have been understood by none except those who were first fully instructed in physical science. But the Bible was not intended to teach men physical science; it is, therefore, we contend, a proof of the wisdom of the Holy Spirit to suffer the writers of Scripture to adopt the popular language on such subjects. Is not this what is done daily? If (argues an able writer in the *Quarterly*) a natural philosopher, whose object did not require strict philosophical accuracy, were to speak of the "sun rising" and the "sun setting," would you therefore conclude that he understood not the true theory of the motion of the heavenly bodies? No one would do so for a moment. And why should we deal otherwise with the writers of Scripture? Why, when they adopt the current phraseology, should we say that the Holy Spirit had ceased to guide them, and not that He had directed them to write in a way intelligible to those for whom they were writing? Granting, then, for the sake of argument, that all attempts to reconcile Scripture with science have failed; granting that it is fair to dogmatize upon questions connected with geology—a science yet in its infancy—still we say that no amount of difficulties of this kind can confute our theory.

(2.) The next objection is not, we think, founded upon fact. It surely is not true that the majority of scientific men have ceased, or are ceasing, to be believers at all, because we require them to believe so much. On the contrary, we think that a long list of names, eminent in the scientific world, might be produced, from Sir Isaac Newton downwards, whose faith has

never been shaken by the marvellous discoveries of science; and we much doubt whether an equally eminent and numerous list could be produced on the other side.

(3.) The assertion that we claim for Scripture a higher degree of inspiration than the Bible itself warrants, is to us the most unintelligible statement of all. What are we to understand by such expressions as—“*All Scripture is given by inspiration of God;*” “*Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;*” “*Ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God?*” We cannot say what “non-natural” sense may be put upon such texts as these; but surely, in their ordinary acceptation, they assert as distinctly as language can do that the influence of the Holy Spirit pervades the Bible.

(4.) The next objection is so plausible, and so liable to take hold upon the minds even of thoughtful and earnest men, that it claims from us a more lengthy consideration than the rest. One of the greatest blessings derived from the reformation was the spirit of free religious inquiry which it promoted. The fetters which had long bound men’s minds in spiritual thralldom were then broken, and the great truth asserted, that the Bible need not fear to see the light of day; that it was alike the privilege and the duty of every Christian to come directly to the fountain-head, and not to be content with receiving biblical instruction merely through the medium of human channels. When, then, it is hinted that any attempt is being made to check the freedom of religious discussion, men’s minds are at once roused to arm themselves against this invasion of their dearly-bought privileges. When it is affirmed that the defenders of plenary inspiration are obliged to have recourse to invective because argument fails them; that they are forced to entrench themselves behind the high wall of authority and traditional interpretation, because they are afraid to meet the enemy in the open field, it is seen that such a course is totally contrary to the spirit of our reformed church. Now, in order to answer this objection, we must first define clearly what is meant by this “freedom” which we are accused of impeding; for in the religious, as well as in the political constitution, the sacred name of freedom may be abused and perverted. In religion, as well as in politics, there is a spurious form of liberty, which breaks down every sacred barrier, runs riot into every kind of excess, and ends, at last, in a worse slavery than that which it attempted to shake off. And it is, we fear, this kind of religious liberty, and not that won for us at the reformation, for which the objectors to plenary inspiration are anxious. Their great cry is, that the Bible must be treated exactly like any other book; that all those hallowed feelings which fill the believer’s soul when he reads the message from his God must

be laid aside, and that the book must be approached in the same cold, hard, captious spirit in which a reviewer would take up some new publication for the purpose of criticism. Now, taking the advocates of a partial inspiration upon their own ground; supposing that in the Bible God's word is mingled with man's word; that "the bright spiritual truth within is encrusted by dark patches of human passion and human error," even upon this hypothesis Scripture should claim some better treatment than an ordinary book would receive. For who is to draw accurately the line of demarcation between the human and the divine element in Scripture? Who, for example, will undertake to show us which parts of the Pentateuch are merely the crude, obsolete notions of a Hebrew enthusiast; which the voice of the living God? While, then, there is any danger of confounding the human with the divine part of the Bible, there is surely danger of irreverence in handling freely that which should be accepted submissively. And if it be true that the practical effect of such free handling is to destroy all that reverence with which the Bible should be received; if it be true that a stepping-stone to infidelity is thus made; that unwary minds, making unguarded concessions on this point, have lost inch by inch every foot of ground on which to rest their faith, and so have been forced to abandon it altogether, is it strange that such dangerous doctrines should be denounced in the very strongest language? God forbid that the inquiries or suggestions of any earnest mind should be met in a damnatory spirit! The defenders of inspiration will never attain their object by making a breath of Christian charity. But there is a point at which forbearance degenerates into weakness; and if souls can be stayed in their fatal descent into the abyss of scepticism, they must not complain of the roughness of the grasp which snatches them from the danger. The middle ground between belief and scepticism is quite untenable: when a full trust in the Bible as God's word is once lost, an inexorable logic must lead the mind to abandon one point after another, until faith becomes a dead thing.

Doubtless there are many sincere lovers of the gospel, and earnest inquirers after truth, whose faith in the entire inspiration of the Bible is sometimes clouded. May we not say that this is the peculiar temptation to which they are subjected? Satan may, perhaps, have found them impervious to other assaults, and he is now attacking them on their weakest side. They have learned, by God's grace, to resist the tempter when he appeals to the animal part of their nature, and he now comes in a more subtle and insidious form appealing to their intellect. Surely the strength of such souls as these is in prayer rather than in speculation. God will not leave them to grapple with the sore trial alone and unaided. They have trusted too much

to their own intellect, and have ventured into too deep water; but if, when they are sinking beneath the troublous waves of doubt and perplexity, they cry with the earnest, heartfelt cry of Peter, "Lord, save us!" the same merciful hand will be stretched forth to support them, and the same merciful accents will be heard, "O ye of little faith, wherefore did ye doubt?" And surely this is, after all, the grand secret for gaining clear views of scriptural truth. If the Bible be a message from God, it will be best understood by those who ask most earnestly for the aid of Him who gave it. Not that we would depreciate the value of intellectual aids in interpreting Holy Scripture. Reason is the highest of God's gifts to man, and it cannot be more nobly employed than in elucidating God's truths. But how often do we find that the simple, prayerful mind will catch a right meaning which the prayerless philosopher has sought in vain! How often now, as of old, are "these things hidden from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes!" How often do men of vast intellect, who have lost themselves in the mazy labyrinths of curious speculation, and who have tried by the aid of reason to fathom questions which lie far deeper than human reason can penetrate, return at last, wearied with "the heat and the dust of controversy," to the simple, child-like faith, from which they have wandered, and realize the deep truth which Jesus taught when He "called a little child unto Him and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Let us take heed, lest we lose sight of the truth that on many points our confessed ignorance is our best wisdom.

O. H. J.

KILVERT'S LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BISHOP HURD.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rt. Rev. Richard Hurd, D.D., Lord Bishop of Worcester. By the Rev. Francis Kilvert, M.A. Bentley, 1860.

It is a curious thing to meet this old-world book coming fresh from the press, and entering the libraries among the literature of the day. It arrives like a wandering and belated guest, who reaches the place of entertainment when the company to which he belonged is gone; introduced into a busy and animated throng, who wonder where he comes from, who know little of his subjects, and find his manners strange. Yet, for our part, we are pleased to go and sit down by him, and hear what he has to tell; not from mere civility, but from a genuine interest in such waifs and strays of assemblies which

occupied the scene before us. It pleases us for a moment to taste the past, to hear of "ingenious authors" and "discerning readers" and "judicious critics," and of controversies and books and bishops forgotten by the world of to-day. We are not displeased to see that the mind of the author consorts well with his subject, and that he seems to see and think more as people did then than as they do now. Nor are we, indeed, without some special reasons for lending him attention, derived from remembrance of a childish interest with which we have looked at the mitred tomb by Hartlebury Tower, and heard the description of the venerable appearance of the bishop in extreme old age as he sat in the church, or proceeded to the "coach with the state liveries." What he was like in those days the reader of this book may learn by a note extracted from Dr. Dibdin's "*Reminiscences of a Literary Life*" :—

"I shall never forget his appearance. It was as if some statue had 'stepped from its pedestal to take the air.' He was habited in a brocaded silk morning gown, with a full-dressed wig, stooping forward, and leaning on a gold-headed cane. His complexion had the transparency of marble, and his countenance was full of expression, indicative of the setting of that intellectual sun, which at its meridian height had shone forth with no ordinary lustre." (p. 195.)

This lustre, however, was not so strong as to have thrown its influence to this distance of time. To the eyes of the present generation it is scarcely visible. But, being cheerfully, and therefore kindly, disposed, we will, at least, amuse ourselves, and, we will hope, our readers, by collecting some particulars from the information given us in this volume, preferring those which are of a lighter kind to such as would betray us too far into disquisitions on the wisdom of the prelate, or the ideas of his time.

Richard Hurd was somebody in his day—not a great scholar, nor a great theologian even according to the standard of his time, but a man of cultivated taste and considerable powers; a good writer, a reputable preacher, an object of public esteem and royal confidence; the friend of Warburton, with whose fame he is associated; the preceptor of George IV., which can be no credit to anybody; and, as bishop of Worcester, certainly a more distinguished man than any who have yet succeeded him in that see. He was born at Penkridge, in Staffordshire, in January, 1720, the second son of "plain, honest, good people," who rented a large farm in that parish, and seem to have had no other worldly objects but to put out their three sons to the best of their power: one in their own way of life, the next as a "poor scholar," and the third in the Birmingham trade. This youngest brother, Thomas, was the only one who seems to have had a turn for matrimony.

"He had formed an attachment, unknown to his family, to a highly respectable young person, but in humble life, and of no great personal attractions. This attachment resulted in a private marriage. In one of his visits to his parents, his mother, observing him to be unusually silent and thoughtful, pressed him with an affectionate 'What ails thee, child?' to tell the cause. The reply, in a faint voice, was, 'Mother, I'm married.' 'Married!' cried the old lady, 'and where's thy wife?' (Reply in a still fainter key) 'I left her in the cart-house.' 'Go,' rejoined his mother, 'and fetch her in directly.' The poor little woman, shuddering with cold and anxiety, was accordingly ushered in from her inhospitable shelter. The feelings of the good old people were touched, and she was welcomed as a member of the family. This plain little person used in after-times, on her visits to Hartlebury Castle, to be led up by the bishop with stately courtesy to the head of the table, and she proved the only medium through which the family was continued." (p. 4.)

No such embarrassments beset the course of the sizar of Emmanuel, the "terse, neat, little thin man," as some one describes him who knew him at college. He never married, and (as far as appears) never thought of it; never formed an attachment, or even found habitual refreshment in the society of female relative or friend. It is a life strangely destitute of that most blessed aid and influence. Not that he was unpleasing to women. In later years he "was a great favourite of Lady Mansfield;" queen Charlotte liked him much; Madame D'Arblay chatters about him admiringly; and a lady tells how "his manner was particularly soft and winning, and his voice low and musical." Yet he made his way through life without them. No woman brightens his youth, or cheers his middle life, or nurses him in his long old age.

At twenty-two he was ordained by the great bishop Butler, and entered on a cure in Norfolk; but before long was elected fellow of his college, and returned to reside at Cambridge. Here Sir Edward Littleton, on whose estate his family lived, became his pupil, and from that time continued his life-long friend. The time at Cambridge was dedicated to study, chiefly in general literature, in the cultivation of a critical taste, and in the improvement of his style, in which he took Addison for his model. In 1749 he published his "Commentary and Notes on Horace's Art of Poetry," a work which attracted great notice, was warmly praised, and became the first occasion of Hurd's long and intimate friendship with Warburton. He had commended Warburton in the book, and sent him a copy of it, who tells him, in reply, that he thinks the 'Notes' "one of the most masterly pieces of criticism that ever was written." This letter was the first of some two hundred and fifty, which Hurd afterwards published, and which now form part of Warburton's collected works.

Never were two friends more opposite in natural temper: the one so vehement, voluble, impetuous, so warm in heart and in temper, with so strong a sense of the ludicrous, so heedless of dignity and consequences: the other cold, correct, and guarded; a man of even manners and impenetrable reserve, careful of dignity and fastidious in taste. Yet on literary subjects, and on the questions of the day, they were of one mind; and the genuine admiration which Hurd entertained for Warburton was reciprocated by an entire confidence and respect; and the generous zeal of Warburton for his friend's advancement was felt and acknowledged with consistent gratitude. We remember that in one of his letters Warburton expresses the grounds of his esteem and attachment by a quotation, which, as far as it goes, is a truthful representation of the moral character of his friend, and which we almost wonder that Mr. Kilvert has not extracted:—

“Te mihi junxerunt nivei sine crimine mores,
Simplicitasque sagax, ingenuusque pudor,
Et bene nota fides, et candor frontis honestæ,
Et studia à studiis non aliena meis.”

Hurd's attraction to Warburton first arose from his delight in the “*Divine Legation*,” or, rather, in the part of it which was then published. In his youth he had been accustomed to hear it abused:—

“There was so much apparent bigotry and insolence in the invectives which I heard, that I wished, perhaps out of pure spite, to find them ill-founded. The effect was, that I took the ‘*Divine Legation*’ down with me into the country, where I was going to spend the summer of 1740 with my friends. I there read the three volumes at my leisure, and with the impression I shall never forget. I returned to college the winter following, not so properly your convert as all over spleen and prejudice against your defamers. From that time I think I am to date my friendship with you.”

Long afterwards his share as a partisan in his friend's controversies brought something of the spleen and the prejudice to light.

Two other friendships Hurd formed in early life, which were of no little value to him: one with Mason the poet, and the other with Balguy, one of the most respectable divines of the period, and who, but for his own refusal, would have been Warburton's successor in the see of Gloucester. With him Hurd maintained a close and continued correspondence, a selection from which forms a large part of Mr. Kilvert's book.

After his first essay, Hurd continued to publish and continued to be praised. Critical works, “*Elegant and Refined Dissertations*,” “*Moral and Political Dialogues*,” and some other productions of a graver or more controversial character, established his position as an author, and secured, not only the eulogium of

his tardy biographer, but the warm admiration of eminent contemporaries, such as Gibbon, Charles Yorke, Lord Mansfield, and others, who were both good judges and leaders of opinion. It appears to us that Mr. Kilvert's estimate of the kind of powers discovered in his writings is discriminating and correct:—

“He had received from nature remarkable clearness of apprehension and accuracy of judgment, great aptitude for methodical arrangement, and that sagacity which is the primary qualification of a critic. He had a peculiar bent for tracing effects to their causes, and much ingenuity in framing hypotheses to account for phenomena. He was also gifted with a keen discrimination of character, and great skill in seizing its salient points. His power of imagination, though not vivid enough to constitute him a poet, yet, aided by a nice perception and a fine taste, qualified him in a high degree for a judge of poetical composition.”

In fact, he was in mental character what he was in manner and appearance—“terse, neat, and thin”—decidedly *thin*. There was substance, but not much of it; nothing massive, exuberant, or profound. His powers were generally applied to subjects to which they were equal. His resources were portable, and well managed. His talents were those of judgment, arrangement, and expression; and, we will add, that these talents are not very common, as any one may satisfy himself who will observe the general character of the writing and speaking of the present day. Distinctness and accuracy of method, clearness and precision of language, are the points in which he will notice the most obvious and common defects. These qualifications belong to a whole habit of mind, which grows by pains, preparation, and discipline, and to the formation of which the circumstances of our time are little favourable. It was, perhaps, of easier attainment when the topics and materials of thought were less abundant, when the literary throng was less dense, and the impatience to join it less general. Hurd's natural turn of mind was methodical and particular, and there often appeared too much of it in his style. “He weighed,” says one of his friends, “every word he spoke or wrote;” and Johnson once said of him, “Sir, he's a word-picker;” and another replied, “Yes, Dr. Johnson, he always appears to me so very precise, that I term him an old maid in breeches.” The word-picking, however, was, upon the whole, successful; and we can better allow an old maid to be precise when it is the precision of good taste. Our language owes something to those who have been studious of a pure, clear, pliant, and graceful English.

After fourteen years' residence at Cambridge, Hurd took the college living of Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, which he held for eighteen years, till his elevation to the bench. Here, we are told, “he divided his time principally between the duties of

his profession and the cultivation of polite literature." Of the duties of his profession we cannot help surmising that he had the narrowest and coldest ideas, and no sort of allusion to pastoral interests is found in any of the letters which are given to us. The literary pursuits, if they continued to be "*polite*," took, we may believe, a more solid turn. The following words to his friend Mason on his poetical studies are correct and pleasing:—

"The great Roman said, *Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant*. Should we invert the observation and take this light food, not as the refreshment only, but as the proper *nourishment*, of age, such a name as Cicero's, I am afraid, would be wanting, and not be easily found, to justify the practice. Let us own, then, on a greater authority than his, that 'everything is beautiful in its season.' The spring has its *buds and blossoms*, but, as the year runs on, you are not displeased, perhaps, to see them fall off; and would certainly be disappointed not to find them, in due time, succeeded by those *mellow hangings* the poet somewhere speaks of. I could allege still graver reasons; but I will only say, in one word, that your friend has had his share of these amusements. I may recollect with pleasure, but must never live over again,

'*Pieriosque dies et amantes carmina somnos.*'"

At Thurcaston his old friends came to see him, and they were almost all the society he had. He never visited his neighbours. Mr. Cradock, who was then a young man at college, and who had a place in the neighbourhood, was about his only companion. He says of him—

"He was very kind to those of whom he approved, but he was distant and lofty, and not at all admired, by those who did not estimate him in a literary capacity. Indeed he paid no attention to them. It was a common phrase of his, 'I am here perfectly quiet, for I have delightfully bad roads about me.' * * * I think I never met any one at his house but Mr. Ball, the curate, who always seemed dissatisfied with his situation: he said, 'I do not pretend to be very learned, but I have never been treated with such distance, or, rather, disdain.'"

Warburton came to see him, and could not put up with such ways.

"The bishop was warm, witty, and convivial; and after he had been shut up for a day or two, he began to inquire whether there were no neighbours. 'None that might be perfectly agreeable to your lordship,' was the reply. 'What!' says the bishop, 'are all the good houses that I see around me here utterly uninhabited? Let us take out our horses and beat up some of their quarters. I have no doubt but several will be well inclined to be friendly and sociable.' 'I certainly cannot refuse attending on your lordship anywhere.' Accordingly, they waited on five gentlemen whom I had the pleasure to know, and they all kindly accepted an invitation to take a family dinner at Thurcaston. When I heard this at Leicester I determined to call on

Mr. Hurd, who received me with much cordiality. 'Why, sir,' said I, 'there is nothing talked of but your gaiety.' 'I do not doubt it,' replied he; 'and if you will pass the day with me I will treat you with the remains of the festival, and give you an account of the particulars. I can assure you I was at first alarmed as to the provision which could be made by my little household, but all the company were disposed to be pleased. The bishop was in the highest spirits; and when the gentlemen took leave of me in the hall, they went so far as to declare that 'they thought they had never passed a much pleasanter day.' 'And as you have been so successful, sir,' I ventured to add, 'in this first effort, I have no doubt but the experiment will soon be repeated.' Mr. Hurd was silent."

The hospitalities were not repeated, and he could not have been regretted by his neighbours when his removal took place. That event did not come without previous preparation. His friend Mason, who used to come to stay with him, and look after his roses and lay out his grounds, describes him as one

"Whose equal mind could see vain Fortune shower
Her flimsy favours on the fawning crew;
While in lone Thurstaston's sequestered bower
She fixed him distant from Promotion's view."

But the last line was not perfectly true. Warburton had long before obtained for him from bishop Sherlock an appointment as Whitehall Preacher, and did all he could to bring him to London and introduce him to those who were already disposed to appreciate him as a writer. Among these was Charles Yorke, afterwards Lord Chancellor; and through his influence chiefly he was appointed, in 1765, to the preachingship of Lincoln's Inn; afterwards he spent much of his time in London, an advantage for his curate as well as for himself. He who "spent weeks together without seeing the face of any but his own servants and of his parishioners on Sundays," now enjoyed congenial society; and poor Mr. Ball "took the advantage of his rector's absence to make himself more comfortable."

As preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Hurd appears to have been (according to the modern phrase) acceptable to his audience. He published a collection of sermons, besides those which he preached as first Warburtonian Lecturer on a foundation which has a high claim to the gratitude of the church, as having subsequently given occasion to a book of a different order from any that Hurd could have written—Davison's "Discourses on Prophecy," and which in our own day is honourably associated with the name of Elliott. Hurd's idea of preaching is given in one of his letters:—"Information is not the object of a good sermon. Its end is to persuade men to the *practice* of what they know, confusedly, at least, beforehand, or to confirm them in the *belief* of their religion, either by plain familiar

argument, or by pathetic representation." Before his rural audience he sometimes practised on a curious plan:—

"The first time," says Mr. Cradock, "that I accompanied him on a Sunday to his parish church, he, after the service, asked my opinion of the discourse. 'You are to speak freely,' said he. I told him that I thought it was good, but I did not consider it as his own; for it rather appeared to me that it was given from a printed book. 'You are right,' replied he: 'it was one of Bourdaloue's; and I had only the French volume before me, with many marks and alterations. I consider this sermon on the prospect of death as particularly suited to such an audience.'"

His manner in preaching was good—"calm, dignified, impressive." There is in one place a little outburst of admiration about it; but then it comes from his chaplain. He thought manner went a great way, and he was right so far, though we cannot concur in all he says of it. "Few hearers," he says, "distinguish between one sermon and another when the general sentiments are, as they must be, much the same (!). The person, the look, the voice of the preacher does everything, even in the best auditories." His biographer's account is as follows:—

"His discourses, though not marked by force and energy, had yet a mild persuasiveness and a tone of gentle insinuation, which, joined to frequent originality of thought and constant exactness of method, peculiarly recommended him to his audience at Lincoln's Inn. They had also the merit, no inconsiderable one at that period, of being (as he recommends it to his clergy in his first charge to make theirs) 'wholly christian.'"

He had, no doubt, more notion of what that meant than many of his time; but this is not saying much. At his first sermon at Lichfield, Dr. Darwin went to hear him, and paid great attention. Some one, determined, if possible, to gain his real opinion, asked him what he thought of it. The doctor was taken by surprise, and, stuttering, replied, "*The bishop's discourse, sir? Why, it—contained some very good words indeed!*" Possibly we might have been of the same opinion. As in other things so in preaching—he was a great contrast to his friend. The following account is amusing:—

"Before Dr. Hurd was quite recovered at Lincoln's Inn, I once called upon him, and he told me that bishop Warburton was to preach that morning, at St. Laurence's church, near Guildhall, an anniversary sermon for the London Hospital. 'Then, sir,' said I, 'I shall certainly attend him.' 'I wish you would,' replied he, 'and bring me an account of all particulars. I believe I know the discourse; it is a favourite one; but I could have wished that his lordship would have substituted some other;' then, hesitating, he added, 'but it is, perhaps, of little consequence, for he does not always adhere to what

is written before him; his rich imagination is ever apt to overflow.' I was introduced into the vestry by a friend, where the Lord Mayor and several of the governors of the hospital were waiting for the late duke of York, who was their president, and in the meantime the bishop did everything in his power to entertain and alleviate their impatience. He was beyond measure condescending and courteous, and even graciously handed some biscuits and wine on a salver to the curate who was to read prayers. His lordship, being in good spirits, once rather exceeded the bounds of decorum, by quoting a comic passage from Shakespeare in his lawn sleeves, and with all his characteristic humour; but, suddenly recollecting himself, he so aptly turned the inadvertence to his own advantage, as to raise the admiration of all the company. Many parts of his discourse were quite sublime, and were given with due solemnity; but a few passages were, as in his celebrated Triennial Charge, quite ludicrous; and when he proceeded so far as to describe some charitable monks who had robbed their own begging boxes, he excited more than a smile from most of the audience. 'Though certainly, sir,' said I, 'there was much to admire; yet, upon the whole, to speak the truth, I was not sorry that you were absent, for I well knew that you would not have absolutely approved.' 'Approved, sir!' said he; 'I should have agonized.'

He must often have "agonized;" being associated with the exuberant bishop, not only by private intimacy, but by official connection. Warburton appointed him to the archdeaconry of Gloucester, which he held for seven years. It was a useful connection, for the archdeacon's influence over his patron, and his watchful and adroit use of it, were often observed by those who saw rising storms averted, and an inoffensive turn given to unguarded sallies. Mrs. Warburton sometimes knew the comfort of his presence. "I am glad you are come," she cried, as she welcomed him on one of his arrivals; "I am glad you are come to pour some of your oil upon the bishop's vinegar." It will readily be imagined how different they were in all their ways:—

"The one could read none but the 'best things,' the other would send to the circulating libraries for basketfuls of all the trash of the town, and would laugh by the hour at all the absurdities he glanced at. The one would go to Bath from Prior Park on a scrub pony; the other, when he went from Worcester to Bristol Hot Wells, was attended by twelve servants, not from ostentation, but, as he thought, necessary dignity annexed to his situation and character.' (p. 126.)

It is singular that there is no record of Hurd's feelings on the death of his friend, which took place four years after his own elevation to the episcopate. He left him in charge of his affairs, and, in the document which (in Warburton's works) closes the long correspondence, he says, "I do also press and conjure him to take under his particular care and protection my dear wife, in memory of, and in return for, the warm and sincere affection I have always borne to him." But this charge

was not very onerous, as Mrs. Warburton very soon provided care and protection for herself by marrying her husband's chaplain, Mr. Stafford Smith. In Mr. Kilvert's book the only mention of Warburton after his death is as "the good man;" and there is a similar absence of expression of feeling in regard to others with whom Hurd had been most closely connected. Some of his letters to Warburton, as those at the time of his father's illness and death, indicate more tenderness of feeling than can be gathered from anything in this memoir.

Hurd was made bishop of Lichfield in 1774, and seven years later was removed to Worcester, the vacancy being made on each occasion by the translation of Dr. North, the minister's brother. It certainly appears in all the steps of his advancement that promotion came to him rather than was sought. In Mason's poem, when a country rector, he was "*shaded by contentment's wing*" (which, though we have never seen it, we apprehend to be sufficiently wide to cover country parsonages in general); but, even in his London life, and in the current of affairs, there are no symptoms of restlessness or ambition; and his friends seem always to feel that his preferment is less interesting to him than to themselves. George III. assigned the appointment to his own admiration of the "*Moral and Political Dialogues*." "These," said he, "made Hurd a bishop. I never saw him till he came to kiss hands." The book had probably more to do with another appointment. The "*Dialogue on the British Constitution*" stamped him in the king's mind as eminently qualified to direct the education of a future sovereign. In 1776 he was made preceptor to the prince of Wales and the duke of York.

This appointment has a kind of national importance, and we wish it could be said to have led to anything good. The characters of the pupils are not to be charged on the tutor; but the king's intentions were generally better than his judgment, and certainly it did not shine here. Bishop Hurd was a pure, upright, refined, and cultivated man; but, of all men to whom these epithets would apply, he seems to us to have been the last to obtain an influence over such boys as were committed to his care, or over any boys whatever. His singular want of sympathy made it impossible for him to understand them, and there was nothing to engage their affections in his coldness, reserve, and preciseness. His mind had neither the genial character which would have attracted, nor the originality which would have interested, nor the vigour which would have subdued them; and without one or other of these qualities a man is not likely to get any hold upon young minds. George III. was not singular. Many parents commit the same error that he did, when he chose as preceptor of his sons a respectable, conscientious, and cultivated man, whose manners pleased him,

and whose views he approved, but who had nothing in his nature by which young minds could be influenced or attracted.

There is scarcely anything in the Memoir which throws light on this connection with the royal family. So cautious a man would not be likely to let much escape him. He writes to Dr. Balguy immediately after his appointment: "The young princes (I do not say it for form's sake, or in the way of compliment) are extremely promising. Something like a plan of studies is projecting, and will be wanted in no long time, and we shall not satisfy ourselves without your advice." A few months later we get a solitary glimpse at this plan of studies:—

"Dr. Ogden sent me his sermons on the Articles of the Christian Faith. I am delighted with them. I sent him word I should put them into the princes' hands, when they had finished archbishop Secker."

Alas! poor princes! Secker is not endless. He will in due time be finished. But Ogden waits for you with fourteen sermons. And after Ogden we know not who; but we dimly see them coming—the long procession of "judicious divines." The preceptor is "delighted" with them—are the pupils delighted too? Are they (according to his own account of the object of sermons) "persuaded to the practice of what they knew confusedly before? or confirmed in their belief by pathetic representations?" We fear not.

In the Addenda at the end of the Memoir, we find two notices of the mutual impressions of the teacher and the taught. A gentleman writes that his grandmother, a relation of the bishop, used to stay at Hartlebury, and that she said to him one day, as they were sitting together,—

"'How do you think your pupil, his royal highness the prince of Wales, will turn out?' 'My dear cousin,' he replied, laying his peculiarly small, white hand upon her arm, 'I can hardly tell; either the most polished gentleman, or the most accomplished blackguard, in Europe: possibly an admixture of both.'" (p. 378.)

Just before, we have a conversation between the prince of Wales and Dr. Parr, which took place at the duke of Norfolk's table, in the presence of Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, and a large party of distinguished persons:—

"The name of the archbishop of York having been mentioned, the prince observed: 'I esteem Markham a much greater, wiser, and more learned man than Hurd, and a better teacher; and you will allow me to be a judge, for they were both my preceptors.' 'Sir,' said Dr. Parr, 'is it your royal highness's pleasure that I should enter on their comparative merits as a subject of discussion?' 'Yes,' said the prince. 'Then, Sir, I differ entirely from your royal highness in opinion.' 'As I knew them both so intimately,' replied the prince, 'you will not deny that I had the power of appreciating their comparative merits

more accurately than you can have had. In their manner of teaching you may judge of my estimation of Markham's superiority—his natural dignity and authority compared with the bishop of Worcester's smoothness and softness: and I now add, with proper submission to your authority on such a subject, his experience as a schoolmaster, and his better scholarship. I declare that Markham understood Greek better than Hurd; for when I read Homer, and hesitated about a word, Markham explained it himself, and then he went on; but when I hesitated with Hurd, he always referred me to the dictionary; I therefore conclude that he wanted to be informed himself.' 'Sir,' replied Parr, 'I venture to differ from your royal highness's conclusion. I am myself a schoolmaster, and I think that Dr. Hurd pursued the right method, and that Dr. Markham failed in his duty. Hurd desired your royal highness to find the word in the lexicon, not because he did not know it, but because he wished you to find by search, and to learn it thoroughly. Dr. Hurd was not eminent as a scholar, but he would not have presumed to teach your royal highness without knowing the lesson himself.' 'Have you not changed your opinion of Dr. Hurd?' exclaimed the prince. 'I have read a work in which you attacked him fiercely.' 'Yes, sir, I attacked him on one point which I thought important to letters; and I summoned the whole force of my mind to do it, for I consider Hurd to be a great man. He is celebrated as such by foreign critics, who appreciate justly his wonderful acuteness, sagacity, and dexterity in doing what he has done with so small a stock of learning. There is no comparison, in my opinion, between Markham and Hurd, as men of talent. Markham was a pompous schoolmaster—Hurd was a stiff and cold, but correct gentleman.' (p. 373.)

Of Dr. Hurd's episcopate there seems nothing to be said. In the duties of the office, as then understood, Mr. Kilvert makes no doubt that he was "scrupulously exact;" and he adds the observation, that it would be unjust to apply the standard of modern times to a period when "the most zealous prelates were content with holding their triennial visitations, and their ordinations and confirmations at the accustomed seasons." The office was then a dignity, now it is a work; and the altered feeling in regard to it is one of our most obvious tokens for good. This episcopate lasted for twenty-seven years, longer than that of any other bishop of the see from the reformation to the present day. After he had been at Worcester for seven years, he was pressed by the king to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury; but he declined a charge "not suited," as he thought, "to his temper and talents;" and, partly by his recommendation, it was given to Dr. Moore, bishop of Bangor.

The chief event which is recorded in the following years is the visit with which he was honoured by the king and queen in 1788, first at Hartlebury Castle, and then at the palace at Worcester. The chief monument which he has left is the library at Hartlebury, a gallery of eighty-four feet in length, which he built

for the reception of bishop Warburton's books. It still bears witness to the character of its founder, by a device which intimates that "to think soberly" was, in his judgment, the highest attainment for a writer and a man. That he built a library, received a king, and refused an archbishopric, are facts to be recorded in a man's life; but there were, perhaps, other things which, if they could have been recorded, might have pleased us more. His habit of preaching in his own parish, his liberality of sentiment, and perhaps a deeper feeling still, are preserved in an anecdote extracted from the *Life of Lady Huntingdon* :—

"The venerable Dr. Hurd, bishop of Worcester, being in the habit of preaching frequently, had observed a poor man remarkably attentive, and made him some little presents. After a while, he missed his humble auditor, and, meeting him, said, 'John, how is it that I do not see you in the aisle as usual?' John, with some hesitation, replied: 'My Lord, I hope you will not be offended; but I will tell you the truth. I went the other day to hear the Methodists; and I understand their plain words so much better, that I have attended them ever since.' The bishop put his hand into his pocket and gave him a guinea, with words to this effect: 'God bless you; go where you can receive the greatest profit to your soul.'" (p. 261.)

We must not stay to glean the traits of kindness or the tokens of honour which belong to a mild old age. He lived beyond the common lot of men, and died in his eighty-ninth year. Yet how quickly the shadows fall! In human life the longest day has but the longest twilight. An even and peaceful private life, a public place of honour, a fair and reverend aspect, gave a charm to the period of decay. But the beauty and dignity of old age fade into its infirmities and humiliations; and these came thickly upon him. It is always a touching thing, after following the course of a long life, to watch the increasing symptoms of failing powers and of altered relations to the outward scene. The correspondence flags; letters can no longer be addressed to those who can receive them no more; and those that are written to the few friends who survive are rare and brief. Literary and public interests cease to animate the mind. The world around is not *the* world to which the man belonged. There are gleams of his former self; but the natural tendency is to a darker view of present things, and a sadder tone of thought; till the expression of thought becomes too great an effort to be made amid the sore trials of bodily decay.

Let us turn for a moment into the old man's room. He records his birthday of 1799 :—

"By God's great mercy, enter this day, Jan. 24, 1799, into my eightieth year. Ps. xc. 10. But see 1 Cor. xv. 22; Rom. viii. 18; 1 Pet. i. 3—5. 'Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift.'"

Entries in his common-place book, made, in the three or

four last years of his life, in a feeble and tremulous hand, speak on such topics as these :—

“Human life.”—Subject to many pungent sorrows, restless and unsatisfied—abounding in sin and misery. *Long life and its inconveniences.*—One of which is, that it brings us acquainted with the moral and physical defects of ourselves and others. But let us not complain. It serves, by the wise disposal of a good Providence, to dissolve, or at least to loosen, our connection with this world :—

‘Till, half by reason, half by mere decay,
We welcome death, and calmly pass away.’

“Providence.”—How comfortable is the idea of living under the constant eye and care of an Almighty and all-gracious Providence; and with what horror must we regard a Fatherless world !—

‘Omnipotens fortuna et ineluctabile fatum.’

Not a sparrow falls to the ground without our Father; and as to us, ‘the very hairs of our head are all numbered.’ Why, then, be elated and dejected by what takes place in this mysterious economy and shifting scene? O ye of little faith, *ολιγόπιστοι!* *Change.*—Religion, morals, taste, everything changes. Here we have no abiding city. Should we not be more solicitous to seek one to come, in which there is no variableness or shadow of changing? *Death.*—It was nobly said by the Constable de Montmorenci, mortally wounded, and on his death-bed, in his eightieth year, that ‘it would be a shame for a man who had endured life so long not to bear dying for a quarter of an hour.’ What a poor business is the first Tusc. Disp. of Cicero de *Contemnendâ Morte*. Man is wretched here, and nothing hereafter. Sad consolation! The supposed painful struggles of death are its chief horrors. For, through the boundless mercy of GOD in CHRIST JESUS, all but the wilfully impenitent and unbelieving have good hope of what is to follow—

‘Hope travels through, nor quits us when we die.’”

His old and faithful friend, Sir E. Littleton, wished to come and see him. “You know,” he replied, “what my answer would be to your kind letter, if I were able to give any to my mind. But the time is now over, and I am so weak, in all senses, and decline so rapidly, that I can encourage no friend to come into this gloomy scene.”

It was more than a year after he had written thus, that, on the 28th of May, 1808, he died in his sleep without a groan.

As we thus watch a prolonged life sinking to its gradual close, distinctions turn to vanities, and a deep shadow rests upon the scene. But something is discerned beyond—

“Along the low, dark verge of life,
The twilight of eternal day.”

Fainter it is, and more pale than we have often seen it; but the degree of *visible* brightness is not the measure of the reality

of the hope itself; we are assured that in former times, and in certain schools of thought, words which may sound cool, or formal, or confused, have often been the expression of a stronger faith and a warmer love, than would be suspected by those who are accustomed to the more distinct and fervent language of later piety. Yet if some causes of dimness appear, it is right to note them. One at least is suggested by some words which have just been quoted. If we follow out that suggestion for a moment, it will not be thought that we wish to carp at the dying words of an aged Christian bishop, who had borne some part in defending the faith, and, as far as he knew the truth, had consistently maintained it. Speaking of Christian hope, he puts it thus:—“*Through the boundless mercy of God in Christ Jesus, all but the wilfully impenitent and unbelieving have good hope of what is to follow.*” This is not a casual expression; it was, in his time, a general way of speaking—the common way in which a preacher would represent the subject. It might appear nearly the same thing to say, that there is good hope for all who are not wilfully unbelieving, and to say that there is good hope for those who believe. But there is a great difference between the negative and the positive, and these two expressions symbolize very different modes of thought, leading to two different habits of personal religion, and two different systems of ministerial activity. “All but the wilfully impenitent and unbelieving.” It was not a way of speaking fitted to awaken men’s souls. How large would the one class naturally appear! how small the other! How few would feel that the latter description applied to them! A man who in his profession and habits was like the world in general, would quietly suppose himself among the “all,” not amongst “the wilfully impenitent and unbelieving,” and would acquiesce in a “good hope of what was to follow.” Where the reality of penitence and faith existed, this negative standard would tend to reduce them to a dormant and feeble state. The view which it would give of the common condition of men would not be such as to awaken any very active endeavours for their instruction in righteousness or their conversion. It would almost appear better to abstain from a course of action which might possibly convert an ignorance to be excused into a “wilfulness” which must be condemned. If, on the other hand, the positive side of the question is habitually presented, in the need of a living faith, of a conscious, active apprehension, by each man for himself, of the covenant and mercy of God in Jesus Christ, the effect is very different. Here is a definite condition of heart, corresponding to the revelation of divine love and grace in Christ; and if this be necessary, a claim is made which is not easily evaded, and which pleads with the conscience with an awakening and convincing power; the heart, where faith exists, is drawn continually to seek a fuller

experience of its power and effects ; while the evident absence of this spiritual life among the mass of men is a constant call to evangelical effort and ministerial labour.

We believe no one will deny that these two ways of thinking, which we have described as the negative and the positive, characterized respectively the religion of the age in which bishop Hurd flourished, and that of the time in which we live ourselves. It would not be difficult to show how fundamental this difference is, and how naturally the one principle developed itself in a constant discussion of evidences, and demands for the reformation of manners ; while the other is carried out by preaching the doctrines of the gospel, and insisting on a change of heart. But as bishop Hurd's part in the history of theology was far from prominent, we are not called to pursue the subject. It will be better to conclude with one remark, which is both fair to our predecessors and profitable for ourselves ; namely, that the substance of a man's personal religion is not to be entirely estimated by the complexion which it derives from his times. It is right to recognize the fact that many who were accustomed to the language and the manner of the negative period were solid and genuine in their personal faith and love. It still more concerns us to remember, that the gospel in the age is not the gospel in the man ; and that the language of distinct doctrine, a familiarity with spiritual sentiments, and a support of evangelical enterprises, may sometimes only colour a personal religion which is itself negative and unreal.

THE CONVOCATION: THE NEW CANON, AND THE ESSAYS AND REVIEWS.

1. *Reports of Debates in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. Times, Feb. 27th, 28th, March 1st, 4th, &c.*
2. *On the Repeal of the XXIX. Canon of 1603. The Opinions of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Q.C., Sir Hugh McCalmont Cairns, Q.C., Mr. A. J. Stephens, Q.C., and Mr. Richard Jebb, on behalf of the Lord Archbishop of Armagh. Rivingtons, London ; Hodges and Co., Dublin. 1861.*

THE champions of synodical action in the church of England have triumphed. A convocation has met at last. It is not merely, to use the familiar illustration, the sharp end of the wedge that is inserted. Successive blows have riven the tough root of dislike, or prejudice, or constitutional mistrust, or whatever we may please to term it. The opponents of convocation,

amongst whom we have always ranked ourselves, are apparently beaten. Whatever powers belonged to any former convocation belong to the convocation of 1861, provided, that it is properly constituted, in accordance with the rights of the church in Ireland, in India, and the colonies. It has met under her majesty's license, and the principle is conceded. Convocation assumes to take its place amongst the institutions of the state; and it is no secret that those who have triumphed so far intend to pursue their victory. They will now demand the royal license, not for a particular object, but for general purposes. It is to no purpose to reply that convocation, after all, is impotent; that it can pass no law without the concurrence of parliament, for it never could do so: not even before the reformation. It is, if properly constituted, in full possession, on one point, at least, of all the power that convocation ever wielded in England, except only the right of taxing the clergy, which it has abandoned since the revolution of 1688, and which, indeed, we believe it has not exercised since the restoration of Charles II.

It is a convocation, such as England has not seen since the days of bishop Hoadley. After the slumber of a century and a half, the ancient convocation has woken up. Hitherto it has been a mere pretence; it has now become a reality; and we are bound to accept it as a synod, assembled under the express warrant of the Supreme Head of the church on earth. We will endeavour to accept our defeat submissively, and to do justice to this venerable tribunal. If it maintains its proper character, it will, indeed, become our bounden duty to treat it with respect. If, on the other hand, its deliberations should appear to us unworthy of the church of England, or damaging to the cause of pure religion, we shall not hesitate to speak of it in such terms as we may think it shall deserve. A national synod, to make itself respected, should, under any circumstances, exhibit the features of piety, learning, sound sense, and *practical wisdom*. Under a popular government such as ours, it should be careful never to provoke a collision with other branches of the legislature; it should be careful to assert no privilege that it cannot sustain; it should affect no power which it does not really possess; it should cultivate to the utmost a spirit of harmony within the church itself; and even when it deals with her infirmities and errors, it should be without arrogance, but still with firmness and with a decided hand; and when it has occasion, if that should ever be the case, to meddle with dissent, it should be with courtesy and caution. If our convocation displays such qualities as these—and, we think, every reasonable man will allow that they are, all of them, essential—then, whatever we may think of its constitution, its proceedings are entitled to respect.

Her Majesty's license, then, authorizes the convocation of the

province of Canterbury to repeal the 29th canon of 1603, and to substitute a new canon, "provided that such canon shall not be contrary or repugnant to the orders and services of the church of England already established; and provided also that the said canon shall not be of any force or effect until by letters patent under the great seal it shall be confirmed." Incidentally, it does more than this; for, in giving convocation "authority to make, from time to time in the present parliament, any agreements upon and concerning the repeal of the canon aforesaid," it confers upon it the right of prolonging its sittings till parliament shall be prorogued. Hitherto it has sat but three times a-year; it may now sit till August or September. After five days of actual business, it stands adjourned to the 14th of May.

The convocation first met on the 26th February, and, the license being read, the bishop of Oxford at once moved the alteration of the canon, which every reader knows, as it now stands, provides that there shall be three sponsors for every child baptized, the parents who bring the child for baptism being expressly forbidden to act in that capacity. His lordship moved, that the canon should be so altered as "to allow the parents of the child to act as sponsors together with one friend, thus making the three sponsors required by the rubric of the church." We are so far from objecting to the change, that we should rejoice to see the whole code of canon law amended and revised, and no small part of it consigned, if that were possible, to lasting oblivion. We agree, too, with the bishop of Oxford, "that for four hundred years after Christ it was a matter of ordinary rule that the parents should bring their own children for baptism, and that they themselves should answer for the child's nurture in the Christian faith," sponsors being probably introduced in times of persecution, that there should be some one to train the child in religion in case of the parents being cut off by persecution or untimely death. His lordship is reported to have spoken thus:—

"To say, as had been said, that the proposed new canon would be contrary to the *lex* and *consuetudo* of this country, his lordship proceeded to show, by a very elaborate argument, was erroneous. During Puritan times a very dangerous error grew up, namely, that nobody but a parent could present his own child for baptism. This was founded upon the doctrine of election, the theory being that an elect parent should present his own elect child. To bear witness against this growing and dangerous limitation of God's great gift of baptism, the alteration was made. Now came the question whether it was expedient for them to maintain the alteration from the primitive use. He thought it was inexpedient for many reasons. It seemed to him that the present danger of limiting the gifts of God in baptism was the notion, that the spiritual gifts of baptism depended on the actual

faith of the sponsors then and there present. Such a view was diametrically contradicted by the services of the church of England, which laid down that, if necessary, a minister might by himself baptize a child, and that his act would not be altered by the fact that he was an ungodly man. Moreover, the church declared, immediately after the baptism, 'Seeing that this child is regenerate,' &c., marking thereby that, whatever meaning was to be put upon the word 'regenerate,' the benefits of baptism were conferred in virtue of the church, and not in virtue of the sponsors then and there present."

Before we take up the question of the legality of the proposed change, and consider whether it be contrary to the *lex* and *consuetudo* of this country, we must call attention to the historical and doctrinal statements in the passage we have quoted. It is the more necessary to do so, because they appear to have had the sanction of the upper house, and to have met with no contradiction in the lower; and it is of some importance that the public should be made acquainted with the views of an ecclesiastical assembly, whose influence is likely for the future to be considerable in the united church of England and Ireland. His lordship, then, maintains, and convocation, by its silence, assents to the proposition, that it was a very dangerous error which had grown up in Puritan times, that none but a parent could present his own child for baptism—an error founded on the doctrine of election; the "theory being, that an elect parent should present his own elect child;" and he asserts that the alteration in the canon was made "to bear witness against this growing and dangerous limitation of God's great gift in baptism."

His lordship appears to us much more intelligible when he denounces what he supposes to be a Puritan error than when he enunciates what he takes to be the doctrine of the united church. The leaders of the Anglo-catholic party, as they love to style themselves, have frequently been asked, but always in vain, what precise meaning they attach to the word CHURCH when they speak of the faith which it possesses, in virtue of which a child is regenerated, or any other grace conferred. It appears to us it can have but one of two meanings: we have perplexed ourselves unsuccessfully to discover a third. It may mean that "congregation of faithful men" of whom the nineteenth article declares that it consists. Each member of this body has faith in God; and it is, at least, an intelligible proposition that, in consequence of their faith, God accepts the child, and makes it *regenerate* in baptism, "whatever meaning may be put upon the word." It is quite intelligible, too, that the presence of the parents acting as sponsors, might, so to speak, interrupt the flow of grace, and deprive the child of the spiritual blessing; and it is further intelligible that the divines of 1603 might have believed both of these propositions

to be true, and so have excluded the parents from the office, in order to secure the salvation of the child. We have not a very profound respect for their theology; we are of opinion, that not only the personal piety of the reformers, but their clear, deep, and comprehensive view of gospel truth was already obscured to some extent; but we should be doing injustice to their memory were we to admit, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, that their dislike of the Puritans, violent as it was, had driven them to such extremes. We believe, rather, that they merely fell back on an ancient canon from that growing deference to patristic authority, which, as every student knows, was a marked feature of the times; and we are confirmed in this view of the case by several considerations. One is, that the Puritans, during the reign of Elizabeth, did not object to the use of sponsors who were not related to the child; the utmost they required being, that the parents might not be forbidden to act as sponsors *together with them*. Neither the Puritans, nor the Nonconformists of a later age, went the length of maintaining that "none but an elect parent could present an elect child." "The Puritans, if parents were dead or in a distant country, were as much for sponsors to undertake for the education of the child as their adversaries; but when the education of children is by the laws of God and nature entrusted to parents, who are bound to form them to virtue and piety, they apprehended it very unjustifiable to release them totally from that promise, and deliver up the child to a stranger, as was then the constant practice." (Neal, Anno 1575. Vol. I. p. 194.) And the Nonconformists, at the Savoy Conference in 1661, were satisfied with this moderate demand: "We desire it may be *left free* to parents whether they will have sureties to undertake for their children in baptism or no." (Cardwell, "Hist. Conf." 323.) And, secondly, we think the bishop's explanation of their conduct inadmissible, because, in point of fact, the leading divines of the convocation of 1603 were themselves Calvinists of the purest water. Eight years only had elapsed since the nine Lambeth articles had appeared. They were drawn up by Dr. Whittaker, Master of St. John's, and published, as his own, by archbishop Whitgift. These articles, happily for the peace of the church, had been suppressed; not at the instance of the clergy, but by queen Elizabeth herself, acting, greatly to the annoyance of the archbishop and the high church party, at the instance of her privy council. We are not aware that the convocation of 1603 has left anything on record to show their distaste of Calvinism, or even their disapprobation of the Lambeth articles; and therefore we must be permitted to doubt whether the change were made "to bear witness against this growing and dangerous limitation of God's great gift of baptism," founded on the doc-

trine of election ; the theory, namely, that a pious parent may reasonably expect a blessing upon the infant whom in baptism he dedicates to a covenant God in Christ ; which is, we presume, all that the bishop means by " the theory of an elect parent presenting his own elect child."

There is, however, another sense in which the benefits of baptism may be supposed to be " conferred in virtue of the church, and not in virtue of the sponsors." It may seem scarcely necessary to mention it ; for it is impossible to believe that it could either be avowed by the bishop of Oxford, or entertained by any body of sensible men, much less by learned and thoughtful protestant divines. It is the theory which represents the church as an abstraction, or rather as a living, intelligent person, and then endows it with moral or spiritual qualities. This is the Roman catholic theory, according to which the church itself, as something viewed apart from its individual members, possesses a fund of grace, of which it avails itself in giving efficacy to the sacraments, and in various ways. It is enough to say of such a theory, not merely that it is without any warrant of scripture, but that it is irrational ; not that it is untrue, but that it cannot possibly be true. The reason is this : a corporate body may, by virtue of its incorporation, acquire a new legislative power ; it cannot possibly acquire a new intelligence. Twelve men, taken individually, may pass an opinion upon another man's conduct which is not worth a rush, although perfectly just. The same twelve men, formed into a jury, may pass the very same opinion, upon the same man, under precisely the same circumstances, and now their opinion consigns him to a dungeon, perhaps to a violent death. The fact of their incorporation has endowed them at once with a new power,—the power of sitting in judgment on life or death. But the mental qualities, or powers, of the twelve men are precisely what they were before. These have received no corporate augmentation. It is impossible they should do so ; for moral qualities pertain to the individual, not to the body corporate. We cannot even conceive of a body corporate as possessing a moral or spiritual quality. We talk of a corporation having a conscience, or no conscience at all, as the case may be ; but we mean no more than this,—that a corporate body will act with more courage, or more baseness, than its members would individually have displayed ; because each member shelters himself under the example and sanction of the rest.

Rome is so conscious of this, that she has long been accustomed to take refuge habitually under the fiction of the church being a personage, embodied in and represented by her own chief bishop. She sees in him a source or fountain of grace, which he distributes and renders efficacious. We do not say that this doctrine is maintained by her accredited authorities ;

but it is practically held by her devotees. The late Mr. O'Connell, for instance, when a dying man, was hurried into Italy, at his own earnest desire, to receive the papal benediction. He avowed,—and all pious Catholics applauded him,—his hope that a troubled conscience would find repose, not by virtue of the pope's pious exhortations, but solely by virtue of his blessing. Even a medal, on which the pope had breathed, sufficed, it was said, to give him consolation. The superstition is grievous, but the notion is, at least, intelligible. In the mouth of a protestant bishop it would not even possess that slight claim upon our attention. In the bright days of Tractarianism such notions were, from time to time, avowed by youthful Anglo-Catholics, some of whom have lived to be ashamed of their early follies; but it would require some courage to avow such opinions now, in an university in which a Mansell teaches metaphysics, and undergraduates discuss the dark problems so recklessly propounded by the Seven Essayists. Our twentieth article declares that "the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith;" but of its power to confer grace not a word is said, either in the articles, the canons, the homilies, the rubrics, or the book of common prayer. The Puritans objected fiercely to the article; what would they have said, could they have detected under the surface the Romish doctrine of a grace treasured in the church to be by the church doled out to infants or others in the sacraments? Up to this memorable year 1603, no such charge was made against the church of England, even by the most prejudiced of her assailants.

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that the question of the grace conferred through an officer of the church, acting according to his divine commission, is not at all affected by this conclusion. We agree with the bishop of Oxford, and with our article, that the efficacy of the sacraments does not depend upon the piety of the administrator. They are "still effectual;" not, however, because of the church's virtue, but for a very different reason—"because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men." (Art. 26.) The officiating minister is the channel of a blessing which comes not from the church, but from the Lord of the church Himself.

But we now turn to another subject—the right of convocation, even with the royal license, to alter or amend a single canon. The bishop of Oxford said that the proposed alteration could be legally made, and that to maintain the contrary was erroneous; "and this his lordship proceeded to show by a very elaborate argument." If he were successful, it was a masterpiece, both of learning and of forensic skill; for his lordship had to contend with no mean opponents. The primate of the Irish church, natu-

rally anxious on the subject, had submitted a case to one of the most eminent ecclesiastical lawyers of the times, Mr. A. J. Stephens, whose opinion—after a wide and masterly research, of the value of which few, perhaps, are competent to speak, except those who have been engaged in similar investigations—was against the right of convocation to interfere. He wished, however, “since his opinion was at variance, upon some important questions, with the views and resolutions of the Convocation of Canterbury, that other counsel should be consulted on the case.” It was, therefore, submitted to the joint opinion of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Q.C., Sir Hugh M’Calmont Cairns, Q.C., and Richard Jebb, Esq., who unanimously confirmed the opinion of Mr. Stephens. The case proposed was this :—

“1. Is that portion of the 29th Canon of the Convocation of Canterbury which enacts that ‘No parent shall be admitted to answer as godfather for his own child,’ *declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the church of England*?

“2. If that portion of the 29th Canon be altered or repealed by the Convocation of Canterbury, and the alteration or repeal be sanctioned by her majesty, would such alteration or repeal have the effect of relieving the members of the church in the province of Canterbury from the obligation now lying upon them in reference to sponsors?

“3. If the 29th Canon should be altered or repealed by the Convocation of Canterbury and York, what steps, if any, ought to be taken by the prelates and clergy of the Irish provinces, with a view to preserve uniformity of discipline throughout the united church?

“4. And you are requested to advise generally on the case.”

The importance of the first and second questions will be felt at once, when the following judgment by Lord Hardwicke, delivered in the Court of Queen’s Bench, in the case of *Middleton v. Crofts*, has been laid before the reader :—

“Upon the best consideration we have been able to give it, we are all of opinion, that the canons of 1603, not having been confirmed by Parliament, do not, *proprio vigore*, bind the laity. I say *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority: for there are many provisions contained in these canons, which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the church of England, received and allowed here, which, *in that respect*, and *by virtue of such ancient allowance*, will bind the laity: but that is *an obligation antecedent to*, and *not arising from*, this body of canons.’ And he further observes, that ‘No new laws can be made to bind the whole people of this land, but by the king, with the advice and consent of both houses of parliament, and by their united authority. Neither the king alone, nor the king with the concurrence of any particular number or order of men, have this high power.’ Neither can they bind the laity *in re ecclesiastica*.”

Mr. Stephens, in his learned argument, traces the subject

historically from the fourth century. He finds in the writings of Dionysius Areopagita, generally ascribed to that period, a recognition of sponsorship. In the Institutes of Justinian it is also mentioned ; the reason assigned for it, in both instances, being the same ; namely, that if the parents were but poorly qualified to teach the elements of divine truth, the children might have a claim for instruction from god-parents. Superstition was rampant in those days ; and in the sixth century it had become a law of the church that god-parents should not intermarry with each other or with the parents of the child. The absurdity of the prohibition is equalled by the absurdity of the reason assigned. They had contracted a spiritual wedlock. Their souls were already married to each other ; "*animæ eorum copulatæ sunt.*" Soon after, this spiritual relationship, and the impediments to marriage arising from sponsorship, were settled by general councils, with all that scrupulous nicety in which the church of Rome has ever delighted when treating on such delicate affairs. The council of Trullo, A.D. 692, regarded with pious horror the marriages which certain godfathers had contracted with certain widows to whose children they stood in the relationship of sponsors. They denounced the crime as fornication, and inflicted on it the punishment due to fornicators. The superstition of "spiritual affinity," still gaining ground, travelled into Britain at a very early date ; and Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 673, denounced these alliances of sponsors as something worse than fornication. It had now grown into incest ; only to be atoned for by eight years of penance, and the separation of the offenders. The peculiar relationship between godfathers and godsons is recognized in the laws of Ina, A.D. 688—728, "in a way which shows that the custom of presenting children for baptism by the hands of others, and not of their parents, prevailed in England at that time." Nor had the superstition yet reached its full dimensions. Sponsors were now required at confirmation as well as at baptism ; in both cases spiritual affinity was contracted ; and parents were expressly forbidden to act in either. The council of Mayence, A.D. 813, ordained that if either of the parents became sponsors for their own children, they should be immediately divorced. This rule, however, seems to have led to curious results : the wife or husband, if discontented with their mate (but the canon discourteously charges the crime especially on the softer sex) appeared, by stealth, at the font, and so at once got rid of the obligations of their marriage contract ! The second council of Chalon-sur-Saône, A.D. 813, put an effectual stop to these proceedings : it inflicted on the lady a penitence which lasted for her life, and refused her a divorce from her husband.

To return to England. Mr. Stephens proves that the dogma of a spiritual affinity between sponsors, and the impediment of

marriage arising from thence, were recognized universally in England and Ireland for more than five hundred years, down to the period of the reformation. He gives extracts from the laws of king Ethelred in the ninth century; from those of king Canute in the tenth; and from those of king Henry I. in the eleventh. He shows that "according to the baptismal service in the use of Sarum it was impossible for parents to become sponsors for their own children, and this was the form generally used in England from A.D. 1090, and in Ireland from A.D. 1172." He confirms the argument by citations from the canons of the council of Durham A.D. 1220. From those of the council of Oxford A.D. 1222, and again A.D. 1322. From a decision of the synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287, and from the *Pupilla Oculi* of John de Burgo, A.D. 1385, "a work of the very highest authority on the laws ecclesiastical which were in force in England at that period. And it is to be noted," says Mr. Stephens, "that in all these canons it is taken for granted, that the exclusion of parents from sponsorship at baptism was already recognized as the rule and custom of the church."

Thus, then, stood the canon law at the reformation; nor did the reformers attempt to alter it; they satisfied themselves with a declaration in the *Reformatio Legum*, that the doctrine of spiritual affinity, so called, could neither be proved by scripture nor by any sound arguments, and that it formed no impediment to marriage. And they expressly abolished the absurd prohibition which had hitherto forbidden parents even to be present at the baptism of their own children; this they did in certain "advertisements" set forth by the royal commission in 1564.

The question before the reader,—the question before the learned counsel, whose opinions were given on behalf of his grace the archbishop of Armagh,—is not whether the twenty-ninth canon, as it now stands, be good or bad, but simply whether the convocation of 1861, even with the queen's license, has the power of altering it. On that point these learned gentlemen are unanimous. Mr. Stephens is "of opinion that the mere repeal of the twenty-ninth canon by the convocation of Canterbury, notwithstanding the assent of the queen, would not release the clergy and laity of that province from the obligation imposed on them by virtue of the ancient custom or law in respect of sponsors." The other counsel concur. They say:—

"Having regard to the provisions contained in the book of common prayer annexed to the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4.; and having regard as well to the state of the canon law at the time of the passing of that Act, as to the ancient usage and law of the church of England; we are of opinion, that any alteration or repeal of the twenty-ninth canon, such as is proposed by the convocation of Canterbury, would not, even if sanctioned by her majesty,

have the effect of relieving the members of the church, lay or clerical, in the province of Canterbury, from the obligation, which we think now exists, that a child shall be presented for baptism by sponsors being persons other than its parents."

The learned counsel were further of opinion that under these circumstances, it was not necessary for the church of Ireland to take any proceedings whatever. It cannot regard the new canon as in any way affecting it.

We have given, of necessity, but a brief sketch of Mr. Stephens' cumulative historical proofs and very learned argument. To us they seem unanswerable. The bishop of Oxford endeavoured to show that the repeal of the canon and the introduction of a new one in its place, on the authority of convocation, and without being ratified by the two houses of the legislature, "violated no law of England, or ancient and legal custom." It appears to us that it does both. It places the sovereign in an unconstitutional position. Instead of relieving, it burdens the consciences of the clergy. If they obey the new canon, they will disobey the law. If they disobey the convocation, they will affront the sovereign. The canon has been thrust into needless importance, when it was quietly dying out. There is not a clergyman in England, nor a bishop on the bench, who does not habitually regard many of the canons, we might say most of them, as defunct and obsolete. Why should not the twenty-ninth have been allowed to share in the same indulgence? We ourselves have so treated it for many years; and we have done so at the suggestion of one who still adorns the episcopal bench. The bishop of London spoke with much caution on the question of the revival of convocational powers, which he confessed that he regards with anxiety. But, if it must be so, he thought the twenty-ninth canon a subject on which it could possibly do no harm, and "that they should even be able to show that those alarms that had filled his own mind, as well as others, had no foundation." We are obliged to differ from his lordship. Great mischief, we think, has been done already; how much, we shall be better able to tell when the proceedings of convocation come to be discussed, as no doubt they will be, in another assembly on the other side of Palace Yard. A copy of the opinions of the counsel of the Irish primate was in the hands of all the English prelates, it was in our hands, and it was published some time before the convocation met. Were the opinions of such men as Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Sir Hugh Cairns, Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Jebb, unworthy of their attention? Were they in possession of facts unknown to those learned jurists which rendered their opinions void? Or did they simply resolve to persevere, *fas aut nefas*, and try conclusions with the law itself? An incident occurred the next day which

seems to show in what degree of respect the convocation holds the opinion of men learned in the law, however eminent, or the wishes of her majesty's government, however clearly expressed. The convocation entertain a scheme for consecrating missionary bishops for places beyond the limits of our own colonial empire. The archbishop of Canterbury submitted, at the request of convocation, the question to the law officers of the Crown, namely, "Whether missionary bishops appointed to exercise episcopal functions beyond the limits of her majesty's dominions could be lawfully consecrated in this country." The answer he had received was signed by Sir John Harding, the Queen's advocate; Sir Richard Bethell, the attorney-general; and Sir W. Atherton, the solicitor-general. It stated that they were not aware of any statute or rule by which the archbishop of Canterbury or his suffragan bishops would violate any law by consecrating bishops in this country who were to exercise their episcopal functions beyond the limits of her majesty's dominions; but bishops so consecrated must not assume the status, style, or dignity of bishops while in her majesty's dominions. At the same time, they thought that such consecration in this country ought to be discouraged and deprecated. The secretary, in forwarding this opinion, added that Lord Palmerston and Sir George Lewis entirely concurred in the latter part of the memorandum." An answer so courteously, and yet so firmly given, would appear to have deserved some weight. The bishop of Gloucester and Bristol and the bishop of Norwich thought so; but the bishop of Oxford, making, as it seems from the report of his speech, no allusion whatever to the strongly-expressed wishes of the government, carried a resolution which, in point of fact, expresses the intention of convocation to force on the subject, whether the government approve or not. "The bishop of Oxford rose to move the appointment of a joint committee of both houses of convocation for the purpose of drawing up an address to his grace the president, praying him to put himself in communication with the various metropolitan bishops in the colonies as to the regulations which should govern the relations of missionary bishops to the home and colonial church."

The bishop of Norwich moved an amendment, expressing an earnest desire that no action might be taken until further communication had been had with the bishops abroad. A moderate demand, but even this was lost. The convocation had now sat two forenoons: on the first, they appear to have placed themselves in opposition to the law. On the second, they assume an attitude of defiance against her Majesty's legal advisers and the government.

We cannot dismiss this branch of the subject without expressing our deep regret that the bishop of Oxford should, in convocation, have needlessly raked up the old story about the Irish

articles of 1615. We have, however, no doubt that some leading member of the church in Ireland will expose the extraordinary notions of the bishop of Oxford upon that point: in fact, the Dublin articles of 1615 were not articles of communion, much less articles of faith (3 Stephens, *M.S. Irish Prayer Book*, xlii.)

We turn with more satisfaction to another subject: the subject of the "*Essays and Reviews*." They have now gained a notoriety of shame and infamy, and a discussion arose on this fresh danger to the church. It was introduced by the bishop of Oxford; and we pay his lordship no reluctant tribute when we say, that he spoke in a manner worthy of the occasion. The bench of bishops, as our readers know, had already given, through the archbishop of Canterbury, their condemnation of the *Essays* in the most decided manner. We are happy now to add, that the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin have added a protest of their own. Few will care to charge the venerable primate of Ireland with rashness, or Dr. Whately with a disposition to crush freedom of thought. Yet their censure is even stronger than that expressed by the archbishop of Canterbury. We are anticipating the course of events, as the Irish protest was not issued till a few days after the debate in the convocation, and therefore could not have influenced its proceedings. Their graces address the bishops of their provinces: "Our attention," say they, "has been called to a protest which has been issued by the prelates in England, in reference to a publication, entitled, '*Essays and Reviews*,' the production of professed members, most of them clergymen, of our church, and yet setting forth views manifestly at variance with its principles. We cannot doubt your strong disapprobation of the disingenuousness of such conduct. Even supposing the doctrines of our church to be as unsound as we firmly believe them to be the reverse, still it is directly opposed to the most obvious principles of morality for persons to continue professed members of the church, and perhaps enjoying the emoluments, while assailing those doctrines." This is a fair statement of the whole question. It is a dishonest act, base and cowardly; and would still be so, as their graces say, were the doctrines of our church as false as we believe them to be true. It is no dubious or difficult point to ascertain whether the principles advanced by the essayists are consistent with the Bible. It is a mere question of plain common sense, on which we do not believe the man lives who, reverencing the Bible as God's revelation, and having read the *Essays*, can entertain a doubt. We therefore repeat the expression of gratitude which we made a month ago to the English (and now, too, to the Irish) prelates, for the promptness of their censure. If this be called a prejudging of the

question, we reply, it is a question which ought to be prejudged. To pretend to doubt, to affect to hesitate, because no tribunal has yet sat, and no official condemnation been pronounced, would in us be consummate hypocrisy. Our faith, as Christians, does not stand upon the decision of any tribunal under heaven, civil or ecclesiastical. No condemnation of the Essays can, in the slightest degree, influence the judgment the whole church of Christ has already formed upon them. No verdict of acquittal can mitigate its hostility. The right reverend bench are set for the defence of the gospel; they are expressly bound to drive away erroneous and strange doctrines; and, so far, in the issuing of these two letters, they have merely executed their commission. As trustees for the church of England, entrusted with paternal authority, it seems to us they had no alternative. Shall a parent, if he detects his son in lying or some gross transgression, be forbidden at once to express his high displeasure? Must he be compelled to wait, to affect a calm indifference, and allow the example to taint each younger member of the family, and the offence to pass unnoticed until he has determined whether the offence had any mitigating circumstances, and what punishment it is proper to inflict? A tribunal there ought to be; not, however, to determine whether the Seven Essays are what Christian ministers may write without impiety—an impiety not far from that open scorn of revelation for which blasphemy is the usual designation—but simply whether the writers of them can be allowed to retain their honours and emoluments within the church of England. For, as to the principles avowed in the Essays and Reviews, we have not now to set ourselves to examine their truth or falsehood; we know them to be false. They are the old objections, the old scoffs, the old airs of lordly superiority, accommodated to the nineteenth century. And, to quote a fine sentence from Robert Hall, “the friends of Christianity have been too long in possession of the estate to be obliged to wrangle with every sophist as to the validity of the title.”

The Wesleyan conference sits with closed doors; it allows no reporters to be present. It gives the public none of its debates, and it is the only synod which has been able to maintain its ground in England since the reformation. If the convocation becomes permanent, it will soon be driven to follow the example; for a debate such as that in the upper house on the Seven Essays, will not often be repeated with impunity. We cannot describe the painful impression already produced throughout the country by the apologetic tone of the bishop of London; or the astonishment with which orthodox Christians within the united church, and without her pale, have read the declaration of the bishop of Lincoln, that “he had recently

admitted one of the writers, the Rev. Mark Pattison, B.D., to the rectorship of a college at Oxford. He had no power to refuse, as he was only acting ministerially; but if he had plenary power, he should not have thought it necessary to deny him admission in consequence of the essay he had written." It is natural that the bishop of London should wish to protect his friends, and he intimates that he is on terms of personal friendship with several of the writers, and that "he entertains for them the very liveliest regard." But we cannot understand on what ground his lordship proceeds, when he utters such sentiments as those which follow:—

"Separating, as he trusted he should always be able to do, the individual from his opinions, hoping, perhaps, against hope, that the individual might be recovered, however far he may have gone astray, he should indeed rejoice if an opportunity were afforded to all the writers of the *Essays* to make a public declaration of their belief in the great doctrines of Christianity. One of the writers, whose essay had been held to be most objectionable, had been generally supposed to take the form of putting forth the opinions of another rather than his own. He should be delighted to hear, greatly as it would impair his estimate of the judgment of that gentleman, that he did not himself hold what he wished to exhibit as the sentiments of another; and, with regard to all, he should be truly pleased if they could make such a public profession as that to which he had referred. In such a case, he should not allow himself to doubt their honesty, or trouble himself about their consistency."

His lordship, no doubt, (it is unnecessary to add the remark,) expressed his disapprobation of the essays very strongly; but this unwise attempt to palliate the moral offence of the writers is producing the most painful consequences. It signifies nothing when a man rushes with a firebrand in his hand amongst a hapless crowd, and dashes it in their faces, or throws its sparks into their barns and rick-yards, what particular cause has occasioned his insanity. Nor, as far as the consequences to others are affected, is it important to know whether he be merely insane or merely wicked. When placed on his trial his counsel may endeavour, if he please, to persuade the jury that he was neither the one nor the other. He would have a very ancient precedent in his favour for arguing that he was only a fool, and did it in mere sport. The bishop of London may be allowed, in private, to deplore the follies of his friends, and extenuate, if he can, their wickedness; but, surely, in his place in convocation, his duty to the church of Christ should supersede all private considerations. The apology which he suggests would, in our opinion, be more disgraceful to the writers; it would certainly be more nauseous to the public than the careless and impudent effrontery they have themselves assumed. Upright men of all parties—high

churchmen and low churchmen, Roman Catholics, Unitarians, unbelievers, the representatives of every shade of opinion—concur in this, that, while they remain with the church of England, and share her honours and endowments, they are dishonest men; and it is painful indeed to know that the bishop of London would retain them in the bosom, some of them in the ministry, of the national church upon any other terms than a public recantation of their errors, and a penitential acknowledgment of their sin. Well did the bishop of Oxford speak when he

“Ventured to say that few things could be more disastrous than that it should be supposed that any of the bishops thought it would be the slightest removal of objection to this volume if the writers, one and all, made a most solemn asseveration of holding the truth. The more people asserted that they held all the truth, and yet put openly forward what denied that truth, was, in his judgment, incompatible with all true belief in our Lord and Saviour, and rendered it the more dangerous.”

With regard to Mr. Mark Pattison, the new rector of Lincoln College, we have made the only apology for him which his case admits, in our review of the *Essays* in June last. On referring to it, we find that it very much resembles that which Addison tells us the kind-hearted country clergyman made for the sick infidel, who thought his last hour was come, and deplored the extensive mischief done by his pernicious writings. “Make yourself quite easy, sir,” said the benevolent old clergyman, “for I can assure you that your writings are so intolerably stupid, that no one ever reads them.” Of Mr. Pattison, we find we wrote thus:—

“The next essay, by Mr. Pattison, is the least effective and most perplexing paper of the seven. It professes to describe ‘the tendencies of religious thought in England in 1688—1750.’ It is prosy and dreary, and necessarily inconclusive. There is considerable difficulty in discovering or understanding the writer’s drift or aim. On the whole, we deem the paper so ineffective and innoxious, as not to require any separate or detailed examination.”—*Christian Observer*, June, 1860.

But this is not enough. The bishop of Exeter has put the matter in its proper light, in his recent letter to Dr. Temple, when he says:—

“I avow that I hold every one of the seven . . . alike responsible for the several acts of every individual among them, in executing their avowed common purpose. This judgment,” his lordship adds, “might, indeed, have been qualified in favour of any one of the seven who, on seeing the extravagantly vicious manner in which some of his associates had performed their part, had openly declared his disgust and abhorrence of such unfaithfulness, and had withdrawn his name from the number.”

And what follows is no less applicable to the head of a college than to the head master of Rugby :—

“You have not done this, although many months have elapsed since this moral poison has been publicly vended under your authority, and since the indignation of faithful Christians has openly stigmatized the work as of the most manifestly pernicious tendency ; above all, as a work which all who are specially intrusted, as you are, with the momentous responsibility of educating the youth of a Christian nation in the knowledge and obedience of Christian faith, ought in common faithfulness and common honesty to reprobate and denounce.”

Had the bishop of Lincoln wished to shake the confidence of parents in the security afforded by the university of Oxford for the wholesome instruction of their sons, and at the same moment to disturb the confidence of the clergy and of the church at large, in his own spiritual discrimination and capacity as a ruler, could he have done it more effectually than in this rash and most gratuitous remark ?

The upper house determined, wisely on the whole, to utter no formal condemnation of the *Essays and Reviews* until a committee was appointed to examine the volume, and report upon the heresies it contains. They have already given their opinion ; and we do not see that the expression of it again is of much importance. The question now is beyond their reach. It is not whether the *Essays* are bad, but whether the writers of them shall be allowed to remain in the church of England ? and this, convocation, which is not a judicial court, has not the power to determine. Some may even think, with the bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, that the censure of convocation will add nothing to the weight of public indignation ; nay, it might even blunt its edge. The bishop of Oxford, having moved for the committee, the bishop of Gloucester and Bristol replied that,

“As a matter of expediency he could not agree with the bishop of Oxford’s proposition. He thought that the fallacy on which the bishop of Oxford rested was, that convocation was the voice of the church of England. He denied that ; for the laity were not represented at all in convocation, and the clergy very inadequately. He believed that, with the exception of some few clergy and old women who read the *Guardian*, both clergy and laity would be much more satisfied that the expression of the bishops was the real expression of the church of England, than they would be by any document that might be sent forth by convocation.”

In the lower house a course was taken which throws considerable light upon the meaning of that venerable assembly when it boasts (as it is rather fond of doing) its freedom from the influence of party, its fairness in representing all parties—even the evangelical section of the church of England, above all, its own strong sense of justice. Amongst the arch-

deacons who contribute to its wisdom, and give dignity to its debates, there is one who lies under something more than the suspicion of holding and even teaching the doctrines of the church of Rome on the sacraments. He published a sermon, but a few years ago, in which those doctrines were avowed ; and as he bravely challenged opposition, a private clergyman stepped forward, in the silence of his own diocesan, as prosecutor, and brought a formal charge of false doctrine against the archdeacon in the Ecclesiastical Court. In doing this he was supported by the contributions of the really protestant members of the church, and the approbation of the whole of the evangelical party. Our readers will remember the case of Ditcher *versus* Denison. Now, however, the defendant, put upon his trial, instead of manfully defending the doctrines against which all comers had been challenged, took refuge in a legal subterfuge ; and if he is still the archdeacon of Taunton, the conviction is both wide and strong that he is so upon sufferance, and not by virtue of his innocence. He has not acknowledged his error, he has not regained the confidence of the public, nor even its respect.

The lower house determined to appoint a committee to sift the Essays and Reviews, with a view to further proceedings against the book and its authors. The prolocutor, it appears, has the right of nominating the committee. So prolocutor Bickersteth, archdeacon of Aylesbury, at once nominated archdeacon Denison as one of the committee ; and amidst the applauses of the lower house, and, as it appears, without protest or opposition, he was elected chairman. After convocation has given this signal instance of its consideration for the evangelical party, its admirable candour and its practical good sense, its decisions will be received by all parties with the respect which they deserve. The authors of the Essays will feel, no doubt, that it was fitting that the descending lash, with which they are threatened, should be placed in the hand of one who is himself a culprit. And archdeacon Denison will no doubt rejoice in the opportunity so kindly given him of reinstating himself in the confidence of all true protestant churchmen. To join in the hue and cry after a new heresy will be an admirable, if not a very novel, method of diverting attention from his own delinquency.

For our own part, we cannot, after such a specimen of the wisdom of convocation, put much confidence in its professions. We must caution archdeacon Sandford beforehand, not to calculate with too much certainty on the reception which his project of a Convocation "Hymnal" will meet with from the evangelical clergy and their congregations. It is very improbable that hymns such as they can use will be uttered by an assembly which listens with approbation to the dogmas of sacramental grace so complacently set forth in convocation.

The great "psalm singers" are the evangelical or low churchmen; and the convocation will have achieved a feat more difficult than the alteration of a canon, or even the suppression of the seven Essays and the punishment of their authors, if, in issuing their Hymnal, they do not make a far worse rent, and create a much greater evil, than that of which the archdeacon of Coventry now complains. "Let me make the *songs*," said a very wise man, "and I care not who makes the *laws*." Let the convocation reflect upon the consequences before they attempt to interfere with our songs of Zion.

Such are some of the proceedings of convocation during its first five days of session. We leave them to make their own impression, and feel ourselves relieved from the necessity of making any comment. Whether such a synod is likely to promote the cause of true holiness and pure religion,—whether its deliberations will conduce to the safety, honour, and welfare of the national church,—or whether, on the contrary, the elements of discord, doubt, and estrangement are not likely to be scattered far and wide—these are grave questions, which those who love the church of England will do well to consider.

POSTSCRIPT.—After the foregoing paper was concluded, we learned that the proceedings in convocation were reported more fully in the *Guardian* than in the *Times*. We therefore referred to it: and having done so, we took the liberty of addressing the following note to Mr. Stephens:—

London, March 20, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—As a private acquaintance, and as we are members of the same club, will you forgive my troubling you with the inquiry, whether, after perusing (as, no doubt, you have done) the reports of convocation published in the *Guardian*, you have any reason to doubt the accuracy of the conclusion at which you have arrived, as to the limited powers of convocation, in your opinion on the 29th canon on behalf of the archbishop of Armagh.

We subjoin Mr. Stephens' reply:— March 21, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your communication of the 20th instant, I beg to state, that I have carefully perused, as reported in the *Guardian*, the proceedings of the convocation of the province of Canterbury respecting Canon XXIX., and I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of the opinion I gave on behalf of the archbishop of Armagh.

I have however discovered another, and a very high, authority in support of my views, as to the limited powers of convocation, viz., the bishop of Oxford, who, in his Charge to the Diocese of Oxford in 1854 (p. 77, *second edition*), states, "When the two Houses [of Convocation] have agreed on any canon, it has, as we have seen, no validity, and cannot even be published, until the Crown has consented to it; nor can it have the effect of law until it has been ratified by the two Houses of the Legislature."—I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,

A. J. STEPHENS,
61, Chancery Lane.

To the Rev.——

Vol. 60.—No. 280.

UNFULFILLED PROPHECIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

“MOREOVER the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.” (Isa. xxx. 26.)

Since the days of Nehemiah, when the remnant of Judah returned, and set themselves to build again the walls of their beloved city, and were mocked by their heathen adversaries with the taunting words: “What do these feeble Jews? will they fortify themselves? will they sacrifice? will they make an end in a day? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burned?”—since those days there has not been even a partial binding up of the breach of his people, and there has been no healing of the stroke of their wound. And surely in no sense, moral, spiritual or literal, have that people enjoyed so glorious a light. These words of Isaiah, then, must refer to the final gathering and establishment of all Israel in their own land. But why does the prophet break off in the midst of these blessed anticipations? Why this sudden change of subject in the very next verse? “Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, burning with His anger, and the burden thereof is heavy: His lips are full of indignation, and His tongue as a devouring fire.” Evidently here is an enemy and an Antichrist to be first disposed of; nor are we left without many concurring testimonies to the same effect. All through the prophets, remarkable notices are given us of an expedition undertaken by some unprincipled parties against the countries of the east,—a confederacy to be developed in Europe, and afterwards to be cut off in the land of Palestine. See, for example, Dan. xi., Joel iii., Zech. xii., xiii., xiv. And these have two remarkable correlatives in the Apocalyptic visions:—one in chap. xvi., “And he gathered them together to a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon” (verse 16); the other at chap. xix. 19, “And I saw the beast,” &c.

Bishop Lowth has referred this prophecy (of Isa. xxx. 31) to the destruction of Sennacherib’s army; but the general tenor of the whole prediction leads us to look beyond that event. The great blessedness of Israel, consequent on this overthrow, by no means accords with the moderate prosperity of Hezekiah’s reign. Such vivid descriptions can only be applied to the glorious period of the final restoration. And if it be so applied, then the *Assyrian* must be a mystical character.

But if the Assyrian here spoken of be a name for the leader of the Antichristian party, and if this Antichrist makes common cause with the false prophet (Rev. xix. 20), and if the false pro-

phet be, as we affirm, the great teacher of Christian idolatry, there is no absurdity in supposing that he may have previously seduced and corrupted a portion of God's ancient people. The sentiments of the fathers on this subject are by no means undeserving of regard. They supposed that "*the Jews* will be the first who shall declare for Antichrist, acknowledge his dominion, and enjoy the principal employments in his government. He will win upon them by his delusions, his caresses, and false miracles, and by all the appearance of goodness, piety, and clemency; so that this unhappy people will take him for the Messiah, and will flatter themselves with the expectation of seeing the kingdom of Israel restored, by his means, to its former splendour." To speak plainly, any ambitious European power, wishing to consolidate itself in the east, might be supposed capable of settling a portion of the Jewish people in their own land, under conditions quite opposed to those foretold in the sure "word of prophecy." For, once restored, Jerusalem is to be called a *city of truth*. For "I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterwards thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city." (Isa. i. 26.) Having no conception of that awful corruption which was to bring back heathenism under the mask of Christ's church, these fathers supposed *the Antichrist* to be an individual of portentous wickedness; yet in all the accompanying circumstances of the crisis, especially as pointed out by the ancient prophets, they were perhaps as competent judges as ourselves. Among these prophecies we may notice that of the eleventh of Daniel: "He (the wilful king) shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown. . . . And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain." (41, 45.) Looking at this and similar passages, some have adopted without qualification the notions of the first three centuries, have put aside popery altogether, and maintain that a great infidel power is yet to arise, who shall fulfil in his own person all that is written concerning the "wilful king," the "man of sin," and the "beasts" of the Apocalypse. But we who cleave to the protestant interpretation of St. Paul's *falling away*, see every reason to conclude that these prophecies may yet have their final and full accomplishment in the ecclesiastical head of the Romish church, backed by the civil powers of Europe, the same powers which have hitherto corrupted the Roman earth.

But how are these things to come about? Present appearances inspire men with hopes and prospects for Italy, which cannot but rejoice the hearts of those who have longed for her civil and religious emancipation. And to see her liberated by a general uprising of her people, led on by chiefs who have hitherto shown themselves truly patriotic, was something beyond

what former revolutions might have taught us to expect. At such a crisis it seems a pity to indulge in dark anticipations, or to look through this fair vista and see a frowning Providence beyond. But, unwelcome as prophetic forebodings may be at such a juncture, we cannot doubt that He who has begun to show "the lighting down of His arm" will not withhold His hand till all be accomplished that is written. The ten kings having begun to hate the woman (the false church), and having brought her already to such straits that she is now questing for alms among the nations, is not this a pledge that the rest of her sentence will most surely take effect? The triple Tyrant, that to his admirers seemed sempiternal as the morning star, will surely be cast out of his world-renowned city; because "the Lord will spoil Babylon, and destroy out of her the *great voice*." (Jer. li. 55.) "Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord, which destroyest all the earth: and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and wilt make thee a burnt mountain. And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord." (verse 25.) Can the seat of the papacy, if prophetic denunciation be not a fable, ever become the throne of a protestant king?

Though politicians and statesmen may think little of the matter, the *all-important* question of the day is, Will popery be weakened, or rendered less mischievous to the nations, by what is now transpiring in Italy? We will venture a question in return. Has popery made no new conquests, gained over no new allies, seized upon no strongholds, which have made her, in a manner, independent of Rome? A reply shall be given in the words of the Quarterly Review:—

"After the wars of the great Revolution of '92, England, Russia, and Prussia were mainly instrumental in reinstating the bishop of Rome in the chair of primacy; the peace of Westphalia having all but reduced his dominions to those of a petty Italian prince. If these three powers had decided that the pope had ceased to reign, the Papacy would have been at an end."

This policy has been followed up, and

"The kingdom that was for more than three hundred years the bulwark of protestantism and the terror of popery — protestant England—alas! is now virtually one of the mainstays of the great apostasy."—*Idem*.

"It is demonstrable from the Scriptures that the Papacy survives the destruction of Babylon its seat; for we find the false prophet at the battle of Armageddon, in strict alliance with the beast, *after* the judgment has been executed upon Babylon. And now the Jesuits are at work throughout Europe, and, we fear, especially in the cabinet

of this once protestant kingdom, to prepare for that day."—*Cunningham*.

Surely it is a startling sign of change in our heavens to see protestant institutions and associations springing up on every side—needful defences thrown up around our once conquering reformation. It would be out of place here to trace this wretched declension to its source ; it is enough to say that British statesmen have been unable to resist the temptation of silencing the clamours of an *unscrupulous* party by lavishing on them place, patronage, and money. This dangerous game has heretofore been played on a *darkened* stage—Ireland ! But its promoters are assuming a bolder front ; and while light is springing up in other lands, it is being obscured or extinguished under many an English roof. None of your readers can be ignorant of the facts exposed to public view by the Protestant Association. "In schools, reformatories, workhouses, and prisons, Roman Catholic doctrines are being introduced, at an expense to this country of £273,810 a-year, making an aggregate sum, up to 1860, of £4,163,000 from protestant England !" The influence, the power, the status, conferred upon that corrupt church by this acknowledgment of her as a *co-pastor* of the sheep of Christ, throws into the shade any consideration of mere money value. We must also take into consideration, that never had popery such a field in any country as in free protestant Britain ; for our laws were framed upon the supposition, that "an oath for confirmation is an end of all strife ;" that all but the utterly reckless will revere the sanctity of an oath. But, unhappily, we in Ireland know that when the cause of a priest is at stake on the one hand, or of a heretic on the other, our boasted safeguard, trial by jury, proves but too often a mere mockery of justice.

People are apt to say, the Lord will overrule all this evil for good, to His own people. Doubtless He will, for His promise is pledged to that effect. But we must not deceive ourselves—that which men sow, that shall they also reap. There must be a crisis and a great struggle ere He "rid and deliver us from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood." (Ps. cxliv. 11.) We read, but, like Daniel, we *understand not* the intimations we find in Scripture, of chastening judgments in the latter end upon the people of the Jews. This cannot be ! we say :—it is not consistent with the promises to Israel. "Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and say unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned ; for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins." (Isa. xl.) But this promise is to take effect at an appointed time, and according to the election of grace. For though all Israel shall be saved *nationally*—raised up again as a nation, to show God's power and faithfulness : we can scarcely suppose they will, all of them,

be saved *individually*. For it is written, "I will pardon those whom I reserve." And, "I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant : and I will purge out from among you the rebels, and them that transgress against me : I will bring them forth out of the country where they sojourn, and they shall not enter into the land of Israel : and ye shall know that I am the Lord." (Ezek. xx. 37.) It would tend much to abate the scoffs of the unbeliever, who talks of "getting our Hebrew brethren into *rank* and *file*," and embarking them indiscriminately for the Holy Land, if those who lecture publicly on prophetic subjects, would diligently inquire into, and plainly declare, the whole counsel of God. We cannot suppose that the sons of Israel alone will escape the seductions of the *unclean spirits* that go forth through the whole earth to try the hearts of men ; more especially as they are at this moment mixing themselves up with the various forms of neology that deform the Christian world ? Shall there, indeed, be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation (Dan. xii. 1) ; and will Israel alone be hidden from the scourge ? This same verse of Daniel tells us the manner of their redemption—"At that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found *written in the book*."

"Come near, ye nations, to hear ; and hearken, ye people : let the earth hear, and all that is therein ; the world, and all things that come forth of it. For the indignation of the Lord is upon all nations, and His fury upon all their armies : He hath utterly destroyed them, He hath delivered them to the slaughter." (Isa. xxxiv. 1, 2.)

Most of us read and hear these awful denunciations as though they were limited to Israel of old ; and related chiefly to the by-gone days when Edom was denounced for his violence to his brother Jacob, and for all the wrongs he had done him. (Obad. verses 10, 14.) But so thought not our reformers, for the title they have given this chapter is—The judgments wherewith God avengeth His church. And surely nothing in the annals of past ages at all comes up to the devastations by fire and sword herein described : neither has the time yet come ; "For it is the day of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion." (verse 8.) Reason itself would teach us that these voluminous rolls of prophetic objurgation cannot possibly be limited to the small wars of Israel with her neighbours. And though Dr. Keith has set forth with abundant minuteness the fulfilment of the Divine threatenings upon the literal Edom, Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre, he acknowledges that we are to look for yet greater things than these :—"Though many prophecies have been fulfilled, others have to receive still further illustration, and some await their accomplishment in coming judgments. Past history has no

record of the mountains and villages of Mount Seir being filled with His slain; the ransomed of the Lord have not yet returned unto Zion; the whole earth does not yet rejoice, nor is Edom *alone* desolate." (Keith.) For though Israel be the people to whom all these things are spoken—for they alone had the "hearing ear," or the "understanding heart," in those days—yet Israel, we know, belongs to *all time*. The development of *her* history includes the sins and judgments of the European as well as of the Asiatic kingdoms. Therefore it is no marvel if, under the titles of the latter, the former be veiled.

"In this 34th chapter of Isaiah, taken together with the 35th, we find *some* restoration of the Jews as the consequence of some destruction of Edom. This, therefore, must be their yet future restoration—seeing the Edom, with whose overthrow it is connected, cannot be the literal Edom—because *her* overthrow was connected with no return of Israel." (Faber.)

We will venture, then, to assume, not dogmatically, but as the conclusion forced upon us by a diligent comparison of the prophets, that the mystic Edom of this prediction is the Roman empire, in the last stage of its existence; that is to say, when so organized as to have become one great confederacy under the influence of the great Antichristian leader.

It is worthy of notice that the learned among the Jews themselves have ever considered Edom as a type of *Rome*, or rather of the Roman *empire*. Thus Rabbi Kimchi asserts that, "Whatever the prophets have spoken of the destruction of Edom in the *last times*, they have spoken concerning Rome;" and he adds, "When Rome shall be laid waste, *then* shall be redemption for Israel." The last verse of the 4th chapter of Lamentations contains these remarkable words,—“The punishment of thine iniquity is accomplished, O daughter of Zion; He will no more carry thee away into captivity: He will visit thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom; He will discover thy sins.” Upon which the Targum makes this comment: “And after thine iniquities shall be accomplished, O daughter of Zion, thou shalt be delivered by the hand of Messiah; — and the Lord shall no more cause thee to migrate into other countries; and at that time I will visit thine iniquity, O Rome, which art built in Italy, and art full of the *troops* of the sons of Edom.”

Some may take exception at our assuming the fulfilment of Rev. xvii., from what is now transpiring among the papal princes of Europe. It may be objected that only a minority of the ten kings have as yet laid hands on the patrimony of St. Peter. But though some of the horns be at present passive, if the remainder fulfil their active will without effectual hindrance, the prediction is virtually fulfilled. Besides, the fulfilment is but commencing: we know not yet how many of those that tarry at home may joyfully help to divide the spoil.

And we must take into consideration a principle which is too much forgotten—the rapid development of every abnormal condition into something much more intense than it was at the beginning. We are warned of the speedy repentance of some of the ten, even respecting their passive submission; for they shall lament bitterly the fall of Babylon the Great, when they shall see the smoke of her burning.

Thus does the fifth angel pour out his vial upon the seat of the (ecclesiastical) beast; and they cease not to blaspheme the God of heaven (by worshipping the virgin and the saints). And what comes next? "The sixth angel pours out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof is dried up." Let Turkey but fall a little lower; let her lie on the ground helpless and pierced with wounds, and we shall see the birds of prey quickly pounce down upon that carcase of a once mighty empire. "Wheresoever the carcase is, there shall the eagles be gathered together." And though God's purpose be declared, that this drying up takes place, "that the way of the kings of the east may be prepared," who shall insure us against what another spirit may infuse into the kings of the earth, as regards that purpose? We have not far to seek to know how the unclean spirits work, even through the restless tongues and pens of those who make expediency and commercial prosperity their gods. "The nations shall rush like the rushing of many waters; but God shall rebuke them, and they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind." (Isa. xxvii. 14.) Like things we have seen in the days of the first Napoleon, when he mustered his hosts to the invasion of Russia; when the firm earth shook beneath the serried ranks of the embattled warriors, and Europe herself trembled as with the upheaving of an approaching earthquake. Of that unprovoked and wicked aggression upon the rights of nations, we do not hear that France and her *then* confederates have ever repented or confessed the guilt; but one thing is manifest!—That nations which are held in ignorance of God's testimonies, are ever ready for aggressive wars: it is but the fear of European combination against them that keeps such nations in check. But let us suppose a confederation of such nations to divide among them the provinces of a feeble power; above all, let the element of a religious crusade mingle with the views of territorial aggrandizement, and the *war-cry* of the false prophet be, "Let us take to ourselves the houses of God in possession:"—and here we have a vision of the fulfilment of Rev. xix. 19; as well as no small insight into Joel iii.,—"In those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them



there for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land."

When the mystic Assyrian, who is no other than the anti-christian head of the Roman Babylon, shall enter thus into the land of Palestine; when he shall tread down its palaces, and plant the curtains of his tents between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, then will the Lord fight for his people Israel as in the days of old, and deliver His chosen from the hand of their oppressors for ever. "For the Lord will *surely* break the Assyrian in his land, and upon the mountains of Israel tread him under foot." But, under the Old Testament, were not Babylon and Assyria two distinct nations? Undoubtedly they were so in the days of the kings of Israel. But we find, from a comparison of verses 4 and 25 of Isa. xiv., that at the time of their final aggression the Assyrian is no other than the king of the mystic Babylon. To make this plain, let us suppose the emperor of Austria or of France closely united with the false prophet,—*i. e.*, the Romish priesthood,—to possess himself of Palestine, and to silence our protestant teaching there, then would the Assyrian—the ambitious conqueror, thus accompanied—become also the head of the Babylonish idolatrous tyranny.

Some difficulties are suggested to the mind by this view of the case; such as, Can it be that the Romish apostasy, having fallen in its chief seat, will have sufficient influence to raise up a new persecution against the followers of the Lamb? But let us distinguish things that differ: the world has not rejoiced in the fall of an apostate religion, except as it was connected with ecclesiastical and civil oppression. Therefore, with respect to Rome's superstitious corruptions, the world is just where it was. Next, Romanism can mould itself to the ambition of conquerors; it can bless the standards of the ungodly persecutor; it can mount the red horse, and bear the great sword of them that take peace from the earth. Nothing but the brightness of His coming shall utterly take away the life of that "man of sin."

It remains that we stand in doubt respecting the part that our country may take in any future European alliance or confederacy, and that we be very watchful over God's vineyard; that we, and the people committed to our charge, may be counted worthy to "escape all those things that are coming on the earth, and to stand before the Son of man."

HIBERNICUS.

THE GREATEST OF ALL THE PLANTAGENETS.

The Greatest of all the Plantagenets: an Historical Sketch.
1 vol., 8vo. London: Bentley. 1860.

THERE seems to be a prevailing taste or fashion in the present day, for rejudging the characters of the great men, and especially of the great sovereigns, of former times. Probably the lucubrations of Mr. Macaulay were among the producing causes of this taste or fashion. Since he began to revise our annals, we have seen Mr. Froude attempt the vindication of Henry VIII.,—Mr. Motley reduce very largely our estimation of Elizabeth; and now we have, in the present volume, an earnest endeavour to clear away all the stains which past writers had thrown upon the character of Edward I.

The author of the volume now before us avers, indeed, that he wishes to present no new view of Edward's character; but merely to restore him to the place which, for many centuries, he occupied in the minds of the English people. Thus, he reminds us, that by Froissart he was styled "the good king Edward;" by Hemingford, "the most excellent, wise, and sagacious king;" by Fabian he was described as "slowe to all manner of strife; discrete and wise, and true to his word—in arms a giant;" by John Foxe, as "valiant and courageous, pious and gentle;" by Holinshed, as "wise and virtuous, gentle and courteous;" and by Prynne, as "the most illustrious," "our glorious king Edward." That a different aspect is given to his character in many modern histories, he attributes mainly to the fact that our leading historians, for a century past, have been Scotchmen; (Hume, Henry, Scott, Mackintosh, &c. &c.) and that it would be scarcely possible for a native of that country to write without prejudice of a man on whose tomb was inscribed the expressive words, "SCOTORUM MALLEUS." Hence he finds without any surprise that, although these writers agree in ascribing to him the attribute of greatness, they all endeavour to deprive him of that of goodness. Scott terms him "the most sagacious and resolute of English princes;" Hume, "the model of a politic and warlike king;" Mackintosh, "a great statesman and commander;"—but all of them allege against him, charges of ambition, want of uprightness, and vindictive cruelty. Now, for four centuries after his death, no imputation of this kind was found in the pages of any English historian. On the contrary, as we have just seen, moral excellence, goodness, slowness to strife, love of truth, piety, gentleness, courtesy, are the praises awarded to him by all who record his deeds. Which, then, of these two views is the right one? Did Hume and Henry, Scott and Mackintosh, discover

any new facts belonging to this chapter of our history ; or did they merely indulge that national feeling of prejudice and dislike which was common to all Scotchmen ? Such is the question which our author discusses in the volume now before us.

Yet it would be unfair to speak of it as a merely controversial work. It is truly a history. The whole reign of Edward, which covers five-and-thirty years, is narrated ; and the quarrel with the Scots only commences with the four-and-twentieth year. The various strifes with Wallace, Comyn, and Bruce do not occur until the last ten years of the king's life ; and then they are related at no disproportionate length, nor with any peculiar emphasis. The whole history of Wallace is given in six-and-twenty pages ; and Bruce's rebellion is described in forty. The author's object seems rather to be to justify the first part of Fabian's eulogy,—

"This king was slowe to all manner of strife :
Discrete and wise, and true to his worde ;"

than to dilate on the second,—

"In arms a giant, terme of all his life ;
Excellent acts doing by dint of swordes."

We do not propose to pass in review the whole life of Edward. A large part of the volume is occupied with the barons' war, the beginning of parliaments, and that remarkable series of wise and good laws, which gained for this king the name of the "English Justinian." Over this we pass without remark. Those of our readers who desire to understand this important section of the English history will do well to consult this volume. All we shall at present attempt to do is, to give a general idea of the way in which the author meets those charges which, according to his view, the Scottish historians have succeeded, in the course of the last century, in importing into our general historical creed, and which charges are entirely at variance with the ancient English belief. Thus :

"Edward was ambitious and war-loving," say most modern historians. "No," says old Fabian ; "he was slowe to all manner of strife."

"Edward was artful and unscrupulous." "No," say Hemingford, Froissart, Fabian, and Holinshed, "he was good, excellent, wise, and virtuous, and true to his word."

"Edward was vindictive and revengeful." "No," say all the old writers, "he was gentle and courteous, pious and good."

Such are the three main charges which are repeated, after Hume, Henry, &c., by most modern historians. Our author believes that he can show that the old English belief is the right one, and that Edward was not ambitious, was not artful or unscrupulous, was not cruel or vindictive. His proofs and

arguments we shall endeavour to give in as small a compass as possible, taking up each point severally and alone.

1. On what is the charge of ambition founded? Edward stood at the head of the chivalry of his day. Whenever he called, his subjects gathered round him, by 80,000 or 100,000 at a time. Had he chosen to attempt the exploits of Crecy or Poitiers or Agincourt, he might, doubtless, have more than equalled the deeds of his warlike grandchildren. But never once, in his "active and splendid reign," as Sir James Mackintosh justly calls it, was he found wandering over the continent in search of conquests. Once he visited it as a mediator, in 1286, to end, if possible, a strife between the king of Aragon and the count of Anjou; and a second time, in 1297, to wrest from the king of France a possession of the English crown, Guienne, of which Philip had fraudulently possessed himself. This war was purely one of self-defence: not once in his long reign was Edward found an aggressor.

But here comes in the rejoinder of the accusers; who ask, Did he not invade, and seize by conquest, both Wales and Scotland; and how, then, can he be acquitted of the charge of ambition?

The defence rests upon a close examination of the facts of each of these two cases. When Edward came to the crown, he found himself entitled, by the custom of centuries past, to the homage of the king of Scotland and of the prince of Wales. To relinquish these, or either of them, would have been to give up an important right of the crown and realm of England. Edward was ever careful not to infringe on the rights of others, but he was equally careful not to diminish the splendour of his own crown. And in this question the welfare of his subjects was intimately bound up.

Alexander of Scotland attended Edward's coronation, paid his homage, and for the remaining twelve years of his reign there was perfect amity between these two princes. But Llewellyn of Wales neglected to attend, and showed the greatest unwillingness to come under any obligations to Edward. To pass over his refusal would have been a weak surrender of England's rights; but assuredly the king showed himself, on this occasion, to use old Fabian's words, "slowe to all manner of strife."

When Philip of France, in 1203, summoned king John to appear before him, he *at once*, on his non-appearance, declared his fiefs to be forfeited, and proceeded to take possession of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. When another Philip, in 1294, summoned Edward before him, he, in like manner, *forthwith* condemned him for non-appearance, and seized upon Guienne. So also had Edward been, as he is often called, "ambitious and unscrupulous," might he have

condemned Llewellyn for contumacy, and have seized upon Wales. But no one was ever more scrupulous of interfering with the rights of others than this powerful and warlike king.

Llewellyn having neglected to attend at Westminster, Edward sent him a second summons, and offered to come to Shrewsbury to meet him. The Welsh prince still objected, and the king then brought the matter before parliament. It was resolved that a third summons should be sent, and that Chester, as the nearest point to London, should be named as the place at which he was to attend.

Still Llewellyn refused to come, and a fourth, fifth, and sixth summons were sent. At last, after more than *two years* had been thus spent, the parliament declared the Welsh prince contumacious, and desired the king to bring him to an account. Edward marched into Wales, surrounded Llewellyn in his strongholds, and forced him to surrender. But, on his submission, he immediately restored him to his principality, gave him Eleanor de Montfort to wife, attended the wedding, invited the Welsh prince to spend Christmas with him, and in every way endeavoured to make him a friend.

Four years after this David, Llewellyn's brother, whom the king had invited to England, and whom he had created an English peer, giving him the daughter of the earl of Derby for his wife,—David united with Llewellyn in a sudden and treacherous rebellion: stormed Hawarden castle on Palm Sunday, and laid siege to two other castles, levying open war without any quarrel or provocation. Thus assailed, Edward marched again into Wales; Llewellyn was killed in a skirmish, David was given up by the Welsh, tried and executed for treason, and Wales became, in the natural order of things, annexed to England. In all this, Edward's course was one in which he had hardly any choice but to go straight forward. Assuredly in all these proceedings he did show himself "slowe to all manner of strife; discrete and wise, and true to his worde."

But what of Scotland? Here, most Scotchmen are sworn from their infancy to unending aversion. But again the writer before us appeals to the facts of the case.

Alexander of Scotland paid his homage at Edward's coronation, and between these two princes there never was any strife. In 1286 Alexander died, and the succession to the crown vested in a single girl, his grandchild, "the maiden of Norway." Even then the great men of Scotland sent to Edward in Gascony, to know what course they should take. He counselled them to choose a regency, and to carry on the government in the young queen's name. But he did not hasten his return from the continent, or show any design to interfere in the matter.

Shortly afterwards the young queen died, frustrating thereby a plan which had been agreed upon, alike in Scotland and in England, for marrying her to Edward's son. Her death plunged the realm at once into all the perils of a disputed succession. Again all the chief men of Scotland flew to Edward for counsel and refuge. Bruce, one of the claimants, applied to him. "The regents, the states, and even the competitors," says Dr. Henry, "agreed to refer the matter to him; and the bishop of St. Andrew's was sent into England to entreat him to take upon him the office of arbitrator." On all hands he was besought to assume this function, and so "to prevent the effusion of blood."

So besought, Edward went to Norham, in 1291, and met the Scottish lords. He told them, at their first meeting, that he came there as lord paramount, and asked whether they received him in that capacity. They hesitated: he gave them a period of three weeks for deliberation; and at the second meeting Bruce, Baliol, and the other competitors, all acknowledged him in that capacity, and consented to receive judgment at his hands.

In taking this course, Edward had no purposes of conquest. His intent, as Rapin, a severe judge, admits, was, "not to become master of Scotland, but only to render that kingdom dependent upon England; in which he did but follow the steps of most of his predecessors." And Mr. Sharon Turner, an equally severe critic, adds,—

"There is no evidence that when Baliol was crowned, the king of England projected to abolish the Scottish royalty or parliament. To be lord paramount, the feudal sovereign of the whole island, as the king of France had been of Normandy, Bretagne, Flanders, and Aquitaine, while those provinces were enjoying their independent hereditary governments, was the honour to which Edward aspired; and the great political object which he would have attained by it would have been *a termination of the predatory wars which had always desolated the borders of the two kingdoms.*" "The facts, that for four years Edward did nothing incompatible with the continuance of the Scottish royalty, and that it was the wilful hostility of Scotland itself which forced him into the field against it, afford reasonable evidence that the line which we have drawn was the limitation of his ambition."

Baliol, then, and all the lords of Scotland, had, without any compulsion, received Edward as their superior lord, and had sworn fealty to him. Yet, on hearing of a quarrel between England and France, they sent to Philip, and made a treaty with him, engaging to invade England. Edward then approached Scotland with an army; but still "slowe to strife," he hesitated to cross the border, until he heard that a Scottish army had broken into Cumberland, and were ravaging it with

brutal ferocity. Edward now thanked God that his way was made clear. He instantly stormed and carried Berwick, took Dunbar, marched to Edinburgh, and finally received Baliol's submission at Brechin; and six weeks after, admitted to his peace and favour all the lords of Scotland, at Berwick-on-Tweed.

The history of Wallace's and Bruce's rebellions we cannot give: our object being merely to show what is the defence of Edward against the charge of having planned and purposed the conquest of Scotland. In 1282 David and Llewellyn of Wales had attacked England and her king; in 1296 the earls of Buchan, Monteith, Strathern, Lennox, Rosse, Athol, and Mar had broken into Cumberland, wasting it with fire and sword. In both instances Edward speedily subdued his assailants, and brought, first Wales, and then Scotland, under his power. But in neither instance was he the aggressor; nor is there any reason to believe that he even purposed aggression. "Slowe to all manner of strife," is a true and most noble description of this slumbering lion; who yet, when roused, always showed himself "mighty in arms."

2. The next charge, however, is one which is often and naturally allied with that of ambition. It is, of unscrupulosity, of fraud, and perfidy, in the attainment of his ends.

Reluctant to admit the entire and ready submission of the Scottish lords to Edward at Norham, Hume condescends to employ an entire fiction to account for it. He tells us that "Edward, carrying with him a great army, advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish parliament to attend him at Norham." "Here," he says, "they found themselves betrayed into a situation in which it was impossible for them to make any defence." Sir James Mackintosh, improving upon Hume, says, "The circumvention of the estates of Scotland at Norham, in 1291, bears stronger marks of resemblance to the artifices by which the royal family of Spain were inveigled at Bayonne, in 1808, than can often be fairly traced in occurrences so distant in time."

Who would have expected two such writers as Hume and Mackintosh to have been guilty of an attempt to blacken the memory of a great king by an accusation which is wholly and absolutely untrue; which is, in short, a pure invention?

Edward, besought by the lords of Scotland "to approach the border, to prevent the effusion of blood," went to Norham, on the English side of the border, and invited the Scottish lords to meet him there. He had *no* "great army,"—he had *no* army, great or small. The meeting was to be on the 10th of May, 1291. The king, knowing that troubles might arise, and that the Scottish barons might bring armed forces with them, issued writs to about fifty-eight of his military tenants in the

northern counties, desiring them to meet him at Norham *in the beginning of June*. These writs are now extant. Some of them were addressed to Bruce, Baliol, Comyn, and others, who were lords both in England and Scotland. Not the least secrecy, surprise, or circumvention, then, could there be.

On the 10th of May, however, the king and the Scottish lords met. He had no army; he had merely his ordinary retinue. He asked them whether they recognized him as lord paramount. They hesitated. He gave them till the next day, and afterwards extended the time to three weeks, to decide upon their answer. They were to return to Scotland, and to reassemble after one-and-twenty days. Bruce, Baliol, and Comyn all knew full well that by that time the king would have a few thousand men around him. They also, if they pleased, were equally at liberty to bring up their retainers. Where, then, is the "betrayal" or the "circumvention," of which Hume and Mackintosh speak? It is as absolute a fiction—a fabrication—as ever was imported into history. Yet it is upon this alleged fact that the charge against Edward, of unscrupulosity, mainly rests.

One similar representation, which is alike groundless, ought to be noticed. Hume tells us, that Edward, "by six different summonses, on trivial occasions, required Baliol to come to London; plainly meaning to enrage him by these indignities, and to engage him in rebellion, in order to assume the dominion of the state as a punishment of his treason."

This is an unjustifiable exaggeration. Mr. Sharon Turner speaks with more accuracy, as follows:—

"For four years Edward did nothing incompatible with the continuance of the Scottish royalty; and it was the wilful hostility of Scotland which forced him into the field. From 1292 to 1296, though he received an appeal against Baliol's judgment, and summoned Baliol into his parliament to answer it, yet this was the extent of his adverse conduct. And so far was Edward's behaviour from being revolting to Scottish feeling, that Bruce, the competitor of Baliol, having died, his family desired Edward to receive its homage, and willingly performed it."

One appeal there was, on the part of the earl of Fife, which Edward could not refuse to hear: the other five, which are added to swell the account, were mere legal formalities.

The best answer, however, to this charge, that Edward, in 1292—1296, was seeking to enrage Baliol, in order to provoke him to rebel, is found in the obvious fact that nothing could be more unfortunate, nothing more calamitous, to Edward, than Scotland's rebellion at this particular moment. It was in 1293—4 that the quarrel with France broke out, and Philip seized upon Guienne. Edward's instant determination was to

reconquer that important possession. To effect this, required all his power. Hence, to imagine that at this moment he was desiring to drive the Scots into rebellion, is to regard him, at one moment, as one of the most foolish of men; while, at others, they represent him, in the words of Walter Scott, as "the most sagacious and resolute of English princes." It is quite impossible to doubt, on a review of the whole case, that Edward must have been desirous of Scotland's friendship and alliance at this moment; and that the representation that he was trying to drive Baliol into rebellion is one of the most absurd calumnies that ever was invented.

3. There remains only the very common and popular charge of vindictiveness and cruelty. And first let us dispose of the question of *modes* of punishment. These differ with the fashions of the time. Men deem a ruler to have been cruel, merely if they find him ordering a punishment which is deemed cruel at the present day; forgetting that perhaps no human being thought it cruel at the time when it was inflicted. Edward loved his queen very fondly, yet after her death, and probably at her own desire, he caused her remains to be divided, and her heart to be placed in one church, her bowels in another, and the rest of her body in a third. In the same manner Bruce, when dying, ordered his heart to be taken out of his body, and to be carried to Jerusalem. When such ideas prevailed, the thought of beheading and quartering a great criminal had nothing very shocking about it. Nor was it until recently that gentler tastes and habits prevailed. John Wesley, Samuel Johnson, and William Cowper were accustomed to see without horror, human heads on Temple Bar; and the English ministry which included Pelham, Hardwicke, Stephen Fox, and the elder Pitt, did not shrink from exhibiting, at one time, eighty human heads from various scaffolds.

The main question, then, concerns, not the mode of capital punishment which prevailed in England for five centuries, but Edward's readiness, or his unreadiness, to take away human life. And on this point history is very clear. There is scarcely a sovereign in all the English annals whose reign shows anything resembling the clemency of Edward. During five-and-thirty years the political executions, amidst troublous times, were only three in number, until we come to the assassination of Comyn.

David of Snowden, an English peer, deeply indebted to Edward for many favours, was guilty of high treason and murder. "He was tried by the whole baronage of England," and was sentenced to death. Had Mr. Smith O'Brien, like David of Snowden, attacked a castle in the dead of night, and slain many of its defenders, would his punishment, even under the gentle sway of Victoria, have been lighter? In India,

within the last five years, we have seen native princes not a few put to death in a much more summary manner.

Thomas Turberville, a knight, had entered into a traitorous compact with Philip to deliver up to the French one of the Cinque Ports. He died the death of a traitor; with less severity, however, than was inflicted on the Jesuit priests who conspired against Elizabeth.

Walleys, or Wallace, had swept England from Newcastle to Carlisle, "leaving nothing behind him but blood and ashes." He had burnt a church full of men and women, a school full of boys, &c. &c. Yet—singular lenity!—if he would have thrown himself upon Edward's mercy, his life would have been spared. He preferred to remain an outlaw, was seized, and died upon the scaffold. These three were all the political executions which took place in England from the first year of Edward's reign until the thirty-fourth.

But in that year Comyn, the greatest lord in Scotland, whom Edward had never known but as an open, manly opponent, was inveigled, unarmed, into a church, and was there assassinated by Bruce, who had been Edward's obsequious follower and professed friend. The traitorous deceit of Bruce, and the circumstances of this assassination, filled Edward with abhorrence. He assembled a council at Lanercost, and issued an ordinance, which adjudged the punishment of death to all who had been concerned in Comyn's murder. Under the like circumstances, would any lighter punishment be inflicted for such a crime even in our own day? Yet, even in this ordinance, we find clemency prevailing; for it is added, that such as were merely guilty of high treason and rebellion "should be imprisoned at the king's pleasure."

Under this ordinance of Lanercost about sixteen persons, who had been implicated in the assassination of Comyn, were apprehended and sent to the scaffold. "Their execution," observes Lingard, "cannot substantiate the charge of cruelty against Edward. Some were (actual) murderers; all had repeatedly broken their oaths of fealty, and had been repeatedly admitted to pardon." The one crime, however, on which they were all condemned, was that of having been in some way concerned in the cowardly assassination of a brave and honourable man.

Such, then, is the acquittal of Edward from the charge of vindictive cruelty. There is no following reign in English history, for several centuries, which can compare to this five-and-thirty years for rarity of capital punishment for political offences. In the days of Edward II. and III., in the wars of York and Lancaster, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the scaffold is in constant requisition, and the heads of prelates and great nobles fall by scores. Under Edward these

fearful occurrences were almost unknown. A single Welsh rebel, a single traitor-knight, a single Scotch barbarian-marauder, form the whole catalogue for four-and-thirty years. And, assuredly, we know of no parallel to that act of mercy by which Wallace, after deeds of cruelty exceeding those of Nena Sahib an hundred-fold, was yet "to be received if he would throw himself on the king's mercy."

Such is the vindication of Edward's character which is here attempted. We have indicated, as rapidly as possible, the author's line of argument; and those of our readers who desire to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the subject will do well to possess themselves of this deeply-interesting volume.

REV. R. TWOPENY ON THE EXTENT OF THE MOSAIC DELUGE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—Will you permit me to offer a few remarks upon that paragraph in the last month's "Christian Observer" which refers to the universality of the Deluge?

After close examination, I have long since come to the conclusion that all the Scripture calls upon us to believe, and, therefore, all that is necessary for us to believe, respecting it, is, that this flood was caused by the direct interposition of the Almighty, on account of the wickedness of men; that by it the whole race of mankind then living was destroyed, with the exception of Noah and his family, and that from them is the whole earth overspread.

These truths, so pregnant with moral and religious instruction, are clearly revealed, and no believer in the inspired word of God will hesitate about receiving them. But the collateral incidents connected with this stupendous miracle—such as the secondary causes by which the waters were made to cover the whole world, on one supposition, or how they were restrained within certain limits on another—are not necessary for us to know; and therefore are no more attempted to be explained than how the sun stood still upon Gibeon, or the moon in the valley of Ajalon, or how the shadow went back ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz.

Still, "the works of the Lord," however great, may, with scriptural sanction, be "sought out of all them that have pleasure therein;" and we ought gladly and thankfully to avail ourselves of all those recent discoveries, and accumulating acquisitions of knowledge, which may in any way tend to elucidate the Scriptures. And, in these times more especially ought we to be carefully on our guard that we give no handle to the imputation, that Christianity is adverse to the progress of knowledge, nor suffer any arbitrary or preconceived notions of our own respecting the right interpretation of some of the more obscure passages of Scripture, to prevent us from giving their due weight to any

just deductions of modern sciences. We have seen some hurtful effects from the neglect of this caution in the celebrated "Papal Decrees against the Motion of the Earth," and some injury has also been done in our own days, by attempting to set the Scripture in opposition to the conclusions of Geology. It is true that geology, at present, is in so imperfect a state, that it ought rather to be called a study than a science. But we may feel very sure that all its discoveries, when rightly interpreted, will, as far as they bear on the subject, tend to throw light and clearness upon many passages now obscure. And, to some extent, this has already been done. We ought to regard all the progress in science which God has enabled the mind to make, not as an opponent, but a help and auxiliary to a clearer understanding of His word.

I trust that, consistently with the utmost reverence to the Scripture, and with a full belief in its inspired truth, we may apply these considerations to the history of the Deluge.

The notion that the whole surface of our globe was submerged always places in my way this difficulty, which I am unable to surmount. Whenever a new country has been discovered, it has always been found that the animals, and all those land birds which are not migratory, are entirely different from any that had been known before. Thus, for instance, on the discovery of America, not one of the animals or land birds was found to be the same with those which existed in what was then called the Old World, with the exception of some few in the north, where the land communication was evident.

The same is found true with respect to Australia and New Zealand. Their fauna is as peculiar to themselves, and as unknown also to America, as it is to the other parts of our hemisphere. Yet these various species of animals, however different in kind, are not less in number than those which are found in countries which have been longer known.

Now I suppose that no one, taking all the attendant circumstances into account, will suppose these animals to have migrated into their respective habitats from the ark. How, then, were they preserved, if the whole earth were submerged? Shall we attempt to get over this difficulty by suggesting that these creatures have been created since the flood? This supposition would lead us into another difficulty, and would seem to imply a retrograde step in the work of creation; for a great part of these animals, especially in Australia, are of the type of those which are usually considered as of a lower formation than our own. In Australia, for instance, all the native animals are of the order of marsupialia, or pouched animals; a class not found in any other part of the world, with the exception of a few species of opossum in America, but a class very common among the fossil remains. The fauna, also of Australia, is remarkable for not containing a single quadruped of the ruminating, or a single bird of the gallinaceous tribe—the tribes most useful for the wants and sustenance of man.

Surely there is nothing inconsistent, either with the revealed attributes of the Almighty, or with the summary narrative given in the Scripture, if we suppose that the Flood being a penal infliction for the sin of man, the punishment did not extend beyond the limits of the

moral taint; that is, those regions into which man had at that time found his way. And this supposition seems to harmonize with the following passage of Scripture: "Should I not spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot distinguish between their right hand and their left, and also *much cattle?*"

I do not suppose any objection will be taken to this, from the Scripture using the expression "the whole earth;" for in this, as undoubtedly in other places, it may mean all the inhabited earth; just as, when we say, the whole world we mean all the people of the world.

I confess that I cannot see how the supposition of a partial deluge implies more miracles than that of a total one, for we know nothing of the means by which either of them would be produced. The expression, that "the fountains of the great deep were broken up," seems to imply some great convulsion of the earth's surface. In our own days immense tracts of land, many hundred miles in extent, have been suddenly upheaved above their former level, and others depressed. At God's word, something of this kind may have produced the Flood. But, however this may be, it must have been as easy to the Almighty, though the secondary causes are quite unknown to us, to produce a deluge over a part only of the world, and say to the water, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed," as it would have been to submerge at once the whole surface of the globe.

One observation more, and I have done.

We are told in the second chapter of Genesis that "the Lord had not caused it to rain upon the earth." The same, also, might have been inferred if, as appears from the narrative, the first appearance of the rainbow was subsequent to the Flood. We are further told, that when Noah was born, his father, no doubt in the spirit of prophecy, said, "This same shall comfort us concerning our work and the toil of our hands, because of the ground, which the Lord hath cursed." Let us pay attention also to the promise made to Noah after he had offered up his sacrifice: "I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake." I think we can hardly connect these passages together, without inferring that the climate and fertility of the earth have been improved by the Flood—whether through the removal of drought, to which it had been before subject, or of some other cause of sterility. If so, what can we say of it, but that it is a striking example of the great Scripture truths, that the Almighty can make evil itself to produce good, and that He is a God who, even in His judgments, remembers mercy.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

R. TWOPENY.

P.S.—I do not know whether you will look upon this as suitable to the main objects of your periodical; which is, as it ought to be, the earnest inculcation of the gospel truths as in Christ Jesus, and from which there is so unhappy a tendency at present among our clergy to swerve, or else to deteriorate by unauthorized innovations of their own. Still, I think all endeavours to elucidate any passages of Scripture have a subsidiary tendency to promote the cause of religious truth.

I should be glad if, in some future number, you would permit me

to offer some remarks upon Dr. Hussey's Lectures: the main error in which seems to be, that he completely sets aside any *Divine* authority for the Lord's day or Christian sabbath. I think it can be proved, as far as a thing can be proved from inference, that it was observed by all God's people from the beginning of the world, and is to continue to the end of it.

CLERICUS ON THE OBLATION OF THE BREAD AND WINE IN THE COMMUNION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Most of your readers are aware that one or two members of the Episcopal Bench are desirous of upholding and firmly establishing the notion that the church of England, at the last review of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661—2, designed, through the rubric then added—"And when there is a communion the priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient"—to *enforce*, as a fundamental church-doctrine, the *oblation* of the bread and wine at the communion.

In a letter very recently written to one of his archdeacons, the bishop of Exeter, after stating that the communion bread and wine ought not to be provided at the charge of any man, and that non-communicants ought not to be permitted to contribute to the cost of the elements, recommends, as the easiest and best method of combining practice with (supposed) church-theory, "*the taking the cost of the bread and wine out of the money collected at the offertory*, as we need not doubt that devout communicants would offer somewhat more largely in consideration of this charge." The italics are ours, and not the bishop's.

What would be the result of complying with his lordship's proposal?

I. As we all agree that the money collected at the offertory is really and truly an offering or oblation, it will follow that the bread and wine in the elements, as provided from that money, must henceforth be regarded as a *bond-fide* oblation or offering. This would be more than inserting the thin end of the Tractarian wedge into our communion rubrics, it would be to drive that wedge effectually and destructively through them.

II. We must, in complying with the proposal of this prelate, annul the church's positive injunction as contained in another rubric—"The bread and wine for the communion shall be provided by the curate and the churchwardens at the *charges of the parish*."

We must be on our guard, lest the far darker heresies promulgated in the Oxford Essays make us less watchful against the devices of Tractarianism.

CLERICUS.

DEAN CLOSE, ARCHDEACON JONES, AND THE REV. DANIEL MOORE, ON PREACHING.

1. *Eighty Sketches of Sermons; together with an Introductory Essay.* By Francis Close, D.D., Dean of Carlisle. Hatchard. 1861.
2. *Hints on Preaching: designed for the Use of the Younger Clergy, and Candidates for Holy Orders.* By J. Jones, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool. Hatchard. 1861.
3. *Thoughts on Preaching, specially in relation to the Requirements of the Age.* By Daniel Moore, M.A., Incumbent of Camden Church, Camberwell; and Tuesday Morning Lecturer at St. Margaret's, Lothbury. Hatchard. 1861.

PREACHING is an ordinance of the New Testament; it is a Christian institution. Amongst the Jews there was no preaching. The whole nation was commanded to assemble at stated times to hear the law read and explained, and this, no doubt, was a religious service. But it seems to have resembled an explanation such as a magistrate might offer from the bench, or the reading of the proclamation against vice and immorality at the quarter sessions, rather than a sermon; the direct purpose of which is to move the affections, as well as to enlighten the conscience and amend the heart. The solemnity occurred only once in seven years; and it was soon laid aside, and at length forgotten. There was no order of men in the Jewish church whose function it was to preach. "The priest's lips," we are told, "should keep knowledge, and the people should seek the law at his mouth." He was the authorized exponent of the law: if a doubt arose as to its meaning, it was his duty to explain it; if it fell into neglect, he was to recall attention to it. Here his functions ceased, unless, indeed, in addition to his priestly character, he was charged with the prophetic office. The nearest approach to the preaching of the word, as understood in the New Testament, was made by the prophets; and it is remarkable that but few of them were selected from the sacred tribe of Levi. When Ezra stood up on his pulpit of wood, and the Levites "read in the book of the law distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading," we seem to have the true idea of a sermon. But this was a very rare occurrence; and it does not appear to have been repeated in the whole course of Jewish history.

The prophets were undoubtedly preachers of righteousness; but they had neither a fixed time nor a stated place for the exercise of their ministry. Centuries of Sabbaths came and went, in the best periods of their history, and the Jews had

nothing like a public ministry beyond the precincts of the temple; and within that hallowed spot it was a ministry of mere service, an offering up of sacrifices, a performance of the Jewish ritual according to the law of Moses, rather than the hearing of the word, or the united offering of prayer or praise from the lips of the worshippers. The Jew was a looker-on while the service was conducted by another on his behalf; a state of things, we need not fear to say, utterly irrational except upon one supposition; namely, that the "law was a shadow of good things to come;" this explanation, and this alone, clears up the mystery. The doctrine of reconciliation through an atoning sacrifice, was so all-important, that century upon century was not too long a time to keep the Jew under the "beggarly elements" of the law, to learn that single lesson. Even the synagogue was an afterthought; it arose upon the disasters of the dispersion and the captivity. We cannot suppose that it was wrong, for our Lord sanctioned it; but no allusion is made to it, no rules suited for its guidance are to be discovered, in the law of Moses. It seems to have grown into a custom that the Scriptures should be read every sabbath-day, and that a person of eminent piety should be invited to expound. This was the practice when the Saviour was on earth; but we find no traces of it in the Old Testament.

The gospel, besides other points of essential difference, was in possession of two elements which the law wanted—expansiveness and sympathy. In virtue of the first, its first teachers were commissioned to "go into all the world." In virtue of the second, they were instructed to "preach the word." Preaching was the greatest of their functions; "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Healing the sick, raising the dead, casting out devils; these were subsidiary matters. From the beginning some of the disciples had the miraculous gifts: some had them not. But every disciple whom the Lord sent forth had this commission: "As ye go, preach." Preaching, we repeat, is the grand ordinance of the New Testament dispensation. It is the weapon which the Great Captain of Salvation has intrusted to His church, whether for the conversion of sinners, or the edification of His own elect.

Discussions upon the comparative importance of public prayer and the preaching of the word, are but solemn trifling. Both are important; both are essential; and we have no right to ask which of them is more important. What should we think of the wisdom of the men who met gravely to discuss the question whether meat or drink were the more necessary? Especially if, in the heat of argument, the disputants were heard to affirm, on one side, that with abundance of food all fluids were needless, or, on the other, that copious draughts

alone, if the stream were only pure, superseded the want of any kind of food? From such grave triflers we make no apology for turning aside without waiting to listen to their idle talk.

Nor is it of much real importance to fix all the exact meanings the words will bear in which preaching is spoken of in the New Testament. All agree that it is the delivery of the gospel message to mankind. The preacher is a herald; he goes with a message from his King; sometimes to the enemy's camp, sometimes into the forum amongst peaceable citizens. Sometimes the message demands publicity—it must be spoken on the house-top; sometimes it is expedient to whisper it in the ear. All these are questions of time, place, and circumstances; but the only question of real importance, after all, is this: Has the message been delivered in the most effectual manner? If so, whether it were done publicly or from house to house, it was undoubtedly that kind of preaching of the word which our Lord intended. His commission has been fulfilled, and the dew of his blessing may be expected to descend.

The history of preaching would form, in proper hands, a volume of great worth. It has never yet been executed, for it requires great labour, as well as spiritual qualifications of the highest kind, and a mind capable of appreciating true eloquence, and discerning the tinsel rhetoric which often usurps its place. Some preparations have, it has been understood, been made at times by men well qualified for the task; but they have desisted and left it unfinished, and the work has yet to be accomplished.

The New Testament abounds with intimations sufficiently distinct as to the *nature of preaching*, whether public or private. Perhaps the sermon on the Mount may not have been meant for imitation. The method and the circumstances were peculiar, such as cannot return; but the address in the synagogue at Nazareth was delivered under circumstances such as occur every Lord's-day amongst ourselves. A congregation assembles for divine worship;—a passage from the book of the law is read,—the preacher takes it for his text, and delivers an address or sermon which was no doubt intended, not only to benefit the hearers, but to serve as a model for preachers to the end of time. We cannot but be struck with the manner in which perfect wisdom here accommodates itself to man's capacity, and thus, as it were, meets human wisdom when at its highest stretch. The perfection of the rhetorical art is taught in the few "*gracious words*" which then proceeded from the Saviour's lips. We have, first, *an introduction of the subject*; and one which, familiar as it has now become, must at that moment have surprised and arrested the attention of every hearer; "*This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears.*" Secondly, the Lord proceeds to *obviate objections*: and in doing so, he first vindicates his own mission by several distinct argu-

ments : As that "no prophet is accepted in his own country : " a truth which it seems had passed into a proverb, and which, therefore, none of his hearers would contradict. Then, that his mission was in accordance with God's conduct as revealed in their own scriptures. And, therefore, thirdly, that his refusal to gratify them with a miracle afforded no ground of objection to his claims. And all along there was an under-current of *application to the conscience*, not reserved till the conclusion, but running through the whole. Self-righteousness was the one besetting sin of the hearers, and our Lord selected his instances so as to probe them to the quick. He had wrought amazing miracles in Capernaum ; He had rendered Galilee illustrious by His presence ; but he had hitherto neglected Nazareth, his birthplace. Would He not now retrieve the reputation of His native town, and signalize his visit to Nazareth with mighty works, which should cast those of Capernaum into the shade ? By no means : His kingdom did not thus come by observation : He had a right to claim in Nazareth, from the holiness of his well-known life, an attention and respect which Capernaum was not prepared to render. And, besides, His Father's method had been, to give signal instances of miraculous intervention not to those most highly favoured with previous opportunities of knowledge, but to the despised sinners of the Gentiles. So Elijah was sent to a Sidonian widow, though there were many widows in Israel ; and Elisha to Naaman the Syrian leper, though many a son of Abraham suffered from the same complaint. We should have been satisfied that the Lord's address must have been a perfect model, had we possessed no means of forming a judgment upon it ; but these means are placed within our reach, and invite our devout attention : and we may now venture, without irreverence, to say that we possess in the sermon at Nazareth the scheme and outline of a heart-searching sermon. Like that of Stephen, it appears to have been cut short abruptly by the ungovernable rage of the hearers, who felt that every word exposed their pride and their hypocrisy.

Paul's sermon at Athens is the most complete study we have of a Christian oration from the lips of an Apostle. Whether it was the result of previous thought and preparation, or whether the apostle cast himself upon God, and spoke unprepared words as the Spirit gave him utterance, the speech itself is equally important to us ; and it is a model to all preachers. Here there is : *First*, an exordium delicate and appropriate, taken from the events of the hour and the surrounding scene. *Secondly*, and naturally arising out of this, a statement of all the great primary truths on which heathenism doubted,—and of which men baptized into the name of Christ, and professing to be His ministers, begin to doubt once more,—the unity of God,

the spirituality of the divine nature, and consequently the sin and folly of idol-worship ; creation the work of God ; the whole human race the family of God ; a superintending Providence ; a future judgment ; Christ Jesus the ordained of God, proven such already by the fact of His resurrection from the dead. The scheme is complete ; though again the speaker was cut short by the impatience of an angry congregation ; and we are left to imagine how the apostle might have closed. How solemn, how respectful, how full of unaffected love, would have been the peroration of such a discourse ! We can hardly believe that Athens would endorse the Corinthian indictment, and say that Paul's presence was mean, and his speech contemptible.

We despair of saying in a few pages, what would fill a volume, how preaching rose and declined, sharing always the fortunes of the true church ; always by its brilliancy indicating the purity of the ecclesiastical atmosphere, or by its dulness the presence of putrid exhalations and unwholesome damps, from the close of the sacred canon till the present times. We must content ourselves with remarking, that, till the dark ages began, preaching, as an art, shared in the degeneracy of all secular and all sacred learning. The greatest exceptions, it will probably be allowed, are some of Augustine's exercises—for instance, his meditations on the Psalms, and the orations of Chrysostom. The impressions made by the latter, like those produced by the preaching of St. Ambrose at Milan, were extraordinary. But in the case, at least, of Chrysostom, the effect was such as could be produced only on a feeble-minded people by the kind of eloquence which owes everything to voice and prettiness, and is deficient in strength and muscle. Of doctrinal imperfections we are not speaking : in one point the sermons of the orator of golden speech deserve to be imitated ; they are never too long.

In monkish times the sermon fell into neglect. It merely eulogized the church. Popular sermons were in general filled with idle legends to entertain the people. These were often of the most absurd, and yet we own of the most amusing, character ; the more absurd, the more popular. The story of St. Dunstan seizing the tempter by the nose with red hot pincers has resounded through many an English parish church, and been received with bursts of laughter. The strange traditions which gossips still repeat in country parishes were once delivered by preaching monks from the parish pulpit to an easily-believing people. The well-known story of the Devil's-dyke near Brighton had, no doubt, such an origin. On many a Lord's-day it has desecrated many a Sussex church. Within the last few years similar stories might have been heard from preaching friars in almost any country town of Italy. These impious follies were, we may hope, mingled with something

higher; for the light of God's truth never totally disappeared; nor were there wanting in Rome, in the darkest ages, those who loved, and, to the best of their knowledge, preached the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

But preaching was never a favourite institution with a superstitious church. It requires freedom, courage, independence in the preacher; it solicits reflection, inquiry, and the exercise of the judicial faculty in the hearer. It says, in effect, to the assembled congregation, "We speak as unto wise men; judge ye what we say." "No more of that!" quoth the church of Rome, and straightway shuts up the pulpit.

From the reformation to the present time, the history of preaching, in England only, treated in the smallest compass, would fill a large volume. And it would show, that the best times both for church and state have been those in which the pulpit has been most effective. The pulpit has always been the index of national progress as well as of spiritual life; always feeble or vigorous, as the age has been manly or effeminate, and as constitutional liberty has receded or advanced. Spiritual religion has never been known to flourish under tame pulpit ministrations, when sacred eloquence decayed. We are not even disposed to except the stormy period in the seventeenth century, when the pulpit was made the "drum ecclesiastic." These were, at least, days of great national vigour, and of religious energy and life. The principles of good government, and the conditions within which it can exist, were not yet known; and the clergy for a time shared the enthusiasm, sometimes the madness, of the people. But, upon the whole, their influence was good; and we must not suppose that, even in the worst days, raving fanatics like Hugh Peters were to be found in many parishes. Such a history as we contemplate would prove again that revivals of pure religion have invariably begun from the pulpit; or, at least, been sustained, their zeal directed, and their false enthusiasm chastened, by the preaching of the word. In short, if there are some painful instances in which scriptural and able preachers, wise and holy men, have seen little fruit of their labours, there are absolutely none in which the piety of churches or congregations has borne up, even for ten years together, in the absence of a faithful preacher. The spirits of God's children droop, and the progress of His work ceases. The tree may not have borne fruit, though planted in the true vineyard and watered with the pure word; but when the watering ceased, all the trees alike gave symptoms of distress, while no fresh plants sprung up; the watercourses were dry, and the land was barren.

It is a healthy sign that preaching once more receives the attention due to a sacred ordinance which, as much as the sacraments, was "ordained by Christ himself." The three

volumes before us have been published within a few weeks of each other. They proceed from eminent preachers; men high in estimation in the church of England, strongly attached to her discipline and worship. Men of experience, too, who give us, though in a modest shape,—for no one of the three volumes assumes the full dignity of an octavo,—the rich results of their own ripened observation, and the fruit of many years of successful toil. They have been often in the field, and lay down the rules of spiritual leadership in the warfare, not only as men taught in schools, but as instructed in many a vigorous campaign.

Dean Close introduces his eighty sketches with an essay which, though it fills but a few pages, is so full of important suggestions, that we may almost call it a syllabus, theoretical and practical, of the whole art of preaching. Those who are acquainted with the author will be quite prepared to expect, in addition to other admirable qualities, that insight into character, that keen, quiet shrewdness, penetrating but never unkind or coarse, which gives a peculiar flavour to his own ministrations, as well as a constant air of originality in the treatment even of ordinary subjects. We must refer to the essay itself, from which we have room only for one short extract. Time was, not long ago, when that clergyman was thought a prodigy who could preach extempore. Extempore preachers abound in these days, and some of them are little better than babblers. These are now becoming a nuisance to the church: men who are not ashamed to go into the pulpit quite unprepared, and even to boast of their want of preparation. An easy fluency, which they would lose at once if they could be made to see the dignity, and therefore the difficulty, of their work, attracts a crowd for a few months, to be followed, first by weariness, and then by disgust. If we speak strongly, we err in good company.

“When I use the word ‘extempore,’ says the dean, ‘I mean it simply with respect to the language. Extempore thought, or extempore composition, or anything indeed extempore except the delivery, is an insult alike to God and the people. To deliver ourselves well without book, we must have mastered our subject, explored it deeply, arranged it carefully, and must, like a painter, carry the entire image of our finished discourse before our eyes into the pulpit, or we shall be mere praters, not preachers. If extempore preaching has fallen into discredit, it is because those who have adopted it have not done the practice justice. Very few persons have a strong natural gift of extemporaneous speech; but much propriety and facility of delivery may be acquired by most persons by diligence and perseverance, if it be early attempted. It is a very rare case indeed if any one has reached the age of forty or forty-five years without acquiring this power, and afterwards excels in it. While it is most desirable that young pastors should conscientiously persevere for the first ten or

fifteen years of their ministry in preaching written sermons, yet I am of opinion that in some way or other, either in cottage lectures or in lectures in the church, they should from the very beginning endeavour to acquire the habit of expressing themselves with propriety upon any subject which they may have prepared, without the assistance even of notes before them. The time, or half the time, required for the mechanical process of writing a sermon or a lecture, if conscientiously devoted to reflection, reading, and prayer, would yield a harvest of rich truths for the people which would surprise both the taught and the teacher."

In the hands of the dean of Carlisle, when he puts out his strength, no subject is common-place. The well-worn text which we have heard a hundred times seems to wear a new character and sheds fresh light as he holds the prism, and throws the rays in some new direction. Education is a hackneyed subject; but few of our readers will think a page ill-spent if we devote it to an entire skeleton. The subject is instructive to all of us; it may afford some hints of importance to the younger clergy, if only in showing them how to invest an ordinary subject with freshness and originality, without wandering after far-fetched illustrations or unprofitable speculations. The text, we would add, since the dean has not made the remark, implies that the children of believers are to be brought up on the theory that they are members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; whether they be really such or not, for of this, at present, God alone can judge:—

"EDUCATION.

"Ephesians vi. 4. '*And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.*'

"The apostle had taught the duty of children to their parents (ver. 1—3), showing that God's blessing specially rests on obedient children. But here he inculcates the solemn responsibility of parents to their children. The Scriptures never recognize the modern system of public or parochial schools, which then had no existence, but fix all responsibility on nature's schoolmaster and schoolmistress—the father and mother! Let us, then, seek grace while we consider—

"I. A DANGER AGAINST WHICH THE APOSTLE WARNS US.

"II. THE POSITIVE INSTRUCTION HE AFFORDS US.

"I. HE WARNS PARENTS AGAINST A SPECIAL DANGER: '*Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath.*'

"1. This caution implies that there are bad tempers in the hearts of children which may be exasperated by injudicious treatment: latent anger, passion, sullenness, revenge, and all other evils of full-grown man are nascent in children.

"2. He cautions parents, especially fathers, against provoking, irritating, exciting their passions, instead of allaying them in their children. This may be done—

—*By the faulty tempers of the parents*—angry, peevish, capricious.

—*By undue severity*:—indulgence is sinful, but there is an

opposite extreme. 'For their own pleasure.' (Hebrews xii. 10.) That is, thoughtlessly or capriciously.

—*By pressing religious subjects injudiciously on gay hearts:* forgetting the natural antipathy to them—the need of wisdom, moderation, and love, to commend religion to a child.

—*By denying them innocent recreations:* when we take from them many worldly pleasures which some people think harmless, we are bound to find something else to amuse them.

—*By fickle and changeable rules*—wrong to-day and winked at to-morrow—a want of evenness and steadiness in our government: this tends especially to 'discourage them.' (Col. iii. 21.)

—*By entrusting little children to ignorant, bad tempered, nurse-maids, &c.,* who sadly 'provoke them to wrath.'

"3. These evils have been sown broadcast in many of our public schools for all classes.

—*By the system of flogging and beating,* for trifles, and indiscriminately—hardening the heart and brutalizing it.

—*By want of confidence in the children*—destroying self-respect and love of truth, creating a conspiracy against the teachers; where no honour is reposed, none will be returned.

—*By making the hill of science artificially steep,* burdening the memory and cramping the understanding.

—*By a want of nice and discriminating justice* in their government—nothing "provokes" like this.

—*Such systems are entirely bad:* and while they may succeed in forcing a certain amount of knowledge into the mind, they destroy the moral character.

"II. CONSIDER THE APOSTLE'S BEAUTIFUL SYSTEM—'Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' Every word here weighty, and much more so in the original, which here should be carefully examined. Not a word about the *matter* of teaching—all has respect to the mode and the training.

"1. 'BRING THEM UP' (*ἐκτρέφω*).

This word means educate, 'nourish them up' like Timothy—(1 Timothy iv. 6)—from infancy, babes, infants, children, youth—all to be nourished with suitable food, discipline, guidance, influence:—as of *body*, so of *mind*. It is a moulding of pliable materials, leading up to life and manhood.

"2. 'NURTURE' (*παίδεια*).

This is a comprehensive term; rather means regulation, discipline, bringing all moral and religious influences to bear on the heart and soul and mind—the will and the affections—with special reference to wise, moderate, affectionate correction &c. (Hebrews xii. 7.)

"3. 'ADMONITION' (*νουθεσία*) is the forming of the mind, fixing the opinions, settling the judgment.

It has to do with the understanding, reason, reflection. As parents should early mould the faith and principles of their children.

"4. And all this 'IN THE LORD:'

—a most comprehensive phrase, applicable to all the preceding ones—'educate' them in the Lord—'train,' 'discipline,' them in the

Lord—'fix their creed,' their faith in Him. This is spiritual teaching and training—in the Lord's truth, in His ways, in His faith, fear, and love, in His word, the spiritual and religious element pervading all.

"*Let all parents ponder these apostolic injunctions, and be humbled.* Who has come up to these directions? Who does not see with mortification his own faults repeated in his children? Yet let them take courage; there are many promises to godly parents—let them labour, watch, pray, hope, and leave the result to God.

—*Let children who have pious parents,* and all who once had them, regard their injunctions, prayers, and instructions with deep reverence; and reflect on them with filial piety. Such education is a great responsibility, an opportunity lost, or redeemed for good.

—*Have any of you ungodly parents?* Do you see great faults, failings, perhaps sins, in them? Remember the sons of Noah. (Genesis ix. 23.) Draw a veil over their inconsistencies; pity and pray for them; honour what is good in them, and God will bless your reverence and affection.

—Do we not all need to repent, and do we not all need forgiveness and mercy for Christ's sake, at the hands of God, for our manifold sins of omission and commission, as parents and children, brothers and sisters, neighbours and friends?"

Archdeacon Jones is not less to be heard on the subject of preaching than the dean of Carlisle, though less known perhaps in the metropolis. So long ago as the year 1815, he entered upon the important charge of St. Andrew's, Liverpool, where for many years, without being exactly what is termed a popular preacher, he formed and held together a large congregation, the most intelligent, exemplary and pious which Liverpool then knew. They were foremost in every good word and work; and long after the attractions of novelty had ceased, and other able ministers of the New Testament had filled the neighbouring churches of the town, the congregation of St. Andrew's still continued in zeal, affection, purity of life and doctrine, an example to the rest. The altered habits of society,—justified by a hard necessity, no doubt, yet still deeply to be deplored, on social and moral grounds,—have driven the higher classes of society, in Liverpool as in London, to suburban residences. In all our large towns the voluntary system miserably fails just where most wanted; and the archdeacon now preaches at Seaforth, where on the Lord's-day "merchants most do congregate." This little book, with an unassuming title, is full of wise instructions, the fruit of much experience, and, as we believe it will one day appear, of much successful labour. If we must single out any one chapter as more interesting than the rest, it is, perhaps, the seventh, on "delivery from manuscript;" for the archdeacon is himself an instance of the success with which this method of preaching may be pursued. During his most successful years at St. Andrew's, he seldom preached extempore,

and yet without any remarkable qualities of voice, and with very little of action, or what is generally termed manner, in the pulpit, he threw a life and fervour into his discourses which most extempore preachers might envy. Yet he is no enemy to extempore discourse, on which he gives some valuable "hints." Of these, we copy the fourth and last :—

"The fourth and concluding hint, which I would suggest to the young preacher who wishes really to excel, is, that he should study to avoid the faults into which extempore preachers are more or less prone to fall. He should be especially careful to guard against tediousness, diffuseness, and tautology. He must bear in mind that the audience will probably become weary before he himself is satisfied,—that whilst he is still fresh and desirous to continue his speech, they may be counting the minutes, and wishing him to come to a close. Though a little more indulgence may be shown towards a sermon delivered extemporaneously, patience must have its limits : and on few occasions should the preacher exceed thirty-five minutes. If he wishes, indeed, to keep up the attention of his hearers at all times, let him restrict himself for the most part to half-an-hour."

Mr. Moore's thoughts on preaching well merit, and would certainly have obtained, a much larger space in our review than we now assign to them, had it not been "that portions of the matter contained in them were published in the *Christian Observer* in the spring 1859;" and therefore we are debarred, to some extent, by the fear of repeating what our readers may already be acquainted with. We are not surprised to learn that Mr. Moore has been requested, on more than one occasion, at large meetings of the clergy, to lay his thoughts on preaching before the public. He has done this in a volume much wanted, well considered, sufficiently comprehensive to form a manual for clerical readers, and likely to be very useful. Claude's *Essay on the composition of a Sermon* lays down the great principle of pulpit composition with admirable skill ; it must always be a text-book ; but something more was wanted "specially in relation to the requirements of the age;" and that something is exactly what Mr. Moore has now supplied:—

"The author was not deterred from his purpose by the great number of works which he could find already written upon the subject. On the contrary, in the way of set and formal dissertation on the principles and practice of preaching, the literature of our own age and country seems to have produced comparatively little. The subject has been presented, in its more didactic aspects, by Claude and Vinet on the continent ; valuable suggestions for the Christian preacher are contained in the '*Ecclesiastes Anglicanus*' of Mr. Gresley, and in the work on the '*Christian Ministry*,' by Mr. Bridges ; whilst hints, from the layman's point of view, characterized by all that eloquence and power which distinguish our periodical literature, are supplied in the pages of the '*Edinburgh*,' and other reviews. And to each of these sources, it will be seen, the author has not been sparing in his acknowledgments. But he has met with nothing so comprehensive and com-

plete upon the subject of preaching, as to make him think that further efforts in that direction were superfluous; or that, in suggesting means for increasing the efficiency of the modern pulpit, he should be found labouring in an exhausted field."

Upon the present state of the pulpit in England, and especially in the church of England, we were prepared to make some remarks; but as we peruse Mr. Moore's book page after page, we find that we are anticipated, and all that we could offer, and much more, is well said already. We wished to protest against the clamour for the exclusive use of Saxon words; but Mr. Moore has protested manfully, and with the greater effect, because he himself writes English well; and Anglo-Saxon is neither English, nor the sole fountain from which its "undefiled well" is fed. We wished to protest against the cruel dictum which maintains that every sermon, nay, every part of every sermon, must come down to the level of a mean capacity; but here again Mr. Moore is beforehand with us. A christian lady made a remark in our hearing (even ladies may be allowed to teach preachers something which they will not always learn from books, or even from clerical conferences) which is worth repeating. "It seems to me," she said, "that clergymen have set themselves to preach to children till they have brought their own minds down to the childish level." If any young clergyman would know whether his people comprehend his language and his thoughts, let him ascertain what is their favourite newspaper; and then divesting himself, as far as possible, of every prejudice, ask himself whether his own sermons, or the newspaper, contain the greater quantity of that which calls for the exertion of the thinking faculty. He will probably admit that the newspaper ventures on a style of composition which he discards as too difficult for the pulpit; and that, as to hard words he is fairly distanced. This is one reason why two-thirds of almost every congregation consist of women. Men are not addressed as men; and they feel that it is an impertinence to treat them as children. The clergy as a body, at least the evangelical clergy, preach below themselves; dissenting ministers, as a body, preach above themselves. These are faults on both sides; but, on the whole, the man who always does his best is most likely to succeed. It is not strong thoughts, nor hard words, that disperse a congregation. Uneducated and half-educated people love hard words. The housemaid's letter will contain far more fine words than that of her mistress; so will her conversation. Just as a child loves the jingle of syllabic sounds, so do uneducated people, or rather half-educated ones, the class which has nearly superseded the entirely ignorant in most of our parishes. What is wanted in the pulpit is "great plainness of speech;" that is, powerful thoughts sent home to the conscience; vivid illustrations to engage the attention; sympathy, like an electric current,

connecting the preacher's heart with the hearts of those who hear him; and, as the foundation of all this zeal, untiring zeal, such as proceeds only from one source; a source which the apostle places before us in these memorable words:—"The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge that if one died for all, then were all dead."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1. *Miracles the Proper Credentials of a Revelation: being a Reply to an Essay "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity," in "Essays and Reviews."* By the Rev. J. Chapman, B.D., Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Seeleys, Fleet Street. 1861.
2. *The Bible: on what ground, and to what extent, can we believe the Canonical Books of Scripture to be inspired? A Plain Argument, for the Plenary and Verbal Inspiration of Holy Scripture, with Answers to certain Objections.* By the Rev. C. H. Davis, M.A. Seeleys, Fleet Street. 1853.

A CONSIDERABLE number of "Replies," "Answers," "Considerations," &c., suggested by the Essays and Reviews, have already appeared, and others are promised by different writers of very different schools. Of course we can take notice of but a few of these; though all of them are, perhaps, likely to do good, at least in the circle in which the author moves. The pamphlets before us are of a higher class, and deserve a more extensive circulation. The pamphlet of Mr. Chapman is the work of no ordinary thinker, nor of a mind satisfied with ordinary modes of thought. He undertakes to show, in answer to Mr. Baden Powell, *first*, that miracles are not impossible; *secondly*, that they may be, and are, substantiated by testimony; and to point out, *thirdly*, the connection between the miracle and the doctrine.

The pamphlet passed the ordeal of certain acute and well-disciplined minds before it was published, who do not hesitate to pronounce it a full answer to all that Mr. Baden Powell has advanced. Had none of the Seven Essays been written, we should still recommend it to our readers as a work of sterling and independent value, and especially to every student in mental philosophy. The pamphlet reached us at the close of the month, and our scanty space forbids us to enter further on its merits. Mr. Chapman was for some years a missionary in India, and principal of the Syrian college, Cottayam. If any of our readers should have been infected with the prejudice, that only men of mean intellects or uncultivated minds devote themselves to the work of missions, the single favour we ask at their hands is, that they will read this pamphlet, and grapple with its arguments.

2. Mr. Davis is well known as one of our best controversial writers. Always full of matter, always to the purpose, always firm and clear in doctrine, and never out of temper, his "Plain Argument" leaves the man without excuses,—we do not say, who is not convinced by it—for

conviction is a matter in which the conscience is concerned as much as the intellect,—but who does not feel that at least the subject is not one which may be treated with levity and insolent contempt. We see that Mr. Davis announces a series of “*Anti-Essays*,” of which, we conclude, that now before us is the first. We hope he may meet with sufficient encouragement to induce him to complete his task.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

OUR notices of public affairs naturally begin with the United States. America is in the midst of a revolution equally sudden and violent. The disruption is complete; the great union, the United States of America is a thing of history. The southern states have formally seceded, proclaimed their independence, elected a president, and formed themselves into a new republic. It consists at present of seven confederated states:—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The border states hesitate, and Virginia, contrary to expectation, casts in her lot with the old republic. The slave-holding states have published their new constitution, and it is now under consideration in their congress. In some points it is an improvement on the constitution of the United States; in others, affecting slavery, it is, of course, much worse. As a concession we presume to the civilized world, the foreign slave trade is prohibited. At home, slavery, the great domestic institution, around which the storm gathers, is cherished. The president and vice-president are to hold office for six years instead of three as in the northern states. The language of the new president, Mr. Jefferson Davis, is bold, and seems to challenge a conflict with the northern states. Americans are notoriously boastful, and the general feeling in this country is that bloodshed may still be avoided. If so, it will be owing to the forbearance of the northern states, beyond all question. The more powerful party is in possession of the whole American navy, the army, and the arsenals. Yet to contend with this the southern states boast that before the first of April they will possess an army of fifty thousand troops, commanded by experienced officers. They refuse to surrender Fort Sumter at the mouth of Charleston harbour, and president Lincoln declines to give orders for taking it by force. This forbearance, while it gives time for the first burst of passion to subside, may possibly lead to a peaceable adjustment between the two republics.

Whatever the results may be, England looks on with sorrow. Our sympathy, beyond all question, have hitherto been with the northern states. We cannot profess a national interest on behalf of a revolution, however successful it may be, which aims at the establishment of a great wrong, a vast national crime. Yet, if it must be so, we wish to be on friendly terms even with a republic whose very foundations are laid in oppression and human suffering. We have learned to trust much more to the force of opinion and remonstrance, and to the national application of christian principles in our relations with

other countries, than to prompt measures or angry denunciations. We regret the course on which the confederated states have entered; but as a nation we have no feeling towards them but that of unmixed goodwill.

We cannot conceal from ourselves that this feeling is deepened by the extraordinary course which the free, or United states are pursuing at this moment; a course which seems infatuated. The congress has seized on the inauspicious crisis, when she is rent asunder by faction and threatened with civil war, to impose a tariff, or scale of duties, on articles of foreign commerce, which will effectually destroy, so it is said by those most competent to judge, some of the greatest branches of our trade with her. Hardware and earthenware are almost excluded. The value of the former trade alone is upwards of £3,000,000, and the loss of it will for some time seriously affect the great iron districts of which Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Sheffield are the centres. Other manufactures will suffer a great temporary embarrassment, and great irritation spreads in consequence amongst those of our working classes who have hitherto been supposed to look with most favour upon republican institutions. One item rather affects ourselves; the duty on foreign books. Why is it that the new tariff imposes a much heavier tax on English than on French or other imported literature? We are afraid that only one answer can be given. America recognizes no international law of copyright. Her publishers at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia reprint the works of English authors without the slightest compensation or acknowledgment; and the heavy duty is meant to protect them in this dishonourable trade. England will soon, with her bounding elasticity, retrieve in other quarters of the globe whatever she may lose of her commerce with America; but the United States will not so easily recover the respect and confidence with which she trifles. The new tariff cannot fail to widen the breach with the southern states, whose interests are not with the home manufacture, but with the foreign merchant.

The French chambers have been indulged, after a long season of taciturnity, in the luxury of free discussion. It has been amusing to observe the various currents of their talk. A few valiant spirits have dared to besprinkle the emperor himself, and not a few have directed the streams of their gushing eloquence against the pope; but the full torrent surges and dashes heavily against our own shores. Perfidious Albion! is again the cry. She has overreached the emperor in the matter of the recent treaty; after having overreached him in Italy and once in the Crimea! Nay, she actually got up the story of the Syrian massacres on purpose to divert his attention and engage his forces in the Lebanon; and now he is obliged, by a recent convention, to bring his troops home again! It is painful to learn from those who have recently been in Paris, and mixed with the highest circles there, that these stories, if not credited, are at least repeated, by men whom we have been accustomed to regard as wise and moderate.

We have said, in a former page, all that seems necessary on the subject of the convocation at Westminster. The convocation of York has since met, under the new archbishop; and, for the first time, for

despatch of business; with the queen's *permission*, though not yet with the royal *license*. If its sittings should be continued, it will have the same claims upon our attention with its southern rival, and we shall, of course, treat it with the same respect.

As we write, the remains of one whose name will, in after ages, be always associated with that of our beloved queen, are being carried to the grave. The duchess of Kent, after severe suffering, has left the fleeting honours of a court, and entered on an eternal state. She leaves behind her a memory universally respected; and those who reverence the many noble qualities of her illustrious daughter will feel how much is due to one who guided her studies, formed her principles in youth, and led her through the early and difficult stages of inexperienced life. An open grave is always a solemn lesson; most of all when it opens for the great. Happy are they who have heard and received the voice that cries, "I am the resurrection and the life; whoso believeth in me though he were dead yet shall he have life; and he that liveth and believeth on me shall never die."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FRIENDLY remonstrance from one quarter, and a remonstrance not quite so friendly from another, upon the subject of Mr. Minton's letter, induce us to make a remark which we should have thought superfluous,—to wit, that the Editor does not hold himself bound to defend either the arguments or conclusions of those Correspondents whose names are subscribed to their contributions. Otherwise he must either exclude controversial discussion altogether from these pages, or become a sort of *Jupiter bifrons*, wearing two consciences at once. We have no apology to make. We thought Mr. Minton deserving of a hearing. "The Courts" (of the *Christian Observer*) "are open;" and those who are so disposed, if they will only write in a courteous spirit, may come forward and "implead one another."

We must decline an able and temperate letter on "Imputed Righteousness;" not (as we have just said) because we differ from the writer, but because the subject has been so handled by the greatest divines in former times that no modern writer has added anything of importance on either side. The controversy rests just where it stood when Calvin and Arminius died, and Hooker left his pulpit. We have no wish to revive a controversy which would certainly be long, and might, we fear, be very unprofitable.

POSTSCRIPT.—We have determined on reprinting our JUNE Number for 1860, for which many inquiries continue to be made, though it has been long out of print. We believe we were the first to call attention to the real character of the Essays and Reviews in the article which that Number contains on "Broad Church Theology: the Oxford Essays and Reviews." It will be published in the course of a few days, and may then be had through our publisher and the booksellers. Our number for last July contained an article on the same subject, and that for September another "on Dr. Temple's place amongst the Essayists." Of each of these a few copies still remain on hand.

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[1861.

TRUTHS FOR THE TIMES; OR, HOW TO DEAL WITH MODERN
HERESIES IN THE PULPIT.

It is an instructive, and should be a consoling, thought, to remember that all error is short-lived, and all truth immortal. We are apt to be cast down unduly at the apparent progress and success of error. When we see men of mark for their ability, and scholarship, and goodness, and outward devotedness to the cause of Christ, fall away from the faith; when we observe among the literary and scientific men of the day a repudiated reverence for ancient truth, as if, in its traditional and accepted forms, Christianity were a thing of the past; when, by men occupying central or influential positions, we learn that the dear truth of ages is degraded to the rank of a peradventure, and often to something lower than that;—in a word, when the young in their debates, and the poor at their clubs, and the rich in their drawing-rooms, are flinging broadcast the seeds of unbelieving thought, no man forbidding them, we are ready to anticipate the near advent of a time, when we shall take up that plaintive language of the psalmist, “We see not our tokens: there is not one prophet more; no, not one is there among us that understandeth any more.”

These discouraging thoughts may be uncalled for; but still we cannot afford to disregard such outbreaks of error. They have hurt very many, and alarmed many more; and this especially on account of the numerous channels which have been found for the dispersion of the noxious influence. We should err greatly if we were to limit the mischief to be apprehended from modern heresies, as if it could come only through the reading of a too-notorious volume, or indeed through the reading of any book, written ostensibly with a theological aim. The

mischievous lies deeper, more concealed, is more subtle in its working, and more widely spread. The "Essays and Reviews" are ominous signs of the times indeed; but they are not the primary cause of the evil. They are but the bold and outspoken expression of thoughts, which, in loose and unsystematized form, have been floating in men's minds for some years past,—the *muscæ volitantes* of a new and esoteric faith, to which they might "give understanding," but at present "no tongue." These flitting forms—the shreds and patches of old misbeliefs—had first presented themselves to the religious imagination through the popular literature of the day. All that the Essayists have done is to give to these loose doubtings something of coherence and dogmatic shape; and so enabling those who held them to face conclusions which they had never faced before. We may not go so far as a writer in the Westminster Review, and say that the whole mental food of the day—science, history, morals, poetry, fiction, and essay—is prepared by men who have long ceased to believe. But we fear it would not be difficult to name writers of eminence, in every one of these departments, whose pages bear traces of a lightly-esteemed Christianity,—the smouldering embers of an out-dying faith in anything which professes to be revealed. At all events, in relation to the particular forms of pernicious teaching we have now to complain of, we know that we had them in our secular literature long before the time when, in the matchless effrontery of gown and bands, they were put forth with all the pretensions and sanction of a theology. Bunsen could not write upon archæology without asking us to put our Bibles under a bushel; nor Buckle upon civilization, without assumptions which would cast God out of His own world; while Darwin will make all nature a God to herself, in order that he may propound a new theory on the origin of species. So far as relates, therefore, to the more educated sections of our congregations, to calculate upon their ignorance of these modern heresies would be most unwise. They had learned it from their literature, learned it from their science, and would have continued to learn it at their clubs and their coffee-houses, whether the "Essays and Reviews" had expired with the first edition, or had run on to the eighth.

With such a view of the subtle and pervasive character of modern error, we have thought that it might not be unacceptable to our readers to glance at a few of those first principles of revealed theology, which seem to have a special meetness for the present necessity;—to specify one or two of those antagonistic truths, which, once firmly engrafted on the minds of our people, will best serve to counteract or neutralize the mischievous effects of these modern heresies.

I. Of such truths, the first, we think, should have reference to the proper LIMITS OF HUMAN REASON in matters of religion,—what it can accept or reject, by the exercise of its own powers,—and what if it accept, it must do so solely on the authority of a Divine statement. The Essayists, as it is known, utterly ignore the existence of such sharply-defined limits,—see no reason why the mind should be shackled, by the trammels of an outer law, for its knowledge upon any subject. The ripened faculties of “the colossal man,”—the “evoked” voice of a “heaven-taught conscience,”—above all, the omnific power of “the verifying faculty,” able to cast out the improbable from an alleged revelation, as a mathematician would cast out the irrelevant from a treatise on geometry,—these make the prerogative of human reason, in matters of faith, simply boundless. Every man may be his own Bible.

In this exaltation of the power of an internal consciousness to sit in judgment upon revelation, or to modify its statements, or even to do without it altogether, there is, as we all know, nothing original and nothing new. Not only are the same things found in the writings of Emerson and Theodore Parker, but, as a slight reference to Leland’s larger treatise on Revelation will show, in the works of much earlier writers. Lord Herbert had contended for “the existence of innate principles of religion and morality in man which made all revelation superfluous.” Tindal, in his “Christianity as old as the Creation,” had maintained that there was “a clear universal light shining into the minds of all men, and discovering to them the whole of what it is necessary for them to know and believe and practise.”* And Bolingbroke, as if in anticipation of the theory of man’s progressive advances to a condition of intellectual perfectness, had declared that there was an “intuitive knowledge” in man, which constituted “a perpetual standing revelation, always made, always making, to all the sons of Adam.”† So that, if we except the modern guise in which the shade of this buried heresy reappears upon the earth, and the little allegorical episode of the “colossal man” (though the Unitarians accuse the Essayists of having stolen *that*) in relation to this part of our subject, infidelity has made no advance upon what it was when Leland was writing his book, exactly a hundred years ago.

But can we, in view of these revived heresies, go again over Leland’s ground? Would it conduce to edification, or would it be tolerated by our congregations, that we should reason, at this day, on the antecedent necessity of a Divine revelation, as deduced from the religiously-receptive constitution of our moral

* Leland on the Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation. vol. i., sect. 1.

† Idem. vol. ii. part 2, c. 1.

nature? or the debased and sunken condition of the whole pagan world? or the helpless intricacy and confusion of all ethical systems, which have had nothing but the discoveries of reason for their basis? or the conflicting speculations of the highest philosophy, whenever it attempted to deal with such subjects as the nature of God, moral sanctions, and a future world? We think not. An allusion to these antecedent difficulties of infidelity may occasionally furnish a topic for the opening of a discourse; but as a rule, we think we should start from the necessity of some communication from God to man, as a generally-ceded postulate. And then, in relation to this particular phase of modern error, the following proposition, we think, should have a first and well-vindicated place in our teaching; namely—

(1.) That revelation *does* contain, as it was to be expected it *should* contain, certain disclosures which, if accepted at all, *must be accepted on the authority of a Divine statement.*

There is an easy and popular form, we think, of presenting this truth. We have to draw a line. We say, on all subjects, on one side of this line, our unassisted faculties may reason, and compare, and judge. Alleged facts concerning them come within the domain of our senses; and, by means of observation or experiment, we can prove them to be either true or false. But subjects on the other side of this line belong to a department of the universe, the laws and conditions of which do not fall under our notice. Anything told us, therefore, in relation to this extra-mundane economy,—the things which are done in it, the laws which regulate it, the beings that act and live under it,—we must accept, not because we perceive it to be likely, not because we can prove it to be true, not because it has passed the ordeal of our “verifying faculty,” but because He who is the Author of this unknown economy has declared the fact so to be. The reasoning may be made short and conclusive. We lay down the axiom with regard to man,—that, reason as he may, and conjecture as he may, the province of his certain knowledge is the province of sensible observation,—so far, and no further. Revelation professedly deals with topics which lie outside this province; with spiritual facts, with a spiritual government, with a spiritual world. Believe what we may, therefore, of some of the things contained in this revelation, it is the belief, not of knowledge, but of testimony.

Let us just consider, for an instant, how a recognition of this truth would close the door against an entire class of these modern heresies. We may take, as an example, the nature or modes of action attributed to spiritual beings. The Essayists seem to have an almost Sadducean antipathy either to “angel or spirit.” Why have recourse to angelic agency for the de-

struction of the first-born, when the work might have been done by the "Bedouin host?" Or why believe in the reality of demoniacal possessions, or in the personality of Satan, when a slight extension of "the ideological theory" may convert all these into fabulous existences, and melt down the narrative of their achievements into the thin substance of poetic myth? Now to this unwillingness to accept the scriptural statement as a literal fact, we oppose our first antagonistic principle. We do not argue, as we might, from analogical probability, in favour of divers orders of spiritual existences, whether good or evil. We simply say, that whether there be such orders of beings or not, the existence of them is a matter plainly beyond the province of our philosophy to decide. They are on the shaded side of our line. They move in an orbit of being where our appliances of knowledge fail us. They *may* be wholly spiritual creatures, and we know nothing about spirit. Or they *may* be allied to an organization which makes them wholly, or in part, free of our material laws; and then we are stopped in our speculations again. Any way, we find all our means for certain knowledge at fault. Being out of the reach of our senses, we can learn nothing about them from observation; above the conditions of our economy, we can deduce nothing from experiment; under subjection to a higher mental system than ours, we can conclude nothing from individual consciousness. Whether to affirm or to deny, the fact is one upon which human science has no data for its guidance. Every grade of being has its defined intellectual status, and it cannot get beyond it. I can no more comprehend the mode of an angel's subsistence or action, than one of the lower animals, however quick and semi-rational his instinct, can comprehend mine. We may be unable to comprehend all that scripture tells us with regard to angelic natures, may have a difficulty in reconciling it with our intellectual philosophy; but to object to the existence of such beings on these grounds, is puerile and unmeaning. As Robert Hall well observes: "The fact is in no other sense unphilosophical, except that philosophy has nothing to do with it."

Our antagonistic truth will be found to foreclose many other forms of modern objection to "the truth as it is in Jesus." The Essayists, it is known, have assailed, on rational grounds, other verities of our faith,—the Incarnation, the Atonement, the work of the Spirit, and even the sacred mystery of the ever-blessed Trinity. Let the canon be recognized which determines the limit of all possible knowledge,—which defines what *does* belong to our intellectual economy, and what *does not*,—and we shall feel that there is a large range of subjects upon which God may speak or may be silent; but upon which, if He speak, all further speculation must be at an end, and all abstract philosophy must hold its peace. "For what man knoweth the

things of a man save the spirit of a man that is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God.”*

(2.) But here we must be careful to make room for a second antagonistic principle, namely, that truths accepted on the authority of a Divine statement are not, on that account, either *less certain* in their own nature, or *less fitted* to become *the objects of an intelligent faith, as well as to be expressed in a clearly-defined verbal creed.*

It will be in the remembrance of our readers, that about twelve months before the appearance of the Essays, there was a great disturbance in the theological atmosphere, occasioned by the appearance of Mr. Mansel's Bampton Lecture. We think we are right in saying that, among literary men of devout turn of mind, the book at first was popular. They liked its ostensible aim,—to curb man's intellectual pride, to challenge the vaunting rationalist to an encounter with his own weapons, and on his own ground; and they rejoiced at the vigorous and unanswerable eloquence with which the lecturer mapped out for the speculative inquirer his proper and legitimate field of subject, as well as showed him the hopeless obscurity which awaited him, if he should presume to transgress its border line. But while they were rejoicing in the overthrow of the rationalist, they did not see the price of their victory; did not see that the sword which had laid *him* low might also be made to pierce to the heart many old faiths and cherished beliefs beside; did not see that, on the Bampton lecturer's principles, they were letting in the narrow end of another rationalistic wedge,—one by which it is sought to rob us of all definite dogmatic teaching, on the ground that the human mind can know very little of God at all, and that even that little may not be true,—a strange assumption indeed concerning a Divine revelation.

By the principal leaders of our periodical press, however, (the Christian Observer, it will be remembered, being among the foremost,) these tendencies were quickly pointed out, together with the use which might easily be made of such arguments by the philosophical infidel. Indeed, there is something ominous in the motto adopted by the lecturer from Dr. Newman: “Why should we vex ourselves to find out whether deductions are philosophical or no, provided they are religious?” As if, in relation to matters upon which philosophy is competent to decide, anything could be religious which is not philosophical. And yet this is really the key-note of the whole system. Our entire theological knowledge is resolvable ultimately into certain “regulative principles” which we are told are designed, “not to satisfy our reason, but to guide our practice; which tell us, not what God is in Himself, but how He wills that we should think of Him.” Such representations, it will be seen, marvellously

* 1 Cor. ii. 11.

overstate the extent of our ignorance of Divine things. They reduce to an abject and impossible nullity the most important functions of the rational intelligence. They make the necessarily-inadequate conceptions which the mind forms of Godhead all one with blank and blind uncertainty; and eventually would deprive us, as entirely as any of these Essayists would deprive us, of all scientific divinity, and reduce all articles and all creeds to the same blank and bald expression,—a mere Athenian symbol for an unknowable and unknown God.*

We are far from supposing that Mr. Mansel intended to do the work of error, because he writes like a lover of truth, and nobly vindicates its essential principles. But whether from idolatry of his hero sir William Hamilton, or from oversight of the logical consequences of his adopted theory, he certainly has been led to take up positions which, rightly or wrongly, have furnished a ground of triumph to the infidel, and, to the believer have become an occasion of wounded and weakened faith.

What, then, is the ground we have to take in relation to this phase of religious error? Why, that the revelation which God has made of himself, necessarily partial as it is, owing to the limitations of human thought, is nevertheless *most certainly true as far as it goes*, and, as such, may become the object of a happy, trusting, and enlightened belief. We cannot afford to have the revelations of God's Spirit to our spirit reduced to a mere metaphysical and possibly untrue convention; cannot afford to hear treated as a dreamy nullity our conceptions of Him "in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life;" in a word, cannot afford to deprive our people of the comfort which they do take, and which scripture manifestly intends that they should take, in their cleaving and clinging hold upon a personal Saviour and a personal God. As good Mr. Romaine said, a few days before his death, "I always knew the doctrines I had preached were truths; but now I feel them to be blessings." And the faith never can be a happy faith which rests upon a less firm and intelligent foundation. "I know whom I have believed." "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life."*

And as this knowledge is true knowledge, so we are to maintain that it may become the proper object of rational belief, and may admit of expression through the medium of intelligible words. It is manifestly the design of the Essayists, to set up an antagonism between the claims of reason and faith,—so far as faith has relation to any clearly-defined verbal creed. Referring to some of our more strongly-marked dogmatic formu-

* See "Thoughts on Preaching," by Daniel Moore, M.A. pp. 353.

† 1 John v. 20.

laries, professor Jowett expresses his "hope for the future, that these distinctions of theology are beginning to fade away." And hence, in proof of the impossibility of retaining them, we are confronted with what we had thought the long-defunct Socinian objections against our Lord's twofold nature,—such as His praying to Himself, and His ignorance of the day of judgment,—as if there were anything more in such difficulties than there is in many practical conclusions we all assent to, relating to the Almighty and His government:—conclusions which, as in the case of "liberty and necessity," we do act upon, and are obliged to act upon, leaving faith and reason to settle the matter as they can. On this point, however, we do not think we need insist much. From the nature of the subjects with which revelation deals, the practical intellect of our people will generally welcome that statement of the apostle—"Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness." To have transcended at some points the limits of human thought is not the reproach of scripture, but its recommendation. For it is the voice of philosophy as it speculates, and of reason as it toils, of experience as it records its failures, and of imagination as it folds its tired and baffled wing—"Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?"

II. But we pass on to another class of truths, of paramount importance to be brought into our pulpit ministrations at this time; we mean those which relate to the inspiration of Holy Scripture. On this, taken in connection with the cognate topics of miracles and prophecy, must revelation take its stand. Inspiration, using that term in the broad sense of a truth-securing, supernatural influence, pervading all parts of the written revelation, is the one strong position which, in our day, we must chiefly look to defend. In covert or open form, every one of the Essayists has directed his assaults against it. Their rule of strategy is, "Heed not particular doctrines: *they* will go when reverence for the book goes. Fight neither with small nor great: only shake to its foundations, that old belief that the Bible is the infallible truth of God."

(1) Hence, we deem it of importance to see that our congregations are well instructed in the elementary branches of this subject: in other words, that they understand *our general grounds for believing that the Bible is the word of God*. We must not give them credit for knowing too much. In relation to other doctrinal points, we are always glad when the recurring festivals of our church year compel us to bring certain great truths to remembrance. We believe if some branch of this great subject were to come round once a year, it would not be too often; so that it should come as natural to us to preach on the Divine authority of Scripture, say on the second Sunday in

Advent, as at Easter to preach on the resurrection, or at Whitsuntide on the gifts of the Spirit. At all events, we think the questions may fairly be raised,—Do our congregations generally understand the broad historical grounds on which they are supposed to believe that the book in their hands is a communication from the living God? Do they know anything of our accepted criteria for determining the genuineness and authenticity of the writings themselves? May we assume that they understand the general method of settling the sacred canon,—particularly that of the New Testament; the sifting methods employed for disengaging the chaff from the wheat; what the church did, during the centuries while the work of consolidation and settling was going on, with other external testimonies, as contained in those “eleven allegations” of Paley, and which were the wholesome terror of our college days? These things, as we believe, are *not* understood. And hence when a learned man, a professor at the University, and withal a clergyman, says to them, “Read the Bible as you would any other book,” the thought first occurs to them, “Why should we not? We know of nothing to make it unlike any other book. Nothing in its external history, nothing in the subjects it deals with, nothing in the excluding tests which were employed to keep out, from the collection, all writings which had not upon them the authoritative seal of a Divine communication,—we do not see why there should not be a ‘free handling’ of its contents, nor why all that will not stand the test of a ‘remorseless criticism’ should not be discredited and laid aside.”

(2) But the external evidence for the authenticity of scripture is not all. The great principle which, in relation to this subject, we shall have to defend, has reference to the *theory of inspiration itself*: its nature, its limits, the recognition in it of a distinct human element, and the degree to which, in consequence of such element, the contents of the sacred volume are amenable to any form of verifying process, on the part of those for whose use the revelation is given.

This, we say, will be our battle-field. Our formularies, (and the formularies used by other bodies are not more definite,) while assuming the existence of inspiration, have nowhere defined what it is. We might hold with Newman, and Morell, and Macnaught,* that inspiration is only one of the higher forms of religious genius; or, with Maurice, that it is only that kind of beneficial influence, which we pray for in our collect, and which God is continually bestowing on good men to this day;† or with one of our Essayists that it is a mere “human utterance which it has pleased Providence to use in a special way for the

* On Inspiration, p. 491.

† Theological Essays, p. 384.

education of mankind,"* and yet, it would be difficult, on that ground, for the voice of authority to call us to account. But this is not the only evil of our having no authoritative definitions to guide us in this matter. Left to make theories of our own, or to select one from those already made, our pulpits have given forth upon this subject the most opposite and dangerous hypotheses, some claiming too much for inspiration, and some giving up too much; some contending for a rigorous severity of verbal precision, which laid the sacred record open to the most obvious exceptions, and others allowing such a latitudinarian license to the human element in the writings, that it becomes difficult to pronounce with certainty how much of them is Divine. Thus, because some persons had contended for the mechanical or organic theory of inspiration, transforming the sacred writers into passive machines, into which were breathed each and every word, as well as the order in which it should be written down; others set up a theory of what they called "directive inspiration," which excluded the Divine influence from the *choice of words altogether*, and supposed, that the substance of the communication being given, the writer was left to relate it altogether in his own way;—a most dangerous principle surely, and palpably untenable, because we often have instances of reference to the elder scriptures, in which the argument turns upon the particular word, and even upon the tense of the verb or the number of the noun: as in the passage, "I am the God of Abraham," quoted by our Lord to prove the doctrine of the resurrection; or in the passage to the Galatians, "To Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one." There must be a good deal of holy scripture penned with all the verbal precision which Hooker describes as having been secured to the strictly prophetical writings, in which he says: "So oft as God employed the writers in this heavenly work, they neither spake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable, as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwise than the harp or lute doth give a sound according to the discretion of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill."†

Again: because small and unimportant *variations*, or as some call them, mistakes, are allowed to have crept into the sacred text,—variations which, considering the constant transcription of the scriptures by different hands, their translation into various languages, the circumstances under which they have been transmitted to us from age to age, seem to be an inevitable human accident,—therefore there has been a readiness to surrender, and that by respectable commentators too, every

* Essays and Reviews, p. 253.

† Works, Keble's Ed. vol. ii. p. 756. Serm. v. § 4.

apparent discrepancy to the tolerated presence of the human element; and so to admit that there are statements in the record, not only disagreeing with each other, but irreconcilable with the established facts of history. Now we need not refer to some instances of this kind, which, a century ago, would have been given up as hopeless discrepancies, but which have since been cleared up, either by a more ripened critical scholarship, or the more advanced state of historic science.* And, therefore, we think it is to be regretted that a man like dean Alford, not even noticing the solutions of Townson and Westcott, as to the adoption by St. John of the Roman calculation of time, gives up the different hours named for the crucifixion as an insuperable difficulty; or that, while there is so much to be said on the other side, he makes the defence of St. Stephen to contain "two demonstrable historical mistakes."†

And then we have the further element of uncertainty assumed by some writers,—of course with a view to fine down to its lowest point, the divine element of inspiration,—and belonging, as they say, to all the words of our Lord himself, arising from the alleged fact that the Aramaic dialect, in which He spoke, is extinct, and therefore, that even the apostles could only present them to us through a translation. This was the ground taken by the late professor of modern history at Cambridge; and thus a doubt is thrown upon the incarnation, and some other points of Christian doctrine.‡ But our views of inspiration, rightly announced, will shield us against all such cavils. We must contend, at the outset, for what the sacred writers themselves claim: a divine and supernatural influence exerted over them for the purpose of recording certain truths or facts. And this granted, there can be no difference between the supernatural gift which enables a person to write down the exact language of another, and that which enables him to translate such language into his own.

These remarks, it will be seen, are introduced only as showing the many difficulties which beset the question, and the great care which will be required of us in so allowing for the human element in inspiration, as not to nullify or impoverish the Divine. Of course the Essayists deny the Divine altogether. With an unscrupulous recklessness of statement, which is perhaps one of the most striking characteristics of the book, professor Jowett denies that "for the supernatural views of inspiration there is any foundation in the Gospels and Epistles."§

* Take such an example as 2 Sam. viii. 4, compared with 1 Chron. xviii. 4, as well as other variations of numbers all explainable on the hypothesis of Dr. Kennicott, that "an Arabic cipher might very easily be added or omitted, because it is nothing more than our period (.)"

—Dissert. on the state of the printed Hebrew text, p. 533.

† See Lee on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 504.

‡ Epilogue, pp. 478—491.

§ Essays and Reviews, p. 345.

With such texts before him as it would be the absurdity of charity to suppose that he should have overlooked, as, "But God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit," and "which things we also speak not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth,"* he can deliberately write these words: "There is no appearance in their writings that the evangelists or apostles had any inward gift."† We must, therefore, on this great subject, impress the minds of our people with some steadily-maintained leading principles. We must contend for inspiration, in its various degrees, as a supernatural influence, exerted on the mind of the creature, whereby at special times, and for specific ends, he may make known truths which could be discovered in no other way. It is not implied that there is any superseding of the ordinary faculties of the inspired person, save for the prevention of substantial error and the exhibition of essential truth. He may choose, in some cases, his own expressions; he may make use of his own knowledge; he may display, as in any other composition, his peculiar mental characteristics: only he is preserved, while the Spirit of God is upon him, from using any language which would convey a mistaken sense of the Divine mind:—from either putting down as facts things contradicted by our other knowledge, or setting forth as doctrine that which agrees not with the truth of God. Inspiration, we say, is this, or it is nothing. If we are to concede that the fabric of scripture is such an inextricably interwoven tissue of human thoughts and Divine thoughts, that Paul may err as Plato, or that the precepts given forth in the Sermon on the Mount, may be subjected as freely to the "verifying faculty" in man, as maxims given forth from the Lyceum or the Porch, then that verifying faculty becomes in effect our revelation, and it is of the intellectual spirit in man, and not of the Holy and Eternal Spirit, that those words are written, "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, even the deep things of God."

(3) There is one other antagonistic principle to our modern heresies, in relation to this subject, which we must briefly notice, namely, the consistency of this view of inspiration with the discovered *facts of physical, or ethnological, or historic science.*

The history of the conflicts between religion and science is very instructive. According to a very common view, the two things have always been afraid of each other; always jealous of each other; always fancying it impossible that they might sit side by side together on the throne of Eternal Truth. The strife is foolish, because what Kepler beautifully calls "the finger of God, and the tongue of God,"—His works and His word,—can never be contrary the one to the other. Whatever the discrepancy be, it must be of our own making. We have

* 1 Cor. ii. 10 and 18.

† V. *supra*.

generalized too hastily upon the facts of science, or have interpreted too superficially the words of scripture. This has been the history of all past disagreements; and, one after another, we have seen alleged discrepancies vanish, and true science laying her offering at the footstool of the truth of God. Thus, when some learned writers on the formation of language pretended to have discovered proofs that it was not possible for all the dialects of the world to have had one common origin, Sir William Jones, and others, addressed themselves to the task, and demonstrated affinities between all the languages of the earth, explicable only on the hypothesis of one primary root. So when the celebrated tables of Indian history were first produced, and Christians were becoming alarmed at historic records, having every appearance of being anterior to the Mosaic era, it was permitted to Laplace, no special friend to Christianity, to show that some of the facts on which these tables were based were astronomically impossible!*

In like manner were the pretended objections to the sacred record brought forth by Volney, founded on some exhumed Egyptian obelisks, permitted for some time to disturb old faiths in Bible history, till Champollion discovered a new reading of the hieroglyphics, which wrested the weapon from the sceptic's hand and turned it against himself. Of late, as we know, the ground of objection most commonly taken is that of the alleged inconsistency of the Mosaic account with the discoveries of geology; and, system after system of this new science has been broached, with every one of which it has been customary to urge that the Mosaic cosmogony is at variance. Now, we are far from wishing to undervalue the results of geological investigation. It is one of the noblest fields ever opened for human thought, and to the cause of truth is giving promise continually of yielding a glorious harvest. But when successive theories in relation to it are urged as being at variance with scripture, is it not competent to us to ask, Have not all these geological hypotheses been at variance with one another? Has not system risen against system, and theory displaced theory, till the devotee of a science, itself but of yesterday, finds himself already walking among the fossil remains of extinct philosophies, and obliged to relegate the speculations of the early founders of his school to the same shelf with an old almanack? Is it reasonable, then, we ask, to require that revelation, which must, from its nature, be a fixed and everlasting thing, should contain the unfolded germs of physical science, which must be a shifting thing, and in the case of geology, as we have seen, a very rapidly shifting thing too? Assume that we have got hold of the right theory at last,—that “the testimony of the rocks” will never give forth more truthful utterances than those made

* Wiseman's Lectures, pp. 69—73.

for them by Hugh Miller; and assume, further, that in putting, "days" for "æons," and other methods of interpretation, our revelation could be shown to be in exact accordance with the modern state of geological science; yet, since the modern rod swallows up all the other rods; and since two things which disagree with each other cannot agree with a third, we should be found to have a revelation which was right for Hugh Miller, but wrong for all the geologists which had gone before: in other words, Moses must have written an account which for thirty-three centuries would have appeared to mankind as false, but in the thirty-fourth century would begin to be hailed as true!

Our space allows not that we should pursue this thought further. The great truth, in relation to it, we shall have to maintain, is, that holy scripture was given unto us, not to make us wise unto physics, but *wise unto salvation*; that whilst there is an accordance, and, except on the hypothesis of an inspiring influence upon the writers, a wonderful and inexplicable accordance, between scripture and science,—that is, between a standing thing and a progressive thing,—he who looks in scripture for a scientific *résumé* of all the physical phenomena connected with the formation of the universe, will assuredly look in vain. And hence, we doubt the wisdom of any attempted harmonies of scripture with the discoveries of modern science,—at least in the pulpit. It may be very well for Buckland, and Pratt, and Hitchcock, and Pye Smith, to propound their several peace-making schemes in books; but since Moses cannot be made to agree with all of them, and since we know not how soon we may be called upon to force his record into adjustment with some new hypothesis, it seems better that we do not commit the sacred narrative to agreement with any specific theory at all, but only to that general harmony with observation and fact, which would make the document intelligible to all readers, and, in its leading and essential features, true for all times. One thing is certain. Religion has nothing to fear from scientific discovery, whatever it may suffer at the hands of that superficial and pretentious sciolism which usurps the name. With science itself revelation has no quarrel. It is ready to welcome it, to encourage it, to go hand and hand with it over the ample field of inductive philosophy, assured that the deeper the sounding, the deeper will be laid the foundation of its own truth, and the greater the discovery, the more exalted will be the golden candlestick from which will shine forth its own light. The truth of Christ is imperishable. Empires may decay. Races may die out. Intellectual systems may live through their little day, and the "oppositions of science" may perish by their own suicidal hands. But the word of the gospel will live on; unchanged in its contents; unshaken in its evidences;

unmutilated in its integrity; unalterable in its fulfilments: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

It would be easy to show how a similar antagonistic, while still only a defensive, line might be taken with regard to other controverted topics, particularly the nature, criteria, and evidential value of miracles; the structure, purpose, and cognate relations of prophecy; and, especially, the preventive tendency of a well-defined scheme of dogmatic teaching, in that it ministers to those desires and emotions of our religious nature, which the dry husks and shell of these modern heresies cannot satisfy and cannot keep alive. But our limits have been exceeded, and we have space only for one practical caution. It is contained in these words of the apostle: "Let all your things be done with charity." Forced, as it were, into a posture of controversy against our will; conscious of being engaged in a high and holy cause; we must see to it that the "weapons of our warfare are not carnal." Let there be no unfairness; no exaggeration; no charging upon the holders of a contrary opinion consequences which they neither intend nor see. But let there be godly jealousy over our own spirit: a simple and trustful looking up for Divine guidance; ay, a prayer, before we write a sermon on these subjects, for those whose errors we are intending to expose;—and one and all of us, whatever disparity there may be of natural or acquired endowment, may confidently look up to the Holy Ghost to fulfil in us that gracious promise: "I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist."

D. M.

LORD MACAULAY'S HISTORY.—VOLUME V.

The History of England, from the Accession of James the Second.
By Lord Macaulay. Vol. V. Edited by his Sister, Lady
Trevelyan. London: Longman. 1861.

THE reviewer of this volume performs of necessity a melancholy task. He sits in judgment on the dead. If incompetent, his vanity makes him ridiculous; if capable, his judgment, unless he pronounce a funereal eulogy, seems harsh and out of place. Lord Macaulay was an illustrious man; great in his talents, great in his opportunities, great in his successes, great in his renown. An instinct of our nature impels us to speak with respect of the lately dead; the feeling deepens into reverence as we pass by the tomb of one whom the world acknowledges to have been amongst its few master minds. The time

has not yet arrived for a calm judgment upon Lord Macaulay as a writer. We stand too near the fire, and are dazzled by the blaze. We are still influenced by our first impressions of astonishment and delight. Since the time of Gibbon, no historian has been greeted with such applause. Since the revival of letters, no two historians ever received such universal homage. It has been a homage such as only poets and writers of fiction are accustomed to receive; and they only at rare intervals, and even then not often from the wiser and more thoughtful, but from the young, the passionate, the imaginative; that is, the least mature or the least powerful minds. Gibbon's fame has grown paler ever since his decease, and now he scarcely ranks in the highest class of English writers. It is not merely that his scepticism has rendered him unpopular; for this is an offence which literary men are but too ready to condone. His readers discovered beneath a gorgeous style the absence of those greater qualities for which his admirers, in their first burst of ecstasy, had given him credit too easily. The nectared sweets of his luscious banquet have produced a surfeit; and many writers, less admired at the time, are now universally held in higher estimation.

Whether any such revulsion will take place in the case of Lord Macaulay, it is too soon to judge. Another generation must pass before a final decision can be made. And yet it is scarcely probable. It is not likely that the vicious sweetness of such a writer as Gibbon will be again the fashion; it is still more improbable that the manly grandeur of Lord Macaulay will ever be disdained. There may be a short return of depraved taste as well as of depraved morality; the latter would indeed inevitably produce the former. But, after all, the writer who appeals to the judgment,—the writer in whose pages not one misty sentence can be found; whose illustrations startle by their flash of light; whose arguments, where they fail to convince, never fail to instruct and entertain; whose descriptions have at once the charm of fiction and the force of truth;—can surely never cease to be regarded as one of those great authors who live for every age; who belong not to the literature of a country, but to the great family of man.

We shall leave it to others to explain at large the defects of Lord Macaulay as a writer, and his still more patent faults as an historian. It will be easy to show,—and future critics and grammarians will no doubt revel in the task,—that the style of composition of which he has proved himself a master is not formed upon the purest model: that there is an occasional rusticity, like that *quædam Patavinitas* in Livy with which Quinctilian finds fault—a rudeness which offends the cultivated ear: that the sentences, even in his arguments, chase each other with an impetuosity which disturbs the reason to which

they are making their appeal : that they fall upon the ear with the sharp sound of platoons of musketry : that they are cast too much in one mould, hammered on the same anvil, till the ear becomes familiar with the cadence ; and thus, when we have heard the former clause of a sentence, we anticipate the rest, which answers to it like Hebrew poetry—the conclusion to its antecedent in the verse. As an historian, critics of a future day will probably maintain, that lord Macaulay was less successful than as an essayist : that he is an apologist, frequently a partisan : that, although he describes human character as few have described it, he is chiefly successful when he deals with its darker shades : that he could more readily appreciate, or at least that he could more successfully depict, and that he took more pleasure in depicting, the meanness of mankind than their virtues. They will add, that his prejudices were unworthy even of a plain man of ordinary sense, while the scale of his intellect magnified them till they were at once gigantic and grotesque. They will smile to see that Quakers, Scotchmen, and the clergy were the special objects of his aversion ; and wonder that so great a mind should have submitted to be bound in green withes which a child might have snapped asunder.

This last volume, which contains the history of three years, 1697 to 1700, abounds in episodes ; the episodes, indeed, constitute the chief interest of the book. For the history itself scarcely deserves one of the three chapters which make up the volume. It is the story of a factious parliament and of an unreasonable nation, suspicious of every action of the king ; it is the story of bribery and servility among the great, and amongst the people of fears and passions, such as only a degenerate age displays. We turn away, wondering if these can be the children of those heroic men—great even in their errors—who fought with Cromwell in all his campaigns, or stood by king Charles through all his misfortunes. As if glad to escape from such society, lord Macaulay diverges often from his path, and recreates himself amidst scenes which have but a remote connection with his story. They may be separated from it without injury to themselves or to the narrative, and will be read by thousands who never saw the history of which originally they formed a part. Thus, we have the controversy touching standing armies, in which the question, now of so much interest, is discussed, whether volunteers may safely be matched with regular troops. All history, lord Macaulay contends, is against the perilous experiment. Then we have the story of the colony of Darien : a sketch of unusual power and beauty, equal to the siege of Derry, and more difficult, since the interest lies scattered over two worlds, and its climax must be reached in one. Then follows

the visit of Peter the Great to London, told a hundred times, and yet told anew. The scene changes to Spain, and we have the character of the wretched and imbecile king Charles II., and his worthless minister Portocarrero, each illustrating that peculiarity in the writer's mind which led him to take pleasure in depicting the darker features of human nature; this he does with terrible effect, the more terrible, because the conviction of their truth goes with us as we read:—

“Portocarrero was one of a race of men of whom we, happily for us, have seen very little, but whose influence has been the curse of Roman Catholic countries. He was, like Sixtus the Fourth and Alexander the Sixth, a politician made out of an impious priest. Such politicians are generally worse than the worst of the laity, more merciless than any ruffian that can be found in camps, more dishonest than any pettifogger who haunts the tribunals. The sanctity of their profession has an unsanctifying influence on them. The lessons of the nursery, the habits of boyhood and of early youth, leave in the minds of the great majority of avowed infidels some traces of religion, which, in seasons of mourning and of sickness, become plainly discernible. But it is scarcely possible that any such trace should remain in the mind of the hypocrite who, during many years, is constantly going through what he considers as the mummery of preaching, saying mass, baptizing, shriving. When an ecclesiastic of this sort mixes in the contests of men of the world, he is indeed much to be dreaded as an enemy, but still more to be dreaded as an ally. From the pulpit where he daily employs his eloquence to embellish what he regards as fables, from the altar whence he daily looks down with secret scorn on the prostrate dupes who believe that he can turn a drop of wine into blood, from the confessional where he daily studies with cold and scientific attention the morbid anatomy of guilty consciences, he brings to courts some talents which may move the envy of the more cunning and unscrupulous of lay courtiers; a rare skill in reading characters and in managing tempers, a rare art of dissimulation, a rare dexterity in insinuating what it is not safe to affirm or to propose in explicit terms. There are two feelings which often prevent an unprincipled layman from becoming utterly depraved and despicable,—domestic feeling, and chivalrous feeling. His heart may be softened by the endearments of a family. His pride may revolt from the thoughts of doing what does not become a gentleman. But neither with the domestic feeling nor with the chivalrous feeling has the wicked priest any sympathy. His gown excludes him from the closest and most tender of human relations, and at the same times dispenses him from the observation of the fashionable code of honour.

“Such a priest was Portocarrero; and he seems to have been a consummate master of his craft. To the name of statesman he had no pretensions. The lofty part of his predecessor Ximenes was out of the range, not more of his intellectual, than his moral capacity. To reanimate a paralysed and torpid monarchy, to introduce order and economy into a bankrupt treasury, to restore the discipline of an

army which had become a mob, to refit a navy which was perishing from mere rottenness, these were achievements beyond the power, beyond even the ambition, of that ignoble nature. But there was one task for which the new minister was admirably qualified, that of establishing, by means of superstitious terror, an absolute dominion over a feeble mind; and the feeblest of all minds was that of his unhappy sovereign."

This is followed by a sketch of his unhappy master :—

"In a very short time the king's malady took a new form. That he was too weak to lift his food to his misshapen mouth, that, at thirty-seven, he had the bald head and wrinkled face of a man of seventy, that his complexion was turning from yellow to green, that he frequently fell down in fits and remained long insensible, these were no longer the worst symptoms of his malady. He had always been afraid of ghosts and demons; and it had long been necessary that three friars should watch every night by his restless bed as a guard against hobgoblins. But now he was firmly convinced that he was bewitched, that he was possessed, that there was a devil within him, that there were devils all around him. He was exorcised according to the forms of his church; but this ceremony, instead of quieting him, scared him out of almost all the little reason that nature had given him. In his misery and despair, he was induced to resort to irregular modes of relief. His confessor brought to court impostors, who pretended that they could interrogate the powers of darkness. The devil was called up, sworn, and examined. This strange deponent made oath, as in the presence of God, that His Catholic Majesty was under a spell, which had been laid on him many years before, for the purpose of preventing the continuation of the royal line. A drug had been compounded out of the brains and kidneys of a human corpse, and had been administered in a cup of chocolate. This potion had dried up all the sources of life; and the best remedy to which the patient could now resort would be to swallow a bowl of consecrated oil every morning before breakfast. Unhappily, the authors of this story fell into contradictions, which they could excuse only by throwing the blame on Satan, who, they said, was an unwilling witness, and a liar from the beginning. In the midst of their conjuring, the Inquisition came down upon them. It must be admitted that, if the Holy Office had reserved all its terrors for such cases, it would not now have been remembered as the most hateful judicature that was ever known among civilized men. The subaltern impostors were thrown into dungeons. But the chief criminal continued to be master of the king and of the kingdom. Meanwhile, in the distempered mind of Charles, one mania succeeded another. A longing to pry into those mysteries of the grave from which human beings avert their thoughts had long been hereditary in his house. Juana, from whom the mental constitution of her posterity seems to have derived a morbid taint, had sate, year after year, by the bed on which lay the ghastly remains of her husband, apparelled in the rich embroidery and jewels which he had been wont to wear while living. Her son Charles found an eccentric pleasure in

celebrating his own obsequies, in putting on his shroud, placing himself in the coffin, covering himself with the pall, and lying as one dead till the requiem had been sung, and the mourners had departed, leaving him alone in the tomb. Philip II. found a similar pleasure in gazing on the huge chest of bronze in which his remains were to be laid, and especially on the skull which, encircled with the crown of Spain, grinned at him from the cover. Philip IV., too, hankered after burials and burial places, gratified his curiosity by gazing on the remains of his great grandfather, the emperor, and sometimes stretched himself out at full length like a corpse in the niche which he had selected for himself in the royal cemetery. To that cemetery his son was now attracted by a strange fascination. Europe could show no more magnificent place of sepulture. A staircase encrusted with jasper led down from the stately church of Escorial into an octagon situated just beneath the high altar. The vault, impervious to the sun, was rich with gold and precious marbles, which reflected the blaze from a huge chandelier of silver. On the right and on the left reposed, each in a massy sarcophagus, the departed kings and queens of Spain. Into this mausoleum the king descended with a long train of courtiers, and ordered the coffins to be unclosed. His mother had been embalmed with such consummate skill, that she appeared as she had appeared on her death-bed. The body of his grandfather too seemed entire, but crumbled into dust at the first touch. From Charles neither the remains of his mother nor those of his grandfather could draw any sign of sensibility. But, when the gentle and graceful Louisa of Orleans, the miserable man's first wife, she who had lighted up his dark existence with one short and pale gleam of happiness, presented herself, after the lapse of ten years, to his eyes, his sullen apathy gave way. "She is in heaven," he cried; "and I shall soon be there with her:" and, with all the speed of which his limbs were capable, he tottered back to the upper air."

This volume is in no respect inferior to lord Macaulay's other writings; it is more subdued, and on that account, in our judgment, a little superior. The light glows sufficiently, the corruscations are not too many. It is scarcely candid, perhaps, to object that factious debates in parliament still occupy too large a space, for the work is unfinished; and it may have been the author's intention to have adjusted the proportions, by giving us more of those descriptions of home life and English character, drawn from the undistinguished classes, which form an important part of national history; which make the difference, indeed, between a real history and the annals of a dynasty; between lord Macaulay's own volumes and sir Richard Baker's once famous "*Chronicles of the Kings of England*." The volume closes with the death of James II., followed, in a few months, by that of William III.

James, the dethroned king of England, died an exile at St. Germain's, in 1701; and William, too, was slowly sinking into the grave amongst, as it seemed, an ungrateful people, already

weary of their king, and of the revolution. All at once everything was changed. Englishmen resumed their true character; the factions which disgraced the nation had merely dimpled the surface; underneath the current was strong, and it flowed in the right direction. Their moody behaviour to William, occasioned, in a great measure, by the faults of his own temper, his want of courtesy, his partiality for his Dutch friends and his guards, vanished in an instant. One day wrought the change. The sun broke on an autumnal morning through the smoke and fog of London, upon a people dull as their own climate, ill-humoured, and, to all appearance, indifferent, if not worse affected, to the royal family. It set upon a loyal capital, whose vigorous pulse then beat through every town and village of the empire, resolved, if need be, to spend their last shilling, and their lives as well, for William of Orange and the constitution of 1688. It was a noble feature in our English character; it is so still; and it is one which no foreign nation seems to comprehend. Had Lewis XIV. understood us better, this grand redeeming point would not have brightened an otherwise gloomy period of our history, and William III. might have gone down to the grave uncheered by the gratitude and affection which consoled his few remaining days.

When James was dying, Lewis drew near his bedside, and made him a solemn promise that, on his decease, he would acknowledge his son as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Whether he was drawn into the commission of this rash act by pity, by ambition, by sheer vanity, by female influence, or by all of these motives, we cannot ascertain. Having made the promise, however, self-respect compelled him to abide by it; and the breath was no sooner out of the body of the dethroned king than a herald, with the usual formalities, presented himself before the palace of St. Germain, and proclaimed the youth who is known to us as the pretender of 1715, king James III. of England and VIII. of Scotland. The streets were illuminated; the town's-men shouted; the youth, the phantom of a sovereign, assembled the phantom of a court, nominated his ministers, created peerages, gave out the seals of office, held his hand to be kissed; and the Jacobites around him were in raptures, and not without cause, at the boundless generosity of the *grand monarque*. But Lewis had reckoned without his host. His minister Torcy, in a paper which is still extant, had endeavoured to make his royal master comprehend something of that strange, stubborn inconsistency of the English character, which is to this day utterly inexplicable to foreign nations. He told him, in effect, that on the instant it should be known in England that the pretender had been proclaimed king by the herald of a French monarch,

every faction would expire, every discontent would be forgotten. All parties would be merged in one—the party of England, of king William, and the revolution of 1688; and that those who now were the greatest grumblers would, probably enough, without being conscious of a shade of inconsistency, stake their lives and fortunes for William of Orange and a protestant succession. The haughty Lewis thought he knew England better. He thought a few plausible excuses would quiet the alarm and soothe the pride of England. His ministers were instructed to assure our ambassador, the earl of Manchester, that no harm was meant; he had no intention of affronting the English government; he had no intention of violating the treaty of Ryswick, by which he had recognized the title of William of Orange to the British throne. What he had done was merely an act of courtesy to an unfortunate family nearly related to himself. Manchester received the explanation with the coldness it deserved, and immediately despatched a courier to William who was then in Holland, at his palace of Loo. He arrived when William was at table with a few of his nobles and some princes of the German empire. William received the message in silence, but his pale cheek flushed, he pulled his hat over his eyes, just, we may suppose, as the duke of Wellington used to sit, with his hat upon his brow, in the house of Lords, and took counsel with himself. His decision was promptly made. His messengers were sent off, one with a letter to Manchester commanding him to quit France without the formality of taking leave, while another carried a despatch to London with instructions that Poussin, the French ambassador, should immediately be sent home. What followed is related by lord Macaulay in one of the last pages that he wrote, and in a style inferior to nothing that has fallen from his pen:—

“England was already in a flame when it was first known there that James was dying. Some of his eager partisans formed plans and made preparations for a great public manifestation of feeling in different parts of the island. But the insolence of Lewis produced a burst of public indignation which scarcely any malecontent had the courage to face.

“In the city of London, indeed, some zealots, who had probably swallowed too many bumpers to their new sovereign, played one of those senseless pranks which were characteristic of their party. They dressed themselves in coats bearing some resemblance to the tabards of heralds, rode through the streets, halted at some places, and muttered something which nobody could understand. It was at first supposed that they were merely a company of prizefighters from Hockley-in-the-Hole who had taken this way of advertising their performances with back sword, sword and buckler, and single falchion. But it was soon discovered that these gaudily-dressed horsemen were proclaiming James the Third. In an instant the pageant was at an

and. The mock kings-at-arms and pursuivants threw away their finery and fled for their lives in all directions, followed by yells and showers of stones. Already the common council of London had met, and had voted, without one dissentient voice, an address expressing the highest resentment at the insult which France had offered to the king and the kingdom. A few hours after this address had been presented to the regents, the livery assembled to choose a lord mayor. Duncombe, the tory candidate, lately the popular favourite, was rejected, and a whig alderman placed in the chair. All over the kingdom, corporations, grand juries, meetings of magistrates, meetings of freeholders, were passing resolutions breathing affection to William, and defiance to Lewis. It was necessary to enlarge the 'London Gazette' from four columns to twelve; and even twelve were too few to hold the multitude of loyal and patriotic addresses. In some of those addresses severe reflections were thrown on the house of Commons. Our deliverer had been ungratefully requited, thwarted, mortified, denied the means of making the country respected and feared by neighbouring states. The factious wrangling, the penny-wise economy, of three disgraceful years had produced the effect which might have been expected. His majesty would never have been so grossly affronted abroad, if he had not first been affronted at home. But the eyes of his people were opened. He had only to appeal from the representatives to the constituents; and he would find that the nation was still sound at heart." (pp. 297, 298.)

"Meanwhile the arrival of William was impatiently expected. From Loo he had gone to Breda, where he had passed some time in reviewing his troops, and in conferring with Marlborough and Heinsius. He had hoped to be in England early in October. But adverse winds detained him three weeks at the Hague. At length, in the afternoon of the fourth of November, it was known in London that he had landed early that morning at Margate. Great preparations were made for welcoming him to his capital on the following day, the thirteenth anniversary of his landing in Devonshire. But a journey across the bridge, and along Cornhill and Cheapside, Fleet Street, and the Strand, would have been too great an effort for his enfeebled frame. He accordingly slept at Greenwich, and thence proceeded to Hampton Court without entering London. His return was, however, celebrated by the populace with every sign of joy and attachment. The bonfires blazed, and the gunpowder roared, all night. In every parish from Mile End to St. James's was to be seen enthroned on the shoulders of stout Protestant porters a pope, gorgeous in robes of tinsel and triple crown of pasteboard; and close to the ear of his holiness stood a devil with horns, cloven hoof, and snaky tail.

"Even in his country house the king could find no refuge from the importunate loyalty of his people. Deputations from cities, counties, universities, besieged him all day. He was, he wrote to Heinsius, quite exhausted by the labour of hearing harangues and returning answers." (pp. 299, 309.)

A dissolution followed; but the hand of the historian ceased to write before he had time to complete the story of the general election which ensued. William was now a dying man; and

in a few months after the grave had closed upon the perfidious, cruel, superstitious, and cowardly James the Second, it opened to receive all that was mortal of the illustrious William of Nassau. But not before his work was done. The revolution had been cemented by the rashness of Lewis the Fourteenth, and henceforward there was no hope in England for the exiled family. Folly and vanity had done that which the wisdom of Somers, the sagacity and valour of William, and the honest, though sometimes blundering, zeal and piety of Burnet, might after all have failed to accomplish. Through the mercy of Heaven our protestantism and our constitution were safe.

There have been several instances in which the intervention of a superintending Providence on behalf of England has been quite as marked as in the storm which scattered the Armada, or the wind which carried king William through hostile fleets safe into Torbay. There are two of these which deserve more attention than they have received. The first occurred at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when she was advised by timid councillors to send her envoy to the pope, informing him of her accession to the throne. Had he returned a courteous answer the reformation might never have been completed, or, if completed, it must have been after a lapse of years and through a sea of dangers. It might have been totally lost through papal intrigues, or swamped with continental alliances. Happily for the world, the pope reviled her as illegitimate, and denounced her as a pretender. The snare was broken, and England troubled herself no more about the pope of Rome. The mistake was apparent, happily when too late to be retrieved, even to the papal court, and it has been an open sore at Rome ever since. Ganganelli, the best, because the most protestant, pope Rome ever knew, feelingly deploras it in one of those private letters which so strangely saw the light towards the close of the last century.

The other instance is that now before us. Had Lewis behaved with half his usual caution our protestant revolution would probably have been consolidated upon some bloody field of Bosworth or of Naseby. The exiled family still had a large and powerful party, wealthy, fanatical and resolute. It had been crushed, but it was by no means desponding; and it had clearly gained strength during the last few years. Under a weak sovereign like Anne, it might even have aspired to the royal councils. It would never have yielded without a desperate effort, to which the poor affairs of 1715 and 1745 would have been no more than mere skirmishes to a hard campaign. But He who turned the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness, confounded the wisdom of the proverbially wise and cunning Lewis, and saved England from the impending danger. It

seems to us that men must be perverse indeed who will not recognize the hand of God in such a history.

Some period of time, we have said, must pass before lord Macaulay's merits as a writer will be finally determined. Not so with his merits as a moralist and instructor of the world. Upon these we can decide at once; for into the domain of morals taste enters not. The standard is fixed; it is above the caprice of fashion; it gains nothing from the lapse of time. How, then, is the world likely to be affected by this splendid writer on those great points of faith and duty in comparison of which all others fade into insignificance?

Lord Macaulay lived in an age in which literature was purified from those grosser vices with which during the last century it was frequently debased. Except an occasional coarseness, there is nothing in all he wrote to outrage the most sensitive modesty. Religion is always treated with respect. What may be termed the social and patriotic virtues have at least their due mead of applause. He is thoroughly an Englishman and thoroughly a patriot; sometimes too much an Englishman to be generous, and too much a patriot to be just. But his countrymen will overlook these failings, which, after all, may be said to lean to virtue's side.

But we fear that lord Macaulay's views of religion were very deficient. He does not write as one deeply beneath its influences; and what religion he possessed does not seem to have been of a very elevated character. He dwells with satisfaction on the piety of Addison, and we suppose that we shall do him no wrong if we conclude that Addison's was the sort of religion which he was well satisfied to attain himself, and to recommend to others. Yet there are many passages in his writings to remind us that he was brought up in a very different school, and to show that he was no stranger, in theory at least, to a more spiritual religion than Addison ever knew. Evangelical religion, we fear, he regarded with indifference or with aversion; for it is easy to see that he held its professors in a sort of quiet contempt. Why he did so, it is not so easy to discover. His friend and early associate, sir James Stephen, —a man in all the highest qualities, whether moral or intellectual, by no means inferior to lord Macaulay,—was brought up in the same theological school and in the midst of the same social circle. His well-known essay on "The Clapham Sect," while it shows his skill as a satirist and his keen perception of the ludicrous, shows at the same time his respect for the leaders of "the sect," and his reverence for their principles: principles, we believe, which, though we do not attempt to justify some of his too daring speculations, in substance were his own; by which his life was regulated and his last hours consoled. Had lord Macaulay's youth been cramped amongst ignorant, well-

meaning, fanatical people, and had they been the only professors of evangelical religion whom he ever knew, the subdued dislike with which he seems to have regarded it would have some apology. We should, then, pity so noble a mind so early prejudiced; a sapling of such promise gnarled and twisted into uncouth forms before it had strength to vindicate its own better nature. But as it is, we cannot make even this excuse. We are left in darkness; to deplore the fact that the great intellect which has lately passed from us, with such vast opportunities for good, accomplished, nay, attempted, so little for the highest interests of man; and to hope that his later days were those in which, as we have heard, he placed the highest value upon the saving truths which constitute "the glorious gospel of the blessed God." He has left behind him a name and a reputation which will be admired but not revered. He will be celebrated for the qualities which adorn, rather than for those which exalt, our nature. He will have won the fame he coveted. But when men gaze upon his statue, or stand beside his tomb, they will not pronounce his eulogy and say that he was one of those great benefactors who, from the highest of all motives, have dedicated a noble intellect to the glory of God and the present and everlasting welfare of mankind.

DR. HESSEY'S BAMPTON LECTURES.

Notes upon Dr. Hessey's "Lectures on Sunday: its Origin, History," &c.

AFTER carefully reading Dr. Hessey's Bampton Lectures on the Sunday,* our impression is, that they may best be described by words which he himself has used,—they are "an advocacy of what is right, but on insufficient grounds." He asserts much that is not generally allowed, and denies much that is commonly received: but does not seem very successful, either in proving what he asserts, or in disproving what he denies.

It seems to be the main object of his lectures to show that there is no direct authority from God for our keeping any day holy; and that the duty of observing the Lord's-day rests merely upon an apostolic ordinance; and by apostolic ordinances, he tells us, he understands "things ordained by the apostles, not merely in so many words, but by the precedents they supply by their actions." He then proceeds to argue that the apostles being inspired, and therefore infallible, their ordinances must be of divine authority and lasting obligation. On this assumption, and on this alone, he declares the duty of observing the Lord's-day to rest: and on the same foundation, and "on

* Vide Christian Observer for February.

a par" with this, he places Orders, *Infant Baptism*, and Confirmation.

Let us first examine his main principle, that, from the apostles being divinely inspired, it follows that an apostolic ordinance or practice is necessarily a divine law, and therefore binding the church authoritatively throughout all its course. Let us see whether this is a theory which will stand the test of experiment, a foundation which will bear the weight of the building he attempts to raise upon it.

Dr. Hessey himself, however, assists us here, and soon breaks in upon his own rule; for though he allows that the *Agapæ* and extreme unction are apostolic ordinances equally with the others just mentioned, yet he feels no scruple in setting them aside. When he sees his canon to admit of such inconsistent results, will it not lead him to suspect some unsoundness in it? If an apostolic ordinance is divine authority, no church may set it aside. But says Dr. Hessey, the *Agapæ* were set aside because they led to abuse. That is a reason for reforming, but not for abolishing them. St. Paul does not order the abolition of the Lord's supper because in his time the Corinthians abused it. Nor indeed were the *Agapæ*, as Dr. Hessey seems to intimate, virtually set aside by the apostles themselves. They certainly continued to the middle of the fourth century.

Neither, if an ordinance be necessarily divine because apostolic, does Dr. Hessey's plea that extreme unction should be discontinued because miracles had ceased, seem to be sufficient; for "the prayer of faith" still remains. On the same plea, the laying-on of hands at confirmation ought to be abolished; for in the only two instances where it is mentioned in connection with baptism, it was accompanied, in each case, with a miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost and the gift of tongues; and if an apostolic practice be necessarily divine authority, how will Dr. Hessey justify our church in separating the right of confirmation from that of baptism? He must be aware that our practice dates only from the reformation. In all former ages, up to the apostolic, the confirmation, the *βεβαίωσις* from the imposition of hands, took place at the baptism itself, even in the case of infants.

Again, with respect to the Lord's supper, the apostolic was clearly an evening celebration. Of late a controversy has arisen on the subject, and most of us seem to prefer the practice of the early church to the apostolic. Common sense may show us that neither the one nor the other is binding on us. The celebration ought to be at that time which is best suited to the exigencies of the case. If, however, the canon be correct, that apostolic practice is divine authority, a morning celebration cannot be justified.

Again, what shall we say to this apostolic ordinance, "It

seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from things strangled, and from blood" ? The canon laid down ought to make these rules still binding.

If, then, there are good and valid reasons for setting aside so many apostolic ordinances, and if the duty of observing the Lord's-day rests solely on the apostolic practice, for not a syllable of commandment from them has ever been brought forward, why may it not also be set aside with the rest ? What reply can we make to the arguments of the Antinomians, as quoted by Dr. Hessey, "that the apostles only appointed the first day of the week as a convenient opportunity in the then state of the church for religious instruction to the newly converted ;" that it was "good for the present distress ;" but that to have special times for religion, argues a low state of religion ; that to concentrate religion on certain days, is a hindrance to what is especially to be desired, that it should permeate the whole life ; in short, that every day should be a holy day, and not one day more than another ; or, as Dr. Arnold (*neque enim leve nomen*) argues : "St. Paul would have been utterly shocked, could he have foreseen that eighteen hundred years after Christianity had been in the world, such an institution as the sabbath had still been needed." "It was intended that the gospel should put us into a very different state, so that we should need the command no more." In fact, the heart and conscience can never be fully satisfied as to the duty of observing the Christian sabbath, unless it can be shown to be a commandment from God himself. Apostolic practice is not sufficient authority ; for if, as Dr. Hessey allows, that may be set aside in so many other cases, why not also in this ? It thus becomes a matter of expediency, or at most an ecclesiastical ordinance, optional for any branch of the Christian church to adopt or reject.

Dr. Hessey, however, for what reason we know not, as he gives us none, sets apart four apostolic practices which he considers still to retain divine authority, and therefore unchangeable. The four are : Orders, *Infant* Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's-day.

Of orders and confirmation we do not propose to speak, not from any doubt of their authority, or of our obligation to serve them ; but because we consider the other two to rest on a very different foundation, on the express commandment of God given long before the coming of Christ.

We will first consider the case of *infant* baptism, because if the proof of that be admitted, it will throw much light on the analogous proof of the duty of observing the Lord's-day.

The question we have here to answer is, what proof have you that God has commanded infants to be admitted into the Christian covenant ? We reply that St. Paul proves it for us

clearly and decisively. He tells us that Abraham received the sign of circumcision as a seal of the righteousness which is by faith. And who were to be sealed with this seal? "He that is eight days old among you." Here, then, is a direct command that infants should be sealed with the seal, and thus admitted into the covenant of the righteousness which is by faith, which is no other than the Christian covenant. Our Lord, in appointing that henceforth baptism should be the initiatory rite, has changed the seal, in allusion to which St. Paul calls it "the circumcision made without hands," and also "the circumcision of Christ," that is, Christian circumcision, but the original covenant remains.

The right of infants is not weakened by saying that circumcision is expressly abolished as being part of the Mosaic law, and that "every man that is circumcised is a debtor to do the whole law." This is true as far as the Mosaic law is concerned, so many legal rites and ceremonies having been engrafted by Moses into the original covenant. That, however, still stands good, though the Mosaic law be abolished, or rather fulfilled.

It is not perhaps always sufficiently considered, how vital an interest we ourselves have in the Abrahamic covenant, and yet our claim of being a part of Christ's covenanted people rests upon our admission into it. We are never represented as an original stock, but as branches grafted in. Abraham is called the "father of us all." "They which are of the faith, the same are the children of Abraham." "If we be Christ's, then are we Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." We are to remember that it is to Gentiles and not to Jews that St. Paul is here speaking; and he lays it down as an undeniable truth, that the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, could not annul any of the spiritual promises then made. And if the law could not, we are sure the gospel would not. To this our Lord alludes when He reminds the Jews that circumcision is not of Moses but of the fathers. The baptism of infants, then, does not take its origin or derive its authority from a mere apostolic practice, as Dr. Hessey asserts, but from an express commandment of God, that they should be sealed with His seal. This commandment the apostles found already existing, and obeyed as a matter of course: nor would the observance of it naturally call forth any remark. On the contrary, to Jews at least, among whom the gospel was first preached, it would have seemed very extraordinary, if, under a new ratification of the covenant, children were then excluded from their former rights.

Now, if this reasoning be allowed to prove that *infant* baptism, that is, the admission of infants into "the covenant of the righteousness which is by faith," is a positive appointment of the Almighty, we think the commandment to observe

one day in seven can be proved also to be His, by arguments very analogous and equally cogent. And to prevent confusion we wish to observe, that when we say the sabbath day, or the seventh day, or the Lord's day, we mean the same thing by them all; namely, one day in seven, set apart for the service of God.

We read in Genesis, that as soon as the heavens and the earth were finished, and the whole host of them, "God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it." Where can we find the least intimation that this commandment was ever annulled? Why is it of less authority now than when it was first given? Our Lord asserts of another primæval and cotemporary law, the institution of marriage, that it is still in force; and if so, what valid reason can we give why the same also is not true of this? The state of Adam in paradise was in one respect like our own; he had work to do, to dress the garden of Eden and keep it. Now, all mankind is represented in him; if this duty was required of him, why is it not also required of us, unless we can show some Divine authority for its disuse?

"But," Dr. Hessey says, "the statement that God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work, is merely an announcement of what He did Himself, and not of what He intended man to do." Surely this is quite contrary to the plain meaning of the passage in question. For it says, not only that He blessed it, but also that He sanctified it, or set it apart from the other six for a holy use and purpose. When He revealed this to man, what could be meant but that it was a law for him to observe? and with this our Lord's words fully agree: "The sabbath was made for man;" not for the Jews, not for any particular nation, but for mankind at large.

Here is another argument against the institution of a primæval sabbath, urged in the first instance by Bede, but Dr. Hessey tells us adopted by himself:—"When God is said at the creation to have blessed and sanctified the seventh day, He did it only in intention and purpose, designing that in due time it should be observed by the Jews; just as Jeremiah and St. Paul are said to have been sanctified from the womb to the office to which they were hereafter to be called." To make the cases at all analogous, there ought to have been a declaration of God's purpose at the birth of these eminent saints. But in the passage of which we are speaking there is not a word about intention and purpose, it is a simple record of a fact then actually completed.

This also is urged as an argument to the same effect:—"Adam could not have understood a positive commandment to rest on the seventh day, before the cycle of days had begun, or labour had become laborious enough to necessitate rest."

This seems to be founded on the supposition that the mind of Adam was in a state of infancy, and not capable of receiving either precept or explanation. How, then, are we to account for the commandment not to eat of the forbidden tree? How could Adam have understood what death meant, or Eve the additional penalty to be inflicted on her? Dr. Hessey, however, seems to consider his argument to be of weight; perhaps the passage may contain some latent meaning and cogency which we have failed to discover.

But what is chiefly relied upon as proof that there could have been no sabbath before the time of Moses, is the assertion that no instance of its observance can be found in Genesis. There is certainly weight in this argument, though it is not decisive of the question; for we very much doubt whether the assertion itself is true: and if it is, disobedience to a commandment is no proof that a commandment was never given, or that it was never intended to have been obeyed. Nor can we safely argue that a fact has not taken place, because in a very succinct and summary history we find no mention of it: in a history also, be it remembered, extending over some thousands of years, and comprised in a few pages. In one much more full and copious, that of the Jewish kings, circumcision is never once mentioned from Solomon to the captivity. Should we, therefore, be at liberty to infer that it never was practised? In the history of the Israelitish kings, from Jeroboam the first to Hoshea the last of them, the sabbath is not once named: will that warrant us in assuming that they had none? In that manual of devotion for all, the book of Psalms, the sabbath is not once alluded to; are we to collect from this that its observance was not considered a duty? Because the sacrifices, the heave offering, the wave offering, the feast of trumpets, the new moon, and many other Mosaic ordinances, are not once mentioned in the gospels, which are a cotemporary history, and not the gleanings of a past, are we, therefore, at liberty to assume that they had fallen into disuse? Why, then, should it be laid down for a point so certain, that because the sabbaths are not mentioned in the patriarchal account, therefore they had none?

But we very much doubt whether the assertion is correct, that there is no allusion to sabbath-keeping in Genesis. There is express mention of the division of time into weeks, which cannot reasonably be accounted for, excepting on the supposition of a Sabbath from the first. We are told also of Noah, that he opened the window of the ark, and then waited for seven days, and sent forth a raven and dove; then again sent forth the dove twice with two successive intervals of seven days. Here is a seventh day observed four times consecutively. Can we reasonably doubt but that, under Noah's

miraculous circumstances, and with the knowledge that from the beginning God had set one day in seven apart for His service, he selected God's day in each case as the one best suited for these trials? Why else should he have put these exact intervals between them? What day, with such knowledge, would any of us select but the day which God Himself had declared to be holy?

But Dr. Hessey goes so far as to imply that the patriarchs did not even know the day; for he says, "Though *we* know perfectly well the cosmogony as it is set forth in Genesis, there is not sufficient evidence for believing that its great and wondrous tale was disclosed to mankind before Moses wrote it. Genesis was a revelation to Moses, and not to Adam." Dr. Hessey does not produce any proof or argument for this assertion, and it seems destitute of all probability. We believe all those commentators, whose acquirements are such as to claim any weight for their opinions, are agreed that the book of Genesis is, under the Divine guidance, a compilation from several early records and documents. Few, we think, who read the book with attention will hesitate to agree with their opinion. This is not a matter which we need submit to the decision of learned men; it requires only freedom from prejudice, and the exercise of common sense. For instance, comparing the account of the creation given at Genesis ii. 4, with the one preceding it, it is evident that Moses had before him two independent, though not inconsistent, documents. So, again, in chapter vi. 8, there seems to be inserted an independent account of Noah, and cited expressly as such by the heading, "These are the generations," or, as Dathe insists on rendering it, "This is the history of Noah;" the same heading as in the passage just mentioned. So, again, of the pedigrees; how otherwise are they to be accounted for? So of the isolated fragment of Lamech's speech to Adah and Zillah, evidently an anecdote taken from a family pedigree, and recorded by Moses as characteristic of the individual, and perhaps of the family to which he belonged.

Dr. Hessey does not give us any reason for his assertion, nor does it appear to us that any can be given, unless you can fix a limit to the extreme antiquity of writing. We see the art familiarly known in the time of Job; and it seems to be the opinion of those whose learning and judgment best qualify them to speak on such a matter, that, from comparing the names and descriptions of his friends with the pedigrees in Genesis, Job must have been nearly contemporary with the twelve patriarchs; which carries writing back some hundreds of years before Moses. It would seem that the patriarchs must have been acquainted with it; for why should Judah have had a signet, if he had no writing to which it was to be

attached? It is difficult to believe, and impossible to prove, that there ever was a civilized state of mankind without writing; and we know in what a high state of civilization the world was even in the lifetime of Adam. In fact, the notion that a savage state would ever rise into a civilized one, unless civilization were infused into it from without, though very general, is quite unwarranted by any knowledge hitherto acquired, either from present observation or from past history. Man must have been civilized from the first, or he could never have become so. But, however this may be, it is certain that written documents detailing the events of the creation and the early history of mankind, existed long before either Job or Moses; for in several instances, whilst referring to the same events, both make use of the same identical words; thus proving that each was quoting from the same source; which seems to deprive Dr. Hesse's assertion, that the cosmogony was unknown to man until revealed to Moses, of all probability. It is, in fact, disproved by the book of Job itself, which mentions the creation of light, the separation of the land from the waters, and, most probably, the celebration of the first sabbath.

It is a great fallacy to infer that any particular religious doctrine was not known, or that any divine ordinance was not observed, in the patriarchal age, because no trace or record of them is to be found in the Mosaic writings. For instance, with respect to a future life and judgment to come, where is any allusion to them there to be found? Are we, therefore, applying Dr. Hesse's argument, to conclude that the patriarchs did not know them, and were not actuated by them? This would be expressly to contradict St. Paul, who says, that they desired a better country, that is a heavenly, and looked for a city whose builder and maker is God. Again; in the Mosaic writings, where do you find that they had any understanding of the meaning of sacrifice, or that it was ordained of God? Where is there the least trace that they had any clear knowledge of the corruption of man as derived from Adam; of the resurrection of the body; that God had found a ransom and redemption for the returning sinner, and thus renewed and justified him; and that there was a Mediator between God and man? Where do you find the least trace of all these things in the patriarchal history? Yet the book of Job shows that all these were well known in those times, and are in no other part of the Bible so clearly and definitely laid down until we look into the New Testament.

Nothing, then, can be urged against their doctrinal knowledge, from the utter silence of Moses respecting it. Neither ought that to be brought forward as an argument against their having a church-state, and the fixed observance of religious ordinances. That they had such is evident, though not the exact nature of

them. "Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws." Excepting circumcision, where is a word to point out what this charge, these statutes and these laws, were? Are not the words sufficiently large to include the sabbath? They had, evidently, fixed places of worship. Abraham, on his return from Egypt, "went to Bethel, the place of the altar which he had made there at the first, and there he called upon the name of the Lord." Again we read, where "Israel pitched his tent, there he builded an altar, and called on the name of the Lord." At Luz we find Jacob vowing—"This stone that I have set up for a pillar shall be God's house;" a vow clearly sanctioned by God, who, when commanding him to leave Laban, says, "I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the pillar, and where thou vowedst a vow unto me." We read also that "Rebekah went to enquire of the Lord, Why am I thus?" Where should she go but to some known place of worship, where there was a priest of the Lord to make inquiry and obtain an answer for her?

There are also traces that the patriarchal church had not only fixed places, but also endowments and funds, set apart for the service of God. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether Melchizedek was our Lord himself, or only a priest of the Lord; but this makes no difference with respect to the offering itself. "Abraham gave him tithes of all." Of all what? Certainly not of the spoil, for of that he would take neither thread nor shoe-latchet. The tithes, then, were of all his substance; an example followed by Jacob: "Of all that thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto thee!" Now the tenth, from such wealthy and powerful princes, implies religious worship on a very extended scale. It was also clearly social worship (Gen. xvii. 23; xviii. 19); and social worship evidently requires fixed times. What reason is there for the positive assertion that this time was not the seventh day? The established division of time into weeks would naturally lead to one stated day in the week; especially with the example of Noah before them, and the knowledge that God had in the beginning sanctified such a day. Are we at liberty to assert that a positive commandment of God, given to all mankind from the beginning, and known to all, was disobeyed by all these good and faithful servants of God, merely because, in this short and summary outline of their history, it has not been thought necessary to record instances of their actual observance of it?

A casual remark made by Job seems to intimate, what we should hardly have expected in the patriarchal times, that the worship of the true God was protected by secular penalties;

for he speaks of the adoration of the sun and moon as an iniquity to be punished by the judge; the context evidently showing that he is speaking of a civil officer.

The patriarchal division of time into weeks, is felt to be a very embarrassing fact by all those who deny the primæval institution of the sabbath, and must by some means be otherwise accounted for. The following is Dr. Hessey's solution:—"To what, then, it may be asked, is the (septenary) division of time to be traced? I answer, without hesitation, to the observance of the lights for signs and for seasons, and for days and for years." The sun determines the year, the moon the month; and from the month the half, and then the quarter, determine the week." This is to assert confidently what we would rather see proved evidently. We cannot but look upon the mind as very much biassed by preconceived notions, which, though it finds the septenary division, with its reason, mentioned in the time of Adam, observed by Noah and the patriarchs, and other nations which have derived it from them, nevertheless discards all this in favour of mere notion for which no fact can be produced to make it probable. What nation has ever been known to originate a septenary division of time? The more natural one would be the decennary division of the Greeks, or the fifteen days of the Chinese, and then, if a further subdivision were required, they would adopt a week of five days, which would make the cycle of weeks agree much better with a lunar month or a solar year than our own will do. In fact, the disuse of the septenary division in many nations derived from the same stock, would seem to imply that it was not the most convenient, or one that would naturally be adopted.

Another objection urged by Dr. Hessey against the sabbath day being a commandment of God is, that the heathen, though reproached for many sins, are never taxed with this. Surely this objection is sufficiently answered by saying, they are reproached for forsaking the worship of the true God, and in this would be included all his religious ordinances.

We now come to that important consideration, what authority has the fourth commandment over us? Here a great stumbling-block lies openly in the way of those who deny the observance of the seventh day to be a primæval commandment. It is allowed by all that its first promulgation was not from Mount Sinai with the other commandments of the decalogue. When, then, was it first given, if it were not at the creation? Dr. Hessey says in the wilderness of Sin, at the first distribution of manna. (Exodus xvi.)

Let us examine the history itself, to see whether it will satisfactorily establish the conclusion which he would have us adopt.

The people found that whether they gathered much or little

manna, when they came to measure it, it turned out to be an omer for each person. But when they came to measure it on the sixth day, they found that each person had two omers. The rulers of the congregation were as much surprised at this as the people, and came to tell it to Moses, who made this answer: "This is that which the Lord hath said; To-morrow is the rest of the holy sabbath unto the Lord." Now the question in debate turns upon this—where and when hath the Lord said it? for it is evident that the rulers and the people had received no instruction on the subject. To this, Dr. Hessey replies, "He said it by this occurrence:" the declaration consisted in the miraculous duplication of the manna. I presume this to be an answer which will satisfy none but those whose minds are already made up on other grounds. But take the words of Moses as referring to the commandment given at the creation, which had, perhaps, been almost forgotten or disused in Egypt, and the whole matter would have become as intelligible to the rulers and the people as it is to us. In fact, the very expression of the "*rest of the holy sabbath*" here made use of is a direct reference to the original commandment, and the reason on which the duty was founded.

We now come to the consideration of the commandment itself: and here we are assailed by this argument: "The commandment fixes upon a specific and unalterable day—the seventh—the Jewish sabbath." This is clearly and expressly abolished in the New Testament, and therefore the commandment at once falls to the ground. Dr. Hessey seems to consider this so certain, that he speaks of the strange confusion in the minds of those who cannot see the distinction between a seventh day and one day in seven. The plain words of the commandment, however, as well as the common sense of mankind, will fully justify us in our interpretation of it. What does the commandment say? "Keep the sabbath day holy;" that is, keep a day of rest from worldly labour for the service of God. "Six days shalt thou labour, but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God." Here we see that the sabbath is determined by the six days' labour, and is to follow upon them. The commandment evidently does not prescribe any fixed and definite day which is to be the sabbath, but that such should be the proportion of the working to the holy days. It is, I believe, universally conceded, that there is no proof that the sabbath of the Jews would, in cyclical order, fit into the seventh day of creation; yet we see that, in the commandment itself, God declares the "*rest*" of the creation to be the ground for keeping a sabbath to the Lord.

But we are told, the fourth commandment is evidently abolished; for does not St. Paul say to the Colossians, "Let no man judge you in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon,

or of the sabbath day, which are a shadow of things to come?" and again to the Galatians, "Ye observe days and months, and times and years: I am afraid of you?"

St. Paul, as well as all the other Jews, meant by the word sabbath every festival appointed by the law; all these he declares to be abolished, and, of course, among them the sabbath of the seventh day, as far as it was connected with Mosaic rites and ceremonies. Upon the original sabbath for all mankind, God had engrafted and intertwined several federal signs and observances which belonged to the Jewish nation alone, under the peculiar covenant which he had made with them. Thus, for instance, it was to be observed by them in connection with their departure from Egypt:—"Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence; *therefore* the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day." It was so kept also with particular sacrifices; with shew bread and other ceremonies—all these are now abolished, or rather fulfilled. But none of these have anything to do with the fourth commandment itself, which is no other than the commandment originally given to man. They were grafted on it, and may be removed from it without invalidating its authority. The Abrahamic covenant is a case exactly in point: the Mosaic was grafted on that, and afterwards removed from it; but the original covenant still holds good. Just so is it with respect to the seventh day. The blessing and duty of that day still remain, though the Mosaic bondage is removed. We are sure it is a blessing, for it was "instituted of God in the time of man's innocency;" and it must be a duty, for it is commanded by God Himself.

The commandment has been subjected to the most searching criticism, and yet no one has ever been able to trace the least footprint of Judaism in it. It is, to use a modern phraseology much in vogue, eminently catholic. The reason given for observing it is applicable to all men alike, whether nationally or individually. It is coeval with man, and has never been abrogated. In fact, among the many attempted explanations of the word "remember" in this renewed promulgation of it, there is but one which gives a good reason, and accounts naturally for its use; namely, that God is recalling to their minds His primæval law which was still in force, though, perhaps, of late years much neglected.

It is, we are persuaded, a great mistake to consider the ten commandments as forming any part of what is distinctively called the Mosaic law. They were not given to the Jews by any intervention of Moses: they were spoken by God himself immediately to the people; whereas all the ceremonial and judicial laws were first given to Moses, and by him made known

to them. Moses himself points out the grand distinction between these last, which he was commissioned to deliver, and the laws of the two tables which proceeded from the mouth of God himself, and were written by His own hand. "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire, and He declared unto you His covenant which He commanded you to perform, even ten commandments; and He wrote them upon two tables of stone. And the Lord commanded *me at the same time* to teach you *statutes and judgments*, that ye might do them *in the land whither ye go over to possess it.*" The distinction he draws between them is clear and obvious. The ten commandments are the summary of our duties to God and to each other, and concern all men alike, and are therefore declared by God himself. The statutes and judgments to be done in the promised land were federal conditions of the Jewish church-state therein, of which Moses was the mediator, and they came to an end with that church-state. This distinction between them was clearly intimated, when the decalogue was ordered to be laid up within the ark itself, but the rest of the Mosaic law to be delivered "to the priests, the sons of Levi."

There is no one to be found who doubts the permanent authority of nine out of the ten commandments; nor would the authority of this be questioned if there were not a particular theory to be supported; yet being all found together, all delivered at the same time, all emanating directly from the same authority, they must all stand or fall together. The reason that will set aside one will set aside all.

Dr. Hessey allows that the occurrence of a commandment to keep the sabbath holy, in a table generally moral, implies that "there is a moral *element* in it, and not a moral *tendency* only." But because it contains in it a positive law also, he looks upon that as a sufficient reason for setting the whole aside. The moral element in it he considers to be "the duty of giving some time, perhaps a periodic one, to God's service." Now it appears to us that this is not merely an element in it, but the very essence of the commandment, and makes it as much a moral one as any other in the decalogue. The positive part is secondary, and merely subsidiary to this; a kind of note to it, if we may so express it, pointing out a proper proportion of time, with a reason for that proportion.

Dr. Hessey says further, that "we are nowhere told to obey the commandments called moral, *because* they are contained in the decalogue; they are binding upon us, because they are elements of the great natural law written in our hearts at first, and authoritatively republished by Christ." Now as to the first point, our Lord does not seem to have been of Dr. Hessey's opinion, for in answer to the question, "What good thing may I do that I may inherit eternal life?" He at once refers the

questioner to the decalogue, citing from it the five commandments which referred to his duties toward his fellow-men. Nor was St. Paul of this opinion when he quotes its fifth commandment as a sufficient authority for the duty he enjoins.

Neither is Dr. Hessey more happy when he lays it down as a principle, that "a moral law must be a part of the great natural law written in our hearts at first." Is not the second commandment a moral law, and yet so far from its being a natural law written in the heart, nothing seems more natural and congenial to the heart of man than to worship an unseen God under a visible image; to substitute sensible for spiritual worship. It seems to be a natural tendency in the heart of man, which is continually struggling to break forth. To say nothing of heathen nations, we see it in the church of Israel; we see it in the church of Rome; and we have of late seen but too much of an approach to it in our own. What else is that conspicuous display of the cross before the eyes of those who kneel at the communion, coupled with the plea that it is a very sacred image; an object highly to be revered by all Christians; that to be ashamed of the cross is to be ashamed of Christ; and that if we refuse to admit it, we give the Roman Catholics a great advantage over us? That the symbol will always at last take the place of the thing signified, is true; but this we know by experience, and not by the light of nature. This second commandment, then, is clearly no natural law, written in the heart at first; and therefore, on Dr. Hessey's reasoning, it might be expunged from the decalogue, as is actually done by the Roman Catholics, and as he would have us do with the fourth commandment.

Dr. Hessey tells us also that we quite misunderstand that passage in the New Testament, which has usually been considered as bearing direct witness to the Christian sabbath: "There remaineth therefore a rest" (literally a sabbath keeping) "for the people of God."

This is his interpretation of the passage: "St. Paul through all the former part of the chapter had been speaking of the rest into which the people of God were to enter, under the term (*κατάπαυσις*) rest; but now suddenly changes that term which savours of time into a nobler one, (*σαββατισμός*), sabbath keeping, which savours of eternity and of Him who inhabiteth it, and that this sabbath keeping for the people of God means a rest from sin and their own works which are sinful; here inchoately, hereafter absolutely."

This, we think, is making the passage express a meaning which would hardly be given to it, if the mind were not previously biassed. Just consider the words themselves, "There remaineth therefore a sabbath keeping for the people of God: for he that is entered into his rest, hath ceased from his own works, as God

did from His." What likeness is there between the rest of God's people on earth from sin, and the rest of God in creation? Or how can any one, either on earth or in heaven, have ceased from his own work, as God did from His? Dr. Hessey seems to have mistaken the comparison altogether, which is, that Christ had completed the work of redemption and rested, as God also did when He had completed the work of creation: and that, as God had blessed a sabbath day on that occasion, so there remaineth also now for Christ's people His new creation, a (*σαββατισμὸς*) keeping of a sabbath.

Unless this be the comparison St. Paul is making, all his reference to God's resting from His work and blessing the seventh day, would be unmeaning and confusing his argument. But on this supposition the reasoning is clear and consistent throughout, and we see the propriety of substituting the word *σαββατισμὸς* in place of *κατάπαυσις*, which otherwise his previous reasoning would not have allowed. It is also in exact agreement with what Paley points out as a peculiarity in St. Paul's style, the "going off at a word;" the rest and the day in the previous verse led him to the *σαββατισμὸς* in the ensuing, with the reason for it.

But in order to get rid of the fourth commandment, it is attacked also through the fifth. See, it is said, how that commandment shows by its temporal promise that it could only belong to the Jews. To the Christian are never held out any temporal rewards for obedience, or temporal punishments for disobedience. Is this so certain as to prove that Christians, therefore, can have no interest in such a commandment? To whom, then, does this promise of Isaiah belong? "There shall no more be an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not fulfilled his days, for the child shall die an hundred years old." Is St. Paul speaking to Christians when he says, "for this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep?" Of whom but of Christians is David speaking, when he says, "If His children forsake my law and walk not in my covenant, I will visit their offences with the rod, and their sin with scourges." St. Paul evidently supposes the promise as well as the commandment to apply to Christians, and still to remain in force; otherwise it would have been bad faith in him to hold forth a promise which he believed to be annulled.

We have next to consider the adoption of the fourth commandment into our liturgy. Our church evidently understands by the seventh day one day in seven; and also that the commandment itself is still in force. This is clear from the response. Here Dr. Hessey uses a mode of arguing, which we are sure he will, on further consideration, be among the first to repudiate. Having allowed that from its place among the other commandments, which are all moral, it must itself contain a moral ele-

ment, "the moral element enjoining some (perhaps periodic) time for the devotion of ourselves to God's service," he goes on to say, that as it is also positive in fixing upon the seventh day, and a mode of keeping it, that part of it is to be discarded. So that although the response binds us in words to the whole commandment, yet if we like, we may interpret it to mean only the moral element in it.

Now, with respect to such reasoning as this, acknowledging that part of a commandment which we like, and rejecting that part which we do not like, we shall be justified in saying that it deprives every church of the power of drawing up any test or standard of doctrine which shall be binding on its members. It is the reasoning said to be used in defence of the authors of the "Essays and Reviews." Their argument, as we understand it, is this—the holy scripture contains a substratum of truth, overlaid with a great deal of error in doctrine, and untrue statements of facts. Our church, of course, only means by holy scripture what is true therein: and in this sense we can conscientiously subscribe to all her tests and articles, the private judgment of each individual being, of necessity and inalienable right, the sole arbiter of what is true in the scripture and what is false. We cannot see how this reasoning differs from that of Dr. Hessey with respect to the fourth commandment, which is either a law, or it is not: if it is, we are bound to keep it. If it is abolished, as Dr. Hessey asserts, it is no longer a law: what answer have we, then, for an opponent who should charge us with the insincerity of holding that to be no law, which we profess before God we believe to be a law, and which we pray for His grace to keep?

This inconsistency is so deeply felt that Dr. Hessey tells us, "the result has been on the part of the more learned clergy an avoidance of a topic, which they cannot treat of logically and historically, without being exposed to obloquy; and which they cannot treat of popularly, without apologizing to their self-respect and sense of duty." If this be so, it discloses a sad state of things in our church: that her ministers hold opinions which they shrink from avowing: that several of our clergy, and especially those who in Dr. Hessey's opinion are the more learned of them, are not men of sincerity. It is well known that the church is at the present time suffering from a very general and uneasy feeling of suspicion and distrust respecting the fairness and straightforwardness of some among her more active members: and it cannot be denied that there have been occurrences affording but too much ground for this feeling. There is a strong impression that our ritual and doctrines have on several occasions not been dealt with in a fair and open manner; that the evasion of a law or rule has not been felt to be the same thing with a breach of it: that when innovations,

contrary to the manifest spirit of our church, detracting from the truth of her teaching, and sullyng the purity of her services, have been remonstrated against, they have been defended by specious subterfuges, and sophistical justifications which would never be used by honest and upright minds; that there are those whose exoteric doctrine is not their esoteric also, or to use a common phrase, who would go farther if they dared, some towards infidelity, and probably more towards Rome, and are only restrained from either extreme by the pressure from without, or as Dr. Hessey expresses it, "by being exposed to public obloquy." A suspicion and feeling of this kind is most deeply injuring the whole body of the clergy, though we trust it has arisen from the proceedings of but a comparatively small part among them.

We are very willing to concede what Dr. Hessey seems to claim for those who hold his views, that they are the more learned of the clergy. Like Horace, we all naturally join the "*et sapit*" to the "*mecum facit*," and we do not wish to contest this point. But if his reasoning be also theirs, we can hardly concede that they are the more logical part as well; for he lays down as axioms what are really propositions, themselves requiring proof before any argument can be founded on them. For instance, he asserts that apostolic practices are necessarily divine laws, and yet, at starting, discards several of them,—that God never sanctified a seventh day for man at the creation; a point of which those who read the Bible require some proof before they can be convinced;—that the division of time into weeks arose from the subdivision of a lunar period;—that the cosmogony or creation of the world was unknown to man until revealed to Moses;—that the sabbath was certainly never observed by the patriarchs. These are not axioms, but propositions requiring proof which we search the book in vain to find.

Now the plain words of the Bible lead us to conclusions very different from Dr. Hessey's. There was a seventh day sanctified, or set apart for holy uses, from the beginning of the world. This is a clear and distinct assertion at the very outset of man's history. When and where was this law abrogated, any more than the cotemporary law of marriage? It is certainly not one of those laws which would cease on account of its being fulfilled in Christ; for it was given before the fall, and therefore before any such type was required. We see a probable trace of its observance by Noah; we see the weekly division of time observed by the patriarchs; we see no new law on the subject, but the very same declared by God from Mount Sinai, and the very same reason given for its observance: a reason binding on all men alike, and by no means concerning the Jews more than any other people. We see one day in seven set apart by the

apostles, without any remark, for religious duties; is not this a proof that they considered the commandment still in force?

The change of day from the seventh to the first does not materially affect the question. They thought more of the new creation than of the old. It is somewhat similar to the alteration in the mode of celebrating the passover. God had expressly commanded that it should be eaten in haste, in a standing posture, with shoes on their feet, and a staff in their hands, in memory of their sudden expulsion from Egypt. In later times, as a token of the rest they had found in Canaan, it was eaten at leisure, and in a recumbent posture. We find no commandment for this change; yet we know that our Lord sanctioned it by His example. We conceive this to be very analogous to the change from the seventh to the first day; and the reason for it is so good and so satisfactory, that it has been adopted by all the churches of Christ.

It is generally allowed to have been the intention of the apostles, that under the new dispensation one day in seven should be set aside for the service of the Lord. If so, can any good reason be offered, why they should not have given a formal and express injunction on the subject, but this? They found the commandment already given; just as was the case with respect to the admission of infants into the Christian covenant. They were contented to obey, and leave it to work its way as it has done. In those times, perhaps, a more formal declaration on the subject might have shaken society to its foundations. Their wisdom and prudence prevented them from pressing forward injunctions which perhaps in that age it would have been found impossible to obey.

The primæval commandment, the repetition of it on Mount Sinai, the observance of it by the apostles and first Christians, make a threefold cord which cannot be broken. Our limits do not allow "ample room and verge enough" for untwisting Dr. Hessey's *Catena Patrum*; but surely the expressions which even the earliest fathers use respecting the Lord's-day,—such, for instance, as that it is the true beginning of the world, the rest from evil, the day on which God created light, and others to a similar effect,—all show that in their minds they referred the origin and duty of observing one day in seven to the primal creation. That they did not lay more stress on the fourth commandment, is easily accounted for from their fear of its sabbath being confounded with the Jewish, and their reluctance to bring forth an authority which each party would have claimed for themselves. When this feeling began to wear away, we see the Christian writers soon came to juster notions on the subject, or, in Dr. Hessey's view, "a taste for Judaism soon insinuated itself into the church." It is, however, no task of ours to un-

ravel the tangled skein of patristic lore ; for we hold the scripture, and not the fathers, to be the sole arbiter and test of truth.

Dr. Hessey says well and truly, that the way in which the Lord's-day is observed is "a no uncertain index of Christian steadfastness or decline ; *signum stantis aut cadentis Christiani*." It is on this very account that we object so strongly to his book. He deprives the Lord's-day of all divine authority, when he declares the duty of its observance to rest merely on apostolic practice ; for he certainly fails in his attempt to prove that apostolic practice is divine authority. And this proof failing, the antinomian tenet, that all days are alike, is fully justified ; with which Dr. Arnold agrees, so strangely sometimes do extremes meet. Truth is undoubtedly to be followed, let it lead us where it will ; but we conceive a heavy responsibility rests upon those who propound theories necessarily tending to unsettle and subvert a general belief concerning a matter of the utmost practical importance, unless they can show that their theory is founded on truth ; and here it is that we consider these lectures so signally to fail.

R. T.

POPULAR AND PAUPER EDUCATION : REPORT OF THE
ROYAL COMMISSIONERS.

1. *The Workhouse Orphan. By the Author of a "Plea for the Helpless."* London : Hatchard and Co. 1861.
2. *Communications from Edwin Chadwick, Esq., respecting Half-Time and Military and Naval Drill.* London. 1860.
3. *Report of H.M. Commissioners on Education, &c. &c. &c. Published by Command. Spottiswoode.* 1861.

WE shall unite three subjects congenial though different—one relating to the female children of our workhouses ; the other to some of the more general questions of popular education ; and the last, the recent report of Her Majesty's commissioners.

Mr. Chadwick, in collecting with much pains the evidence referred to above, has thrown valuable light on some interesting questions of popular education. On this, as on other occasions, we have had reason to be grateful for his services. Some violent onslaughts were directed against him some years ago, and, from the influence of the journal in which they appeared, they did him prejudice. But Mr. Chadwick has had the good sense to continue his persevering labours, and these will always secure for him, what he well deserves, our respect.

Not, indeed, that we quote Mr. Chadwick as a philosopher, or cite his authority as high in general reasoning. That is

not the temper of his mind. Like many men who yet render us great services, he is so intent on the object which engages him, that for the time he sees nothing else. He is like a horse that works in blinkers: art takes from him objects to the right and left, in order that he may plod vigorously and uninterruptedly along his assigned road. What is lost in range is thus gained in effect. Such minds, intently poring and working along their courses of thought, bring together and collect for us heaps of facts, which other minds set themselves to arrange and classify. In this case Mr. Chadwick starts with two favourite ideas—the benefit of half-time in schools, and of drilling applied to boys in schools. He collects a quantity of evidence; he drags out numbers of facts. You might imagine from his questions that the one nostrum which is to save England, is to keep boys in school three hours in place of six hours; and to draft them into regiments of soldiers, and run them up masts in Union yards. The nostrum is not infallible—the remedy is not a specific; but incidentally, and in the course of the inquiries, facts come out, which are both new and significant, and by the classification and adjustment of these we shall reach, if we mistake not, some valuable conclusions.

It appears from the evidence collected by Mr. Chadwick, what indeed most of us have already learned, that it is not enough for success in education to collect children into a school, to subject them to regular discipline, and to submit them to the teaching of a competent master. It is too apt to be forgotten, what Wilderspin first taught us, and Mr. Stow has in practice exemplified, that the physical requirements of boyhood must be considered as well as its moral wants. There is a good deal of what we may call educational crotchets, benevolent, harmless, but still crotchets. To these the Committee of Education has lent some sanction—its rules made boarded floors a thing indispensable. Other well-meaning people must have seats, especially for girls, with backs so made as to prevent their stooping: these are fancies of educational martinets. It is preposterous to say that a boy who wears hobnailed shoes two inches thick, and who puts his feet on brick or clay floors from boyhood to age, either knows or cares whether his feet rest on brick or wood. But though these are fancies, there are some great physical facts, and this is one,—that no very young child can fix his attention long on one subject without weariness, and, where physical weariness begins, mental power is weakened and disturbed. Out of this invariable law arise many practical maxims. Not only must lessons on one subject be short, but they ought to be broken by intervals of *physical activity*. This is the reason why in infant schools bodily exercises are resorted to. Clapping of hands, practised gestures and attitudes, these relieve the mind by occupying the body. In early childhood,

when the infant is both weaker and of a more variable nature, these exercises must be frequently interposed, and no infant-school teacher is worth his salary who does not understand and practise them. But the necessity does not cease with the infant school. It ought always to be carried into the juvenile school. In the forenoon, when the attention is more lively, it may appear unnecessary, but it is not. For it must be remembered that the master has the children during three hours. Now Mr. Stukey, the master of the British school at Richmond, says of the Borough Road school, where the teachers were efficient and the lessons interesting, that the interest of the children fell off in about half an hour, and they then became restless and inattentive.

Mr. Chadwick seems to imagine that half-time school—that is, children kept in school for three hours—meets the case. His own witness—for example, the one we have quoted—shows that it does not. According to these facts, you ought to have schools for half hours; which is absurd. The remedy is to break the time, as another witness, Dr. Cawthorn, mentions, either by introducing a distinct lesson exercising different powers—a lesson of writing, or drawing, or singing, or chemistry, or by, what we should press still more where a playground exists, allowing the children five minutes occasionally in the open air. This repeated twice in the forenoon would be found no loss of time, and by the orderly departure and entrance of the children, it may become a useful instrument of discipline.

Mr. Chadwick presses strongly the introduction of military drill into schools; to large schools, and especially to union schools, it is specially applicable. It has great advantages in physical discipline, in improvement of the carriage and bearing, and in giving a use of hands and arms which would be serviceable whatever the after-occupation may be. Its secondary advantages, in preparing lads for the army as a profession, are considerable; but its general advantage, as affording a means of bodily training and exercise, in towns where there are no grounds and gardens, and in the country where gardens do not always answer, are great. Mr. Rawlinson, a civil engineer, says, that in all engineering and building trades men are frequently required to use their strength in concert: two trained men will carry more, easily and safely, than four untrained men; drill and training will probably double the effective human power of any establishment, especially if numbers are instructed in joint feats of strength. That which is taught in youth is never forgotten in after-life. Mr. William Fairbairn of Manchester, a high authority, says that he finds among mechanics a few who had been trained as sailors unusually handy, and far superior to common workmen. "In my view, a greater benefit could not be conferred on the population of the country than to provide for them a military and naval drill. Their

active body-training cannot begin too early ; and from my own experience as boys, when it was a favourite game to play at soldiers, it would be as agreeable as it would be useful to youth in the duties of ordinary civil life." Mr. Sykes, the foreman of an engine manufactory at Manchester, gives a similar testimony. If we pass from these, the testimonies of practical men out of doors, to the evidence of those who are competent to speak of schools, we are brought to the same conclusion.

In the grammar school of the parish of St. Olave's, Southwark, which contains five hundred boys, the military drill has been, for three years, introduced. The schoolmasters uniformly report that the drill has had a beneficial influence on the order and discipline of the scholars, and, indirectly, on the progress of their tuition. It makes them, says one of the governors, other creatures. The drill-master, who is a colour-serjeant, says that from his own experience in drilling children, they may be taught to walk and practise motions from five to six years of age ; may be taught the sword drill at eight years of age, and the rifle drill at ten years. The head master of another free grammar school in Southwark, consisting of five hundred and fifty boys, says that they have introduced the military drill with advantage ; that it has interested the boys, and made their attendance more regular ; has greatly improved the order, the obedience to command and the discipline of the school. Mr. Tufnell, who, as the inspector of union schools, is the highest authority, speaks strongly to the same point. He says that in two of the largest schools the guardians exercised their power by dismissing drill-masters ; but after a year's experience the result was found to be so injurious, that in each case the drill-master was re-introduced. This of course proves how beneficial it had been in improving the discipline of the school ; and Mr. Tufnell speaks to its value in preparing boys for the army and navy, and so fitting them for these two great branches of service. Naval drill is indeed only applicable to large union schools, for this requires the purchase and erection of a mast and sails, and the employment of a regular seaman. The expense of the former is at least £100. Still, where the size of the school admits of it, this is money well spent ; for the trades hitherto taught, of tailors and shoemakers, are already overcrowded, while the army and navy require recruits ; and it is impossible to conceive a better mode of supplying them than from these great schools, which are supported at the expense of districts in the metropolis, and where the boys, once drafted into this active service, will become a defence and benefit instead of a burden to the state.

These remarks, however, have carried us away from the subject to which one great branch of Mr. Chadwick's inquiry is devoted—the benefits of half-time in education. On this

point, after examining the evidence, and checking one part by another, as well as by a more general experience, we come to these conclusions :—The rule which parliament laid down, which requires that in many branches of manufactures boys should spend half their day in work and the other half in school, has done great good. It appears, as we might suppose, that those who work during the first half of the day, and come to school for the second half, do not make equal progress. Those who work in the early part of the day, and come to school for the afternoon, are very often drowsy and fatigued, and this prevails especially in the summer time. Still, there is a concurrent testimony, that those who spend half the day in school make progress very little inferior to those who have the whole day in school. The head of the national school near Rochdale gives evidence, which is corroborated by the others, that the half-timers are not quite up to the full-timers, but there is really very little difference ! Another puts the difference in the ratio of about 5 to 7 of attainments. The reason why the half-timers do so well is, that labour makes them more alert, more intelligent, and more anxious to avail themselves of the short time which they have in school.

Such is the general experience of the manufacturing districts, and the conclusion which we may safely draw. But, however successful this scheme has been in the manufacturing districts, we have hitherto thought the system of half-time in school applicable to these alone. But the evidence of Mr. Paget, M.P. for Nottingham, presents us with some new features, and opens to us prospects which we hail with pleasure. For it is needless to observe that the difficulty which weighs with all benevolent persons and obstructs their labours for the benefit of the poor, is the difficulty—we had almost said the impossibility—of keeping children at school for a sufficient time. Our educational theorists never rated this obstacle as they ought. It is all well to speak of the attractiveness of good teachers, and the superiority of good schools ; but these things fall idle on the ears of hungry parents and starving labourers. It is not the pennies they have to pay for their children at school that burden them—it is scanty wages, and many mouths to fill. The family must be fed ; and the instant that a boy can contribute to this—by bird-scaring, or following the plough, or accompanying the carter, or tending the sheep—then he is taken from school, and sent to earn his couple of shillings a-week. No doubt this industrial training is of value ; and the hard discipline of labour, self-denial, self-reliance, develops some moral qualities, while it exercises the physical powers. But, alas for instruction ! it is lost and never can be regained ; the little that has been learned is soon forgotten ; and, unless he is saved by an evening school for adults, the boy drops into a boor. For this

great and growing evil, no system of legislation, no inventions, either of parliament or of philanthropy, have hitherto offered even an approach to a remedy. Cover the country with the best schools and the most competent masters, and the schools, thinned by these influences, would remain half empty.

We have turned, therefore, with peculiar interest to Mr. Paget's experiment; though, as the population is nearly equally divided between framework-knitting and agriculture, the experiment is not as decisive as it would be in a rural neighbourhood. Mr. Paget began by employing on his farm eight boys at half wages instead of four at full wages. He first took them four in the morning and four in the afternoon, and finally he made them work on alternate days; so that they had three days at school and three days on the farm. This was found to answer, and it produced results which are worth noticing. First, a poor woman could not afford to send her son to school, as his wages were required for the family; but when she found that by a sacrifice of half his wages she could get good schooling, she willingly consented. Second, it acted well on education. One of the boys had been dull and listless at school, and was weary of its daily routine. As soon as he had the school on alternate days he became bright, and anxious to improve himself. Another had been fagged by daily labour, and he was of a weakly frame; but he could work well on alternate days. Again: the effect on the bodily condition of the lads was remarkable. The union of mental and physical discipline did much; the low, heavy, slouching gait, the result of continuous work, was corrected; the school life was no longer compared with a day of leisure, but with a day of labour. It was regarded, therefore, as a rest and a holiday. The lessons in school may be adapted to develope the capacities, and meet the inquiries of the labouring boy. Questions of arithmetic on the measurement of a field, the quantity of work to be done by horses in ploughing, the contents of a hay-stack, and the time it will suffice to feed a given number of beasts—these go at once to the daily subject of the boy's observation. We point to this experiment, as it has been tried and succeeded; and we would urge upon our readers to use their influence to have it repeated in parishes purely rural. They must expect difficulties and resistance, especially among the farmers; but if tried by the help of an intelligent and benevolent landlord, something may be done; and there is no doubt that, if this could be adopted generally, it would be an unspeakable relief to clergymen now struggling with great difficulties, and a benefit to the poor which it is impossible to estimate too highly.

We turn to another topic, suggested by the publication noticed at the head of our remarks. The benevolent author

has there presented us with the case of the workhouse orphans. Her labours have been confined to the female orphans, and the forlorn and hazardous lot of that class has engaged her sympathies. In some respects the position of children in a workhouse is always affecting. If they are in the great union workhouses round London, which Mr. Tuffnell superintends, there is something sad in the severance of such hundreds of children from family ties, and their aggregation in one community. But we must not confound sentimentality with fact. The truth is, when we come to consider the homes from which these children came, and into which, but for their poverty, they must be driven back, we meet with worthless and brutal parents—storms of curses and blows—scenes of drunkenness—sounds of profaneness, and we feel thankful for the poverty which separates them from homes so foul and associations so vile, which places them for years under a discipline healthy both for mind and body, and in habits which fit them for after-life. The fact that some of these union boys are now teachers of schools and clergymen of our church, may convince us that such places are not to be regarded with dislike. In truth, the testimony of Mr. Tuffnell is a remarkable one;—that the mortality in these district union schools is far below the average mortality of children—below the mortality of the children of the higher classes in England; showing us that healthy exercise, sufficient but not luxurious food, hardy discipline of body and mind, are better for the body, as unquestionably they are better for the heart and head. But the district union schools—those palaces which have lately risen on the outskirts of London—are in their management as much as in their exterior different from the old union, or, rather, workhouse schools in which the children of paupers were brought up. Of these, it is calculated that one-third only entered into honest and productive industry; two-thirds swarmed in the streets, and found their way into jails. The ordinary of Newgate reports, that of all who came under his observation, the most insubordinate were those who came from workhouses. When the North Surrey District School was opened, six hundred children were poured into it out of the London workhouses. Few could give any account of the simplest facts in the Bible. Of geography, grammar, and history, their ignorance was entire; their rudeness was intolerable, their habits filthy, their conversation foul and revolting. Mr. Hicksay's inquiry into the jails showed that their best recruits were from the workhouses. Col. Jebb makes the same remark; and Mr. Tuffnell, on examining the union workhouses of East Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk, found that the population of adult paupers who could read and write well was four out of one thousand! Such a mass of ignorance in contact with this turbulent and reckless boyhood offers a fearful prospect for the future, as it throws a gloomy light on

the past. The result is that, as Mr. Tuffnell states it, there are many workhouse schools where fifty per cent. of the lads who are sent out return to the workhouse; in other words, the workhouse school is training half of its inmates to be a set of demoralized paupers, and to be, during their lives, a curse to themselves and a burden to the country. In the case where population is large, and where great district schools, such as those that surround London, can be established with the advantages which ample resources, a large staff, and a good discipline can supply, this evil is met by a full remedy. But, though the Act which enables these schools to be established is most wise, only six schools have been founded under it, three of which are in the metropolitan area. It is, therefore, a melancholy reflection, that the bulk of the schools which train the children of paupers are the ordinary schools established in union workhouses, the character of which Mr. Tuffnell has detailed. It is vain to hope that children so brought up, in the midst of such associations, will prove otherwise than burdensome to themselves and the country. The best masters will not go to the union schools, or stay there. The children themselves will suffer from all that is around them.

But all the evil and disadvantages which attach to workhouse children are yet more intense in the case of girls. It is bad enough with the workhouse boy. The want of interest, of stimulus, of domestic affection and tenderness, presses in a considerable degree on him; but the industrial occupations which are supplied to him, the tailoring, the baking, the shoemaking, and the gardening, occupy his mind, train his body, and give him avenues by which hope can enter, and carry him in prospect to the outer world, to which he may soon escape, and in which he may thrive. It is, indeed, striking to watch the difference between the heavy, listless boy, droning over his book in the dull routine of a workhouse school, and the same boy with his coat off and his arms plunged up to the elbows in flour, under the direction of an intelligent baker. Then he awakens into a happy and lively being. But these hopes and pleasures which relieve the workhouse boy, are unknown to the workhouse girl. If all school and no play make Jack a dull boy, what is to become of her whose lessons, whether of books or sewing, are only relieved by a stupid walk along accustomed roads, in formal pairs?

The author of "*The Workhouse Orphan*" has given several examples of the effects of this system on the character of the poor girl.

In one London parish eighty girls, brought up in the workhouse, came to a life of sin and shame in the streets. These girls find their way, in a few cases, to penitentiaries; but the evidence of the ladies who superintend them proves

that they are the worst, most hardened, and hardest to reform. And the reason of this is plain. The workhouse girls are sent as soon as possible, generally at the age of fourteen, either to service, in our southern counties, or to work in the factories, in the north. In the former case, they are generally sent to mistresses who wish a girl to do the whole work of the house under herself, and who wish to have their girl-of-all-work cost them as little as possible. They are hard worked, therefore, and sparsely fed. But, unhappily, their education in the workhouse has not fitted them for service; and as from this routine they have become dull and apathetic, they begin their service as awkward and stupid servants. A scolding from their mistress ensues: the tempers of both are irritated; the girl becomes more sullen, the mistress more exacting; blunder follows blunder; scolding is followed by outbursts of temper; the servant becomes reckless and the mistress indignant, and a sudden dismissal or a running away breaks up relations which began ill, and have had their natural issue. On the other hand, if the girl goes into a factory, she comes with the brand of poverty on her. An orphan from the workhouse! who cares for her? and the hardest drudgery is not too hard for her. "They are only pauper girls," said an employer, "who will gladly put up with any rough treatment." One, apprenticed to a silk-mill at nine years of age, was kept standing all day, till the weak back bent, and disease of the spine brought on asthma. Another began her factory labour at ten, and was soon, surrounded by temptation, brought to courses of evil. If they return, as they do, to the workhouse, degraded, to be the mothers of illegitimate children, what remains for them but a life of growing depravity and deepening shame?

For such girls can nothing be done? Must they be abandoned to misery? Must they grow up to evil? Is there no hope for them, and for those stricken ones no remedy? Mrs. Way's experience shows that there is; and proves that to ladies, to whose christian agency we already owe so much, there is another sphere open of fruitful and gracious labour. If we invite them to consider it, and to enter on it, it is because its rewards are rich and blessed.

We take Mr. Tuffnell's description of the Brockham Home. This is the answer to the question put to him, Will you describe Mrs. Way's school?—

"That is a school of about fifteen children (we believe they are now eighteen), situated at Brockham in Surrey. *She takes girls out of the workhouse, and brings them up as servants.* She has a matron over the school, who undertakes the whole management of the children, assisted by the village schoolmistress, for intellectual instruction; and I have no doubt that by these means she can bring up children to be better conducted servants than any workhouse, or perhaps any distinct school can."

The great features of the system are, that the family life shall be restored. A dozen children living under the same roof with a man and his wife, or with a matron who treats them lovingly, carefully watches and guides their conduct, and provides them amusements, exercises, and teaching, will soon rise, by God's mercy, into new creatures. The character and the very countenances change. Take an example. Two girls, the orphan children of an honest labourer, were thrown, on the death of both their parents, into a workhouse. The eldest was seven years of age. They remained there eight years, and at fifteen they were found with countenances vacant and melancholy, completely ignorant of everything which could fit them for service or life. How can we wonder that such girls should turn out ill? The same children placed in a Home, looked after and cared for, became in a short time completely changed. "I am so sorry. I have been very wicked: but no one ever cared for me, no one ever taught me better." Such is the language of one of the first class dying in an hospital. How sad and true! To one of those orphans a lady said she would be a friend. "Does that lady really mean what she said? No one ever said such a thing to me. It seemed to go down into me, and made me feel so strange like." This is the response to the new voice of kindness, and this, when it comes with christian sympathy, and sustained by christian teaching, is its unfailing power.

The workhouse authorities have the strongest interest in promoting such Homes. They ought to give—in many cases they are ready to give—to the benevolent managers of them the weekly sum which the girl would cost them in the workhouse. It is for them a good bargain, and for the parishes and guardians of the union a great gain. For they are relieved permanently from the burden. A girl so brought up leaves for ever the pauper class. Instead of returning again and again to burden the rates, and cast her wretched offspring on them, she rises into the industrious class, and is found no more among the ranks of the destitute. We feel persuaded, therefore, that, by a little perseverance and explanation, ladies will find no difficulty in procuring from the workhouse inmates for these Homes, and a certain weekly allowance.

Of course, the buildings and the matron's salary must be supplied by benevolence. But the advantage of such a charity is, that its sphere is defined and its interest palpable. It is a great thing in these days, when general societies are jostling each other, to have *local* charities, working in an assigned sphere, and appealing to local sympathies. We should like to see scattered through our counties, Homes of this sort, rising within the circles of all our large unions. Where the great Union house appears, of gaol-like size and appearance, to receive pauperism, and vice, and mendicancy, decrepit age

and joyless childhood (a refuge needful in this sad world, but melancholy)—we should be glad in our walk or ride, after we have turned our backs on these costly walls, to stumble on some modest cottages in a quiet nook, where, under a brisk and kindly matron, ruddy, happy girls were training from morning to night, while the day seemed too short for its work, and bright eyes closed in thankfulness after its stirring labours. We should like to hear notes of singing and verses of hymns mixed with their labours, and to find that, as the day of these young ones began in prayer, it ended in thankful praise. And we should stop with intense delight to see the lady of the neighbourhood, to whose efforts this good work was due, and by whom it was superintended, taking her walk from her own affluent home, to enter the homes she had provided for friendless girls, and to see how her young charge was advancing. And when she entered the house what a glad recognition would await her ! How, at her look, every young eye would sparkle, and every face would beam under her smile ; her steps to them the most pleasing sound, and her voice, always in their ears, the sweetest music. How, at their yearly gatherings, when the neighbourhood meet to inspect the Home, pleasant it would be to see these happy, healthy girls, no longer dull, sullen, and vacant, but bright with life and vigour ; cheered with the thought that some one cares for them, and feels a mother's interest in their welfare, and has taught them, by her steady, patient, forbearing kindness, to look to a yet higher and surer Friend. How quickly would relationships spring up out of such a work, and how luxuriantly would the affections grow and twine round such a home ! The rich caring for the poor, the poor learning to love the rich, the orphan finding a parent, the parent enlarging the circle of her family ; while the children from the lady's house would repair, from time to time, to the new refuge, and would be welcomed by the rough girls, and looked at wistfully with a delicate tenderness ; and as they brought their tiny offerings, and gave with timid kindness their gatherings of fruit and flowers, how would they receive, in return, looks and smiles more precious than gifts, and would carry back in their own hearts endearing impressions of pleasure melted into them by the new sentiment of grateful love !

But we must arrest the pen. We might go on for ever to dilate on a picture which glows and swells on the canvass. Enough. Let the sketch be realized in life. Let our English ladies follow Mrs. Way's example, and enter on this new adventure of good. By-and-by they will tell us that the picture we drew was a poor one ; for what we held out in promise is as nothing to the satisfaction they have found. We turn to the third subject, the report of the royal commissioners just issued.

This report is of value ; for it will remove many doubts,

present a large array of facts, and put an end to many vague and dangerous speculations. Those who have maintained in parliament that our educational state in England formed a disgraceful contrast to continental nations have here their answer. In Prussia, with compulsory education, the proportion at school is 1 in 6. In Holland and France, with organized government systems, it is 1 in 8 and 1 in 9, respectively. In our maligned England it is 1 in 7. Those who maintain that education has made little or no progress amongst us, are met by these facts: in 1803, the number of day scholars was 1 in $17\frac{1}{2}$; in 1818, little better, 1 in $17\frac{1}{2}$; in 1833, before our present system, 1 in $11\frac{1}{2}$; in 1858, 1 in 7. Those who, in the face of these facts, mount their hobby, and say that education can do without public aid, have an answer at least of authority. The commissioners are seven. The *majority* give it as their opinion that public aid is indispensable. The facts they have collected corroborate their opinion. We should guess (though we do not know the fact) that the majority in favour of this opinion was six, and the minority one!

Sir John Pakington will find the commission for which he moved unanimous against his opinion. He held that education in England can be paid by rates. This, in the opinion of the commissioners, would be unjust to existing schools; destructive of the religious element in education; contrary to the wish of all the religious sects; in the teeth of public opinion; fatal to harmony, if carried; impossible to carry, and not even to be proposed. Such a theory henceforth does not need an answer: it may be safely dismissed. There are, of week-day scholars in England, 1,675,000 in 29,563 schools. (pp. 80, 1.) Of these, there are in schools, distinctly and denominationally religious, 1,570,000 scholars, and there are 22,839 schools. This mass of education, embedded in our religious life, could not be displaced without a national convulsion, and the politician who would propose such a scheme ought not to be listened to.

That the state of education in England, taking any standard we like, even that of the United States, is not inferior to other countries, is made clear by the commissioners. Assuming six years as the average period of education (pp. 84, 85), and taking our actual population, 2,655,767 children ought to be at school. The number actually at school was 2,535,462, which leaves a deficiency of 120,000. But six years is too long a period; facts show that the real period is five years and a fraction; and we should be too sanguine if we expected to keep the poor man's child for five years at school. The deficiency, therefore, is trifling. The testimony leads to these conclusions, that in most parts of England the great majority of children see the inside of some school or other, though for short and broken periods; that the brevity and brokenness of attendance is

owing to the parents' necessities or indifference ; that the sense of the need of education, and the desire for it, are steadily increasing, as shown by the increasing proportion of scholars to population in 1858 as compared with 1851 ; that those who never see the inside of a school are the children of degraded, vicious, and brutal parents, and that their exclusion from school is due to the habits of that sunken and sinking class, and not to the want of schools, or the character of schools, or the cost of schools. It is also plain that some classes of occupation—as potters, founders, miners, and such like—are unfavourable to education. These pursuits degrade the parents, and by imposing the need of juvenile labour, and offering a high wage for it, they tempt the parent to sacrifice his child. The remedy for this has been partially applied in our factory and mining Acts. The commissioners have considered the point and do not recommend the extension of these. Still less do they recommend a general system of compulsory legislation, nor do they attach much value to prize schemes, but rather hope for the mitigation, and, at length, the correction of the evil, by the progress of opinion, a change in the views and intelligence of parents, the moral influence of employers, and the powerful assistance of night schools. On the last point they offer many important suggestions ; and they corroborate opinions expressed in the former part of our article, that a child will learn more in short periods of school attendance, averaging four, or even three, hours a day, than he will do in the tedious school-hours now required. But on this practical point they lay open a fact, as the result of their inquiries, which every one would do well to remember : as far as the day school is concerned, the teacher will see the last of the boy when he has reached 10 or 11 years of age, and of the girl when she has reached 12 years of age. (p. 265.) If anybody would see in a short compass the defects of our present educational system, let him read pp. 244–247 ; 254, 5 ; and if he would see the good effects of education, let him turn to pp. 267–272. The cost of a child's education the commissioners put at 8*d.* a week for 44 weeks, or 30*s.* a year. (pp. 67, 73, 288, 345.) From 13 to 16-20ths of this cost goes to the salary of the teacher (pp. 63, 64, 65) ; and as a proof of the effect on the status of the master, caused by the government system, the average salary of the certificated master is £94. 3*s.* 7*d.* ; of the uncertificated, £62. 4*s.* 11*d.* The present system has either founded or improved, in 20 years, upwards of 9000 schools, teaching 1,100,000 scholars ; and, while it has cost the state £4,400,000, it has drawn from the pockets of voluntary subscribers £8,800,000. We are bound to add, that the cost of administration of this complex system has not been extravagant, if we compare it with the administration of religious or philanthropic societies. It has been 11 per cent.

While these are the facts established by the report, the commissioners proceed to suggest considerable changes in the system. So far we concur with them, that there are in the system, with all its valuable suggestions, two points that are vulnerable.

1. The grant does not cover all the necessitous cases; it does not reach the rural parishes, and the poor districts in towns which need it most. Hence a heavy burden falls on those who can least bear it, the clergy: that schools are impossible where they are most required; and that the government help is, and ever must be, the least where the want is the sorest, the commissioners show on the fullest evidence; (see p. 318, &c.) and those of our readers who are either connected with such parishes, or have ever looked into the reports of the Church of England Education Society, which tries to meet such cases, will entirely concur with them.

2. There is another difficulty—Chancellors of the Exchequer, and financial Secretaries of the Treasury, pressed by growing expenses, become impatient under a large grant, which is annual, and therefore precarious, and which is on the increase. The grant has now reached £750,000 a year. Sir James Shuttleworth calculates that it will increase at the rate of £100,000 a year (p. 314). The commissioners present various calculations, by which they estimate the education vote at £12,00,000, £1,620,000, £1,800,000, even as high as £2,100,000. We dismiss the unfounded calculations of Dr. Temple, whose authority appears to be of about equal value in education as it is upon theology. The fact we apprehend to be that the vote will never exceed £1,200,000, and will not approach that limit for many years. But, a grant, even restricted, if it is increasing, presents a warning to those who wish the system to stand.

We should be very glad to find that these pressing points had been met by the wisdom of the commissioners. But with all the weight we desire to give to their advice, we cannot speak in terms of approbation of their suggestions. Accurate as long as they collect and classify facts, they exhibit neither sound logic nor experience when they offer advice. We are not sure that we should have expected much from the composition of the commission. With one exception, persons more thoroughly unacquainted with common parochial education could hardly be brought together. And assuredly their advice has the full flavour of the mixture.

Having highly praised our educational system, they suggest changes which would utterly destroy it. To recommend that the inspectors should confine their inquiries to the secular teaching in school, and leave out the religious teaching, is simply to declare war against all the managers of existing

schools, to arm the church which educates the bulk of the people against the government, to displace and discard the best inspectors, and to light up a fierce religious flame from Cumberland to Cornwall.

That is the first opinion carried by a majority: though even the commissioners shrink from turning it into a recommendation.

Having shown that inspectors have been of great value and have done a great work, the commissioners next prepare to reduce the office to a nullity, and the work to a sham. For they transfer all the real powers now exercised by inspectors to local schoolmasters; and, while they give to them the effectual power of the purse, they leave the inspectors the vast desecration of adding or taking away just one solitary sixpence from the child. Having shown that educated clergymen *chosen by government*, are useful, they substitute for them inferior persons—(local schoolmasters), chosen by a Board of whose capacity we know nothing and cannot augur well. Having shown the superiority of the trained and certificated master to the untrained, they annul certificates and flood the trained masters by admitting all men, untrained and adventurers, to the same advantages as the trained.

Having perceived that education is still too low, they propose a capitation plan which will lower it still further; and having complained that the moral and higher elements are wanting in school, they reduce schools to the lowest elements of bare education from which a labour of thirty years has just begun to raise our schools. Having found fault with the rapid increase and financial details of our existing system, they propose a capitation scheme which, were it unchecked, would lead to an expenditure far beyond what we now have, and which, subjected to the checks they lay on, will lower the standard of teaching in all our numerous schools down to this position, that the first class only of the scholars would receive the care of the conductors of the school.

We can understand that there are difficulties in the details of our present system. But we see no reason why these difficulties, as far as they touch financial details, might not be entirely done away with. Let two or three intelligent *official men, unconnected with the Education Office*, inquire into them and report on them, and the whole bugbear, conjured up by Mr. Lingen and accepted on his showing by the commissioners, would disappear.

That there are difficulties connected with the poor schools of rural parishes and town districts, we admit. To meet them, is a harder problem. But to meet them as the commissioners suggest, is simply to leave existing evils uncured—to tear up the mechanism now at work—to set the religious managers in opposition to government—to rouse a general antipathy to a local rate—to put up, in order that they may be pulled down,

weak, incompetent, obnoxious Boards; and, after disturbing the elaborate system which the Commissioners have proved to be acceptable and useful, to embark us in a civil war of parties, sects, and localities, of which we may easily see the outset, but of which the youngest among us will not see the end.

In fine, a less satisfactory or promising bundle of suggestions never fell from any body of commissioners.

P.S.—Just as we go to press we receive the letter of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, addressed to Earl Granville. We have no space for comments on this seasonable and important document. It comes from one well entitled to be heard, as he was the deviser and organizer of the present educational system; and he has been conversant with all the plans for its modification proposed for years, to some of which he was an assenting party. He knows, therefore, the practical difficulties by which changes are beset. We see that his opinion corroborates ours. He has entered, far more fully than we could do, into the working of the commissioners' plan, the financial obstacles which confront it, and the vast changes it must effect. It is in fact, on his showing, as crude in its conception as it would be fatal in its results, and, unless we are prepared to arrest the progress of English education, and to throw people back into the ignorance from which they are slowly rising, we shall give no countenance to the suggestions of the commissioners.

WEST AFRICA; VIEWED IN CONNEXION WITH SLAVERY,
CHRISTIANITY; AND THE SUPPLY OF COTTON.

1. *A Pilgrimage to my Motherland. By Robert Campbell, of the Niger Valley Exploring Party. Johnson, London. 1861.*
2. *Ten Years' Wanderings among the Ethiopians. By T. J. Hutchinson, F.R.G.S., Her Majesty's Consul to the Bight of Biafra and Fernando Po. Hurst, Blackett, and Co., London. 1861.*
3. *Reports of the Church Missionary Society. 1858—1860.*
4. *Papers of the Cotton Supply Association, Manchester. 1860, 1861.*
5. *Papers of the African Aid Society, London. 1860, 1861.*
6. *Report of Debate in the House of Commons. The Times, February 27, 1861.*

WHEN Vasco de Gama opened the route to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497, Africa was looked upon as little else than an obstacle in the way of commerce; her coast stretching away many thousand miles to the south,

and thus causing the galleons of Spain, and the well-freighted merchant-men of Portugal, to take a circuitous course, when bearing the luxuries of the east to the business marts of Europe.

But time rolled on—the inhabitants of southern Europe were carried by their enterprising spirit to the west. A “new world” had recently been discovered: and after the gold and the silver were skimmed from its surface by the early adventurers, it was found that the new fields of industry in America, in the West Indies, and in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, in order to be profitable must be supplied with foreign labour; the aborigines having been driven, by the cupidity and tyranny of the Europeans, to the backwoods of their vast continent. Attention was directed to Africa. The idea that Canaan was to be “a servant of servants” to the rest of mankind, was brought prominently forward, and, wresting the scriptures, for the sake of worldly gain, the Planters bought the negroes from fathers, chiefs, and conquerors; and transporting them across the Atlantic, compelled them to labour and toil as slaves.

The slave trade grew till it assumed gigantic proportions. England, France, Spain, Portugal, America, and other countries engaged in it. But, as it advanced, its horrors became known; powerful sympathies were enlisted in behalf of the slave; Clarkson, Wilberforce, Stephen, and Buxton, were raised up as “friends of Africa.” Stirring debates took place in the English houses of parliament; laws were framed; treaties were signed; and England, acting in the spirit of Lord Mansfield’s celebrated decision of 1772, that the slave is free the moment his foot treads the soil in any part of the united kingdom, not only maintained an expensive squadron at sea for the forcible suppression of the infamous traffic, but manumitted, at the cost of £20,000,000 sterling, all the slaves in her West Indian colonies.

Events are now taking place in connexion with the slave trade consequent upon the disruption in the states of the American Union, which show that another use may be found for Africa; now no longer an obstacle in the way of commerce, as she was considered to be in 1497; no more the mere hunting ground of the slave dealer, as she has been from nearly that time till this; but destined to be the field for the growth of the raw material of one of England’s chief manufactures—a market, such as we never had before, for the sale of England’s redundant wares—and a proof of the blessing which the great Head of the church is pouring out upon our mission to heathen lands; “The voice,” as it were, “of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord.”

We purpose, in this paper, to glance at the Slave Trade as it now exists;—to inquire into the progress of Christianity among the negroes in West Africa;—and to view West Africa as a cotton field; and the benefits likely to result to England, and to the African races themselves.

First, the Slave Trade.

The slave trade is reviving. It is true that England, France, and Holland wholly gave it up, and have expended large sums in trying to prevent others from engaging in it. Brazil, with the enlightened policy which is gradually raising her in the scale of nations, instead of importing, as formerly, from 50,000 to 70,000 slaves annually, has now abandoned the traffic. And from the Senegal to Accra, at one time the very region of baracoons and slave ships, settlements have been formed, forts built, and protectorates established by England, France, and Holland, which, under the blessing of God, have nearly extinguished the trade upon a seaboard of 2,000 miles. But Portugal is unable to control her colonists. Spain has acted with "profligate, shameless, and disgraceful bad faith," as Lord Palmerston said during the debate on 26th February, "in reference to the treaties concluded with England on this matter." And America has not only refused the right of search to British men of war, but is secretly engaged in the traffic again.

The slave trade is revived—though confined, it is true, to the coast of Africa, between Cape St. Paul and the mouth of the Congo; and thousands of Africans are captured, and thousands are murdered, in slave-hunting expeditions, chiefly to gratify the growing avarice of sugar-planters in Cuba, and cotton-planters in the southern states of America. Let us look to facts.

The slave population of the United States of America was,—

in 1830	.	.	2,009,031 ;
in 1850	.	.	3,204,089 ;
in 1859	.	.	4,200,000.

No doubt some of this vast extension of slavery arises from the natural increase of population; but no natural increase of population would account for the doubling of the number of slaves in twenty-nine years, or the addition of nearly one-fourth in nine years; taking into account, too, that many able-bodied slaves are "used up," as the Americans say, and die after a dozen years of hard work, and that many of the old and infirm have been shipped off to Liberia. The increase, therefore, to a great extent, can only be accounted for by the fact, that fresh slaves are imported from Africa.

But we have more definite evidence than the above. The "Philadelphia Press," quoted by the "Globe" in June last, states, that—

"The government has received information, that the fishermen off the coast of Florida and South Carolina are in the habit of running over to Cuba, on the pretence of disposing of their fish, and returning with two or three native Africans, bought there at a low figure, whom they dispose of at a great advance to parties who meet them on the coast, purchase the negroes, and take them into the in-

terior. This gross and notorious violation of law is said to have been going on for some time."

At a meeting held in Pall Mall in February last, to hear statements on this subject from Dr. Cheever, of New York, he is reported to have said, that at least 15,000 negroes are introduced annually into the United States ; and that at least fifty slavers are fitted out annually in New York. Among the various means adopted for evading the laws, Dr. Cheever mentioned the case of a cargo smuggled into the interior *in coffins*, each of which contained a living negro !

It is not easy to arrive at a certain conclusion as to the number of slaves thus imported ; but in an "Appeal of the African Aid Society," we find the following : "The horrible African slave trade is now being carried on with renewed vigour. By screw steam-vessels the traders elude the vigilance of the British squadron. Thirty thousand slaves have thus been landed in Cuba during the past nine months." Thirty thousand for nine months will give the number of forty thousand in a year ; and taking Sir T. F. Buxton's estimate, which was confirmed by Lord Palmerston in the house of commons on the 26th February last, this would represent a loss to Africa of 120,000 negroes torn from their homes to supply one year's demand for Cuba and the southern states of America only.

We turn now to the other side of the Atlantic, and there again we find evidence fully bearing out these statements. In the report of the Church Missionary Society for 1859-60, p. 36, we read that, "during the last two or three years, the slave-trade has considerably revived on different parts of the west coast (of Africa), and especially south of the line. On one occasion, her majesty's cruisers brought into Sierra Leone a captured vessel, having no less than four hundred and sixty-nine slaves on board, who were landed in the wretched condition of former slave cargoes. Even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, this horrid traffic is carried on by means of canoes, which creep down the rivers by night. During the last autumn, within a few weeks three such canoes were captured, having on board, in all, one hundred and thirty-slaves, mostly children, and some of a very tender age."

Despatches from Sierra Leone within the last few weeks state, that "a slaver was condemned on January 15," taken by H. M. S. "Espoir," on her way to Ascension. When taken, she had on board six hundred and seventy-seven slaves, of whom sixty-five died during the passage to Sierra Leone, and twenty-two soon after their arrival. Several more have since died."

Again, we quote the "West African Herald" of July last, published at Cape Coast Castle :—"His majesty Badahung, king of Dahomey, is about to make the 'grand custom' in honour of

the late king Gezo. Two thousand persons will be sacrificed on this occasion. The expedition to Abbeokuta is postponed; but the king has sent his army to make some excursions at the expense of some weaker tribes, and has succeeded in capturing many unfortunate creatures. The young people among these prisoners will be sold into slavery, and the old persons will be killed at the great custom." In addition to this prospective evidence, Mr. Consul Hutchinson, in his recent publication, mentions a letter received from Cape Coast Castle, dated September 16, in which it is stated,—“The atrocities at Dahomey have far exceeded the report, of which you are aware. Thousands have been sacrificed. Latterly came a steamer on that coast, and shipped off fifteen hundred slaves!”

The truth is, that Badahung accomplished a double purpose by the war: he obtained some fifteen hundred slaves to sell at about twenty dollars each, and he procured old and infirm people enough for the custom—two or three thousand—to be killed in sacrifice at his father's tomb!

We might adduce other proofs; but sufficient have been given to show that the slave trade is revived. If the number of slaves captured and sold does not equal those in 1820, certainly there is the same extent of cruelty and barbarism. And at the present moment there are signs of a great increase in this traffic; unless, indeed, the providence of God interpose by giving wisdom to Christian governments, and by sending forth labourers not few in number, bearing the glorious light of his gospel to the nations which sit in darkness.

We next inquire into the reality of Christianity among the negroes in West Africa. Our readers, who take an interest in the subject, will look for more information in the reports of our missionary societies. Of course there are a number of negroes, *infidels* as to idolatry, who have learned a mere smattering of Christianity during a short residence at the Gambia or in Sierra Leone, or from our sailors on the coast. But religion has not found a place in their hearts; many of them are free from the restraints of their own systems, however weak; and have found no other. Their conduct is sometimes very bad. We do not further allude to such. We examine into the state of some who have been under regular Christian instruction.

For several years the Church Missionary, the Wesleyan, the Baptist, and other societies have been labouring at certain points on and near to the coast, from the Gambia to the Niger. Churches have been built, schools have been opened, and the gospel of Christ has been faithfully preached; and what is the result?

We select two places out of many: one, we believe, contains the best specimens of the African in his native state; the other possibly the worst. We take the best first, though, in

order of time, it is much younger as a missionary station—Abbeokuta, the capital of the independent kingdom of Egba, in the Aku or Yoruba country. Early in this century it was the scene of desolating wars. Many slaves were kidnapped, and shipped off to Brazil, Cuba, and other places. Some were recaptured by British men-of-war, and landed as freemen at Sierra Leone. A few of the natives, flying from the slave-hunters, took refuge beneath a ledge of rock called "Olumo," said to have been before this a robbers' cave. Others, of the Egba tribe, came in, and soon they found their numbers sufficient to form a town and build a wall. In a short time that town contained the remnants of one hundred townships. They called the town "Abbeokuta," which means "under a rock." The walls, now nearly twenty miles round, include several settlements—"Ake," "Ijika," "Own," and "Igbein"—scattered through which are several hills of superior granite, the materials for streets, and piazzas and public buildings, when Abbeokuta shall be, as we hope, the centre of high civilization for many leagues on every side. The population of Abbeokuta is even now estimated at 100,000 souls, and it increases continually.

The natives are among the most industrious in Africa. "Rise as early as you like," says Mr. Campbell, a highly-educated, intelligent gentleman, a man of colour from the United States, "and enter a native compound, and you will find there the women engaged at their varied occupations; also at night, as late as you please, and there, by the feeble light of her lamp, she is seen in the act of labour, spinning, weaving, or preparing food for the ensuing day. There is not a child among the Akus—I say nothing of other African tribes—who is not instructed in some means of making a living. The men are builders, blacksmiths, iron-smelters, leather-workers, tailors, carpenters, calabash-carvers, weavers, basket hat and mat-makers, and farmers; the women weave, spin, dye, cook, brew, make pots, oil, soap, and I know not what else." "There is not a more affable people found anywhere than the Akus. Not even Frenchmen are more scrupulous in their attention to politeness than they."

Among the liberated slaves at Sierra Leone none were more apt to receive instruction, religious and secular, than the Akus. In 1839, some few of them having realized sufficient money for the purpose, purchased from the government a small captured slave-vessel. They freighted her with merchandise, and set sail for Badagry. They succeeded in their enterprise, sold their goods, and returned with a cargo of palm oil and other native productions. Others followed their example; then a desire seized them of returning to their old homes. And in 1842 more than five hundred Akus had arrived from Sierra

Leone at Badagry, most of whom went on to Abbeokuta. At this period the Church Missionary Society decided upon establishing a mission among the Egbas, if the providence of God should graciously afford an opening. Mr. Townsend, one of their missionaries, a catechist, then at Sierra Leone, proceeded to Abbeokuta to obtain information. A free passage was given by three native young men, who had just purchased a small trading vessel; and as Mr. Townsend passed through the streets of Sierra Leone, the Aku people pointed him out, and said, "There is the white man, going to our country." And when he and his party embarked, on November 14th, 1842, many cried out, "God bless you, massa, and go with you."

Previous to the visit of Mr. Townsend, Mr. Freeman the missionary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, made a journey to Abbeokuta. He was well received by the Alake; and joyously welcomed by the Christian immigrants from Sierra Leone.

In 1846, Mr. and Mrs. Townsend, and Mr. Crowther, the native missionary, took up their abode at Abbeokuta, and the machinery of the mission was fairly set to work.

Many were the interesting circumstances which took place as the work proceeded. "Is it true," said one native to a missionary, "that white men walk over the sea?" "Yes," said the missionary, "and only that we may declare unto you the gospel whereby ye may be saved." They then listened quietly while he preached to them. Another time, a young man called on Mr. Müller, bringing with him twenty others: "I heard," said he, "that God's messenger lives here, and I am come to ask the will of God."

A public meeting was held, as far back as 1847, at which one thousand chiefs and people were present, when a law was passed against kidnapping. There are several congregations of converts, and 700 communicants of the church of England. A newspaper is published in the Aku language; with a Supplement in English, giving a "trade report," and a list of the shipping at anchor in the port of Lagos. And Thomas Clegg, Esq., of Manchester, one of Africa's best friends, of whom we must speak again, has brought over some young Akus, to instruct them in the nature and use of machinery.

Sierra Leone was first made use of, we believe, in 1792, as a place of settlement for some twelve hundred free negroes who had joined the royal standard in the American war, and who had afterwards been nearly frozen out in Nova Scotia, where they had taken refuge. Disputes took place respecting the lands promised to them, which naturally ended in discontent and trouble.

Then settlers were invited from the neighbouring nations, with a view to instruct them in religion, and to teach them the

value of legitimate commerce, one of the first practical steps towards suppressing the slave trade.

After some years a party of Maroons from Jamaica was added ; but it was not until the slave trade was declared illegal by the European nations, and slave ships, captured and condemned, landed their cargoes at Sierra Leone, that missionary societies had free scope for their benevolent designs. The population of Sierra Leone was, in 1836, 35,668 ; in 1858, 38,318 ; of whom 107 were white people, all the rest coloured.

The Church Missionary Society has stations at Freetown (the capital), Kiskey, Wilberforce, Wellington, Hastings, Waterloo, Regent, Bathurst, Charlotte, York, and one at Magbeli, in the Timneh country, close by.

But what is the condition, as far as can be judged by man, of the congregations in those places ? The late bishop Bowen, than whom no one was more competent to form a just estimate, thus wrote,—

“When we witness the crowded congregations in the Mission Churches, when we see the people kneeling universally in prayer, hear the almost too loud response from nearly every lip, and then the heartiness and warmth of the song of praise, and again meet so many—two thirds, or sometimes three fourths of the adult congregation, crowding to the table of the Lord, many with the marks of former heathenism in their faces ; what Christian, I ask, but would thank God for these things, and would see, in these great results, the value of missionary labours in general ; and would acknowledge the unmistakable mark of the Divine approbation on the efforts and scriptural principles of that great society, which has been such an honoured instrument, in the hands of God, for planting the church of Christ on these shores.”

As we might expect, a high degree of civilization is the result. The coloured people serve in the militia, act as constables, as jurymen, as merchants, as government contractors for articles supplied to the troops, the hospitals, the free allowances to negroes when first landed. Men who have been taken from the holds of slave ships have been known to possess, after a while, incomes from £100 to £1200 a year !

“The efforts of Christian philanthropists, so far as Sierra Leone is concerned,” said bishop Bowen, “have not failed, but have signally succeeded. They have not made Englishmen of a whole heterogeneous population of African savages ; but these have become peaceable and orderly subjects, and are advancing rapidly in civilization, and are not deficient in industry, as some would persuade us. A young man in the dress of a British officer (he is surveyor to the colonial and military hospitals), said to me the other day, ‘Look at me ; I am the son of a liberated African.’ It was characteristic.”

We have now before us a copy of a newspaper, published in the colony : and we must say that *the African and Sierra Leone Advertiser* does great credit to its managers. Its well chosen motto is, “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God ;” and who is

the publisher? A young African, who came to London a few years ago to learn book printing. He was put into a London shop, where, though considered dull, he learnt his business well. He now carries on book printing successfully.

We add one more instance of civilization. When Prince Alfred visited Sierra Leone, in October last, he met with an enthusiastic reception. The governor, officers of the garrison, merchants, and crowds of coloured people cheering; the war steamers firing a royal salute,—and *one thousand* school children all dressed in white, lining the way from the landing-place to government house. We give an extract from the address presented to his Royal Highness on behalf of the liberated Africans, and their descendants; which shows at a glance their high state of civilization, as well as the sentiments of loyalty which they entertain in their hearts.

"Your Royal Highness sees before you the representatives of more than a hundred different tribes of the down-trodden children of Africa, once destined, through the avarice of man, to a life of hopeless servitude; but now, by the good providence of our God, and the noble and benevolent exertions of the British government and people, we stand redeemed, regenerated by the mighty spirit of liberty.

"In the name, then, of the liberated African population of this colony we would confidently assure your Royal Highness of our unfeigned attachment to your august mother, our gracious Queen, our earnest prayers for the prosperity of the Royal Family, and our unceasing gratitude to the people of Great Britain. Within the vast dominions of England your Royal Highness will look in vain for causes similar to those which 'grapple with hooks of steel' our impregnable loyalty to the throne and constitution of Great Britain."

We need add no more on this part of our subject. We see what religion has done, and what religion can do. And when those who do not give the gospel of Christ its proper position as first among the means for civilizing the savage, object and say, "Look at the conduct of some of your convert negroes on the Gold Coast or elsewhere;" we reply, that we cannot expect that all to whom the gospel comes, will receive it in their hearts. There are, as yet, tares among the wheat; and their very existence is a proof of the truth of God's word. We say more, if a balance were struck between the conduct of the inconsistent negro convert, and that of the inconsistent English Christian, with his superior light and education, we fear the balance would not be in the Englishman's favour.

We turn to the last part of the subject—Africa as a cotton field; the benefits likely to result to England; and the blessings involved in it to the African races.

The following table will show the great increase in the consumption of cotton in England since the improvement in machinery by Crompton, Arkwright, and others, and the introduction of steam power:—

in 1764	.	.	3,870,392 lbs.
" 1800	.	.	51,594,122 "
" 1830	.	.	255,426,476 "
" 1859	.	.	1,181,000,000 "

The value of the *raw* cotton imported in 1859 was thirty millions

sterling. The value of the manufactured cotton we have no return to show; but it could not have been much less than the sum which the chancellor of the exchequer asked from the house of commons for our national expenditure, including the interest on the national debt, the payment of the army, and navy, and the civil service in the same year. In 1856, the value of the manufactured articles was £61,484,000, while the raw cotton in that year cost £23,958,000.

But whence comes this vast amount of raw cotton? *Five-sevenths* of the whole come from the southern states of what were, the other day, the United States of America. We are told by Thomas Bazley, Esq., M.P., in an able paper which he read before the British Association at their meeting in Leeds in 1858, "Some seventy years ago the seed of cotton was first imported into America, and sown; and when its planter beheld his few acres of ground white with the downy harvest, he exclaimed with foreboding alarm, 'This cotton may be made into more stockings than the world needs!' Yet its value would not exceed £100; whilst, since then, in the very short period of its production in that country, so vast has been its increase, that £40,000,000 sterling may be estimated as the worth of the last year's yield."

A few years ago an association was formed in Manchester, called the "Cotton Supply Association," which numbers among its members many of the first merchants and mill-owners in the United Kingdom. We find it stated that "the resolute determination of the trade, to be no longer mainly dependent upon one source for its supply of raw cotton, has undoubtedly stimulated the American planters to put forth those extraordinary efforts which have resulted in the large growth of the present year (1860)." This result affords relief for the present; the ordinary manufacture requiring, to keep mills and hands going, more than the ordinary supply. The supply of raw cotton has been doubled in twenty years, the machinery for working it in this country has been more than doubled in the same time.

But now already there is an absolute necessity for other cotton-fields. There are "sparks among the cotton," as a paper of the Cotton Supply Association states; more "sparks" than when the paper was issued, owing to the secession of the Southern states: but we take the warning as we find it. "If a general insurrection take place among the slaves, or the cotton crop fall short in quantity, whether from severe frosts, disease of the plant, or other possible causes, our mills would be stopped for want of cotton; employers would be ruined; and famine would stalk abroad among the hundreds and thousands of work people who are at present fortunately well employed."

We look upon the question as one of great importance, demanding the serious consideration of legislators, as well as of those engaged in the immediate trade. Cotton is the support of 4,000,000 of our people!

There is, however, another element in the question, which must engage the attention and enlist the sympathies of the philanthropist and the Christian.

It is well known that American cotton is the produce of slave-labour. The increased demand for cotton produced an increased demand for that labour. There was the further inducement of a rise

in the price of cotton. We may now ask, Why did the Florida fishermen smuggle the slaves from Cuba into the States? Why are fifty slavers fitted out annually at New York, as Dr. Cheever stated? Why did the government of the United States refuse the right of search to British men-of-war, or decline the proposal of our secretary of state for foreign affairs that American and British cruisers should sail *in couples*, so that slavers might not take shelter under the American flag? But one reply can be given. It is the sordid interest of the southern statesmen—the mild St. Clairs as well as the tyrannical and cruel Legrés—*to foster the slave trade, on account of their cotton plantations.* “I often think,” said the philanthropic Mr. Bourne, in his letter of last June to the President of the Cotton Supply Association, “that if ladies in this country could see the slave women and girls, and even little children, picking cotton in the fields till the blood runs from the tips of their fingers; or if they could see them, as I often have, bent double with constant stooping, and scourged on their bare backs when they attempted to rise to straighten themselves for a moment—I say, if the ladies of this country could see this, or witness the infliction of what are called slight punishments on these unfortunate creatures, they would, I am sure, never in their lives wear another article made of slave-grown cotton.”

We believe that the time has come, in the providence of God, to deal such a blow, by wise legislation and Christian efforts, against the slave trade, that it can never again rear up its head.

Among the countries mentioned as producing cotton, we give special attention to Africa, for reasons which appear to us to be based upon sound principles, both of Christianity and political economy. We do not for a moment assume hostility to any; indeed, upon one field for cotton—the island of Jamaica—we look most favourably. If sufficient free labour can be procured—which Mr. Bourne has proved to be no difficult matter, in a private letter he has obligingly written to us upon the subject—if funds can be obtained, and some of the “encumbered estates” in Jamaica be purchased, cotton to the value of four or five millions sterling may be annually grown. And this will prove, not only a relief to the English market, but a valuable school for training negroes, and an auxiliary to African civilization.

There is another cotton field, upon which every Briton ought at least to look with favour, and to wish it abundant success—we mean India;—a possession of the British crown, and, though distant, united to us in as close bonds as any other part of the British empire. We know that cotton does grow in parts of India. Under certain conditions, India might grow sufficient cotton to supply all the mills at work in Lancashire and elsewhere in the British isles. But those who are best acquainted with the subject show that the conditions we allude to are not easy to fulfil. Mr. Smollett, M.P., in a very clever paper read at a meeting of the council of the Cotton Supply Association in Manchester, January 11, 1860, said:—

“The Cotton Supply Association contend that India is capable of furnishing us, not only with an unlimited supply of superior cotton, but with inexhaustible quantities of raw produce of every description suited for commerce, if the obstacles which weigh upon the energies of the people, and which prevent them from developing the resources

of the country, were removed. The impediments which retard the material progress of the country are said to be—

1. The want of works of irrigation.
2. The want of roads and cheap conveyance.
3. The want of a secure tenure of land in perpetuity.
4. The want of well-administered laws and an efficient police."

We cannot enter into a question which involves so many points of importance; but we think that by the time these impediments are removed, Africa may be a cotton field from the Gold Coast to Timbuctoo.

It appears, too, that cotton imported from India is not equal in quality to the African. We may therefore consider Africa as equal, if not superior, as a cotton field, especially taking the distance into account. And if a war should unhappily break out between the great European powers, the saving to the nation would be considerable in the cost of a man-of-war convoy for a cotton fleet from the mouth of the Niger, as compared with that from the mouth of the Godavery.

But, as we stated, other elements enter into the question. Not only is Africa a natural cotton field,—the cotton, in many parts, grows, and casts its seed, and rots, and grows again, from year to year, without any culture,—but a benefit to millions of the oppressed race of the Negro is intimately connected with the African cotton field.

Mr. Macgregor Laird has introduced steamers on the Niger, one of the finest navigable rivers in the world, and on its great affluent, the Tshadda. He has also established trading stations on the banks of the river at Abo, at Onitsha, and at the confluence of the rivers, conducted wholly or in part by liberated Africans, or other natives. By them the produce of the country has been collected and prepared for shipment. The result as yet has been highly satisfactory. Mr. Laird states that—

"The value of produce collected at these stations and brought down the river, shows a gradual increase:—

"In 1857 it realized at Liverpool £1800,

"1858 " £2750,

"1859 " £8000 to £9000.

In this experiment of Mr. Laird we see what may be done. He goes on to say, "In the last year cotton of quality equal to that of the southern states of America has been brought down, and as it is grown extensively on both banks of the river, it will form a staple article of export."

Here, then, we have not only cotton grown extensively on both banks, but also ready-made roads, the great rivers Niger and Tshadda, navigable for steamers for some thousands of miles in the interior of Africa.

Again, we look to Abbeokuta. Here cotton has been tried as an article of commerce, with funds supplied by Mr. Clegg. The experiment was first made by the Church Missionary Industrial Institution. Then the natives, chiefs, and farmers purchased gins for cleaning the cotton, and screw presses, costing £60 or £80, and they prepared the cotton themselves for the Manchester market. The imports of cotton from West Africa, which were, in 1852, 1810lbs., had risen, in 1859, to 417,087lbs.

Then as to carriage. We stated that the Ogun runs through



Abbeokuta. "The Ogun is navigable for steam vessels of not more than five feet draught during seven or eight months of the year. . . . There are extensive forests on the banks, from which a plentiful supply of fuel could be obtained."

During the seven or eight months that the river is navigable, the cotton could easily be brought down, and stored at Lagos. The citizens of St. Petersburg have large imports of comforts and luxuries from all the world, although the Neva is closed to navigation during the winter months; and the Hudson's Bay Company supply furs to half the civilized world, though Hudson's Bay is frozen over for nine or ten months in the year. We therefore assume the fact of the transit of cotton by the Ogun. Then there are many small rivers, tributaries of the larger, or falling into the Ossa or the Lagoon near Lagos, which are suitable for canoe navigation; and there is no part of the at-present-contemplated cotton field more than one hundred and fifty miles from water carriage.

The value of labour, too, must be taken into account. At Abbeokuta the cost of a labourer is 4½d. per day. Slave labour in the southern states of America costs one dollar per day. We may suppose, then, that with such cheap labour, good water carriage, luxuriant crops, and no prospect of failure, cotton ought to be cheaper when brought from Africa than from almost any other field.

We could add much more; but there is a higher sense in which the trade may be beneficial to England. If from Christian principle, which we believe is a prevailing motive with some of our great manufacturers; if from the love of the Saviour constraining them to carry Christianity into the heart of Africa, we send it in company with British commerce,—then surely we may expect a blessing in return upon our own land. It will be like those clouds of vapour, which Maury speaks of, drawn up by the sun from Atlantic waves, and wafted by Atlantic winds across the lower levels of Brazil, making them "soft with showers," and blessing "the springing thereof," till, reaching the cool heights of the Andes, they burst in torrents of rain, forming the sources of the mighty rivers Amazon and La Plata, which pour those waters back into the Atlantic again.

The great obstacle to the diffusion of the gospel appears to be the slave trade. Like the confirmed drunkard at home, the African chieftain is intoxicated; and he will not listen to "the story of peace." "We want three things," said one: "powder, ball, and brandy; and we have three things to sell, men, women, and children." It is on this account that the king of Dahomey refuses to listen to the gospel himself, or to permit his subjects to hear it. "If my people be allowed to hear the word of God," he said recently to Mr. Bernasko, "they will be changed, and become cowards, and will not serve the Fetishe; neither will they go to war." A similar cause, we imagine, has closed Rabha for the present against the Christian missionary.

The powerful sheikh of Bornou said to major Denham, "You say true, we are all sons of one Father! You say also that the sons of Adam should not sell one another, and you know everything. God has given you all great talents, but what are we to do? The Arabs who come here will have nothing else but slaves; why don't you send us *your* merchants?" Bello, the grandfather of the present sultan of

the Fellatahs, assured captain Clapperton, that he was able to put an effectual stop to the slave trade, and expressed with much earnestness his anxiety to enter into permanent relations of trade and friendship with England.

Cotton, the spontaneous growth of the rich tropical soil of Africa, is ready at hand for this commercial traffic. Let England encourage its cultivation, and opportunities will be afforded, such as she never had before, for carrying the gospel of Christ to millions of the African race.

Another element has now entered into this question, the emigration of free-coloured people from Canada and the United States, as agriculturists and mechanics, to Africa. A society has been formed in London, entitled The African Aid Society, to assist in this emigration. At the head of this new society we find the name of Lord Alfred Churchill, and his lordship is certainly making strenuous efforts for the attainment of his benevolent object. It would appear that the intention of returning to their fatherland has been for some time entertained by the Africans in America. Some in Brazil have purchased their freedom, and become "emancipados," which by the new and better laws of Brazil they can do. Some, as we know, have run away from slavery, like Anderson, at the risk of torture and death; enduring the cold of several Canadian winters, in hope of returning to Africa again. Some have composed national songs, which they sing to wild, and plaintive melodies, all bearing upon the subject of home.

The African Aid Society have written to the king of Dahomey, offering to buy all the cotton he can bring into the market, and to subsidize him as well, if he will give up the slave trade.

We wish well to this young society, and we have no doubt of their success, if they proceed in accordance with the will of God, as revealed in His holy word.

We perceive that several deputations have waited upon the prime minister with reference to this question, asking for aid from government, and showing the importance of it. We are glad to see that two points have been already granted—the placing of a consul at Abbeokuta, and the continuance for three years longer of the contract for running steamers on the Niger. We doubt not that the noblemen and gentlemen who formed the deputations will urge upon the government the important points which they brought before it, which were strongly advocated by Mr. Laird, Mr. Hutchinson, and others intimately acquainted with the subject. Gun-boats upon the Niger and the lagoons about Lagos, a military post at the confluence of the Niger and the Tshadda, and questions connected with the customs at Sierra Leone, are not properly within our province; but there is one point we urge upon all connected with this work, and that is, to make the religion of the Bible the foundation of all their proceedings in behalf of the negro; with earnest prayer for its success.

We have seen above the reality of Christianity among those negroes. We have proved the value to them of Africa as a cotton field. It is acknowledged by the African chieftains that lawful commerce is likely to put down the slave trade. Let all go together in Africa. Commerce the auxiliary to the gospel—the gospel the great civilizer of the

savage. Commerce of itself cannot civilize. The gospel must go with commerce, or no real improvement will take place in the savage mind. The highest degree of heathen civilization will fail when put to the test, like that of Mark Antony after the battle of Actium, or that of Nana Sahib in the mutiny at Cawnpore.

We conclude in the eloquent language of one of Africa's best friends, the late Sir T. F. Buxton, in whose sentiment we cordially concur:—"The most patriotic and loyal amongst us cannot frame a loftier wish for our country and its sovereign, than that her reign, which, in its dawn, witnessed the deliverance of our colonies from slavery, may be prolonged, till, through British agency, Africa shall also be released from a still greater curse: not, however, for the honour's sake, though it would give imperishable renown; not for the profit's sake, though it promises to open boundless fields for capital, industry, and enterprise; but in pity to Africa, and for His favour, who has said:—'Undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke.' Then shall thy light break forth as the morning,' 'and the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward.'"

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Pioneer of Progress; or, the Early Closing Movement in relation to the Saturday Half-Holiday and the Early Payment of Wages. By John Dennis. Prize Essay. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.—This little work is the result of a prize of fifty guineas, liberally offered by Mr. James Spence, of St. Paul's Churchyard, for the best Essay on the above subjects. The task of adjudication was assigned to the dean of Canterbury, the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, and B. Shaw, Esq., who selected this as the best of fifty-six Essays laid before them. The subject is one which we think deserves most serious consideration, and this unpretending little book is well calculated to assist the mind of a candid inquirer in coming to a right conclusion. There is an unusual amount of solid information and argument contained in it, and the style is easy and attractive. There are two distinct aspects in which the question may be looked at: first, as respects the propriety of affording the working classes greater opportunities for mental improvement and innocent recreation (a view which we by no means disregard); secondly, as respects the safeguard provided for the due observance of the Sunday, by ensuring time for secular amusement on the Saturday. This is a very important point. There can be no doubt that the most plausible argument for the desecration of the Lord's-day is taken away, if it can be shown that the labouring man has other opportunities for healthful diversion. Then, again, if the payment of wages on the Saturday can be avoided, a similar and most valuable result is attained. Let the workman go home on Friday with his earnings in his pocket, and the marketing which now takes place on Sunday morning is at once transferred to the Saturday. For these reasons, those who have the real welfare of the country at heart ought,

as it seems to us, to do their best to cooperate with the Early Closing Association, the only organization which exists for promoting these objects. We regret to hear that it much needs assistance, and that it has hardly secured that hold on the public mind which it deserves. Much, however, has already been done—how much, can hardly be estimated without a careful consideration of the results laid before us in this essay. The fact, however, that the Volunteers are enabled, to a great extent, to drill and exercise on Saturday afternoons, shows that in many departments of business a half-holiday has been already gained on that day. Had this been otherwise, who can say but that we might have had a repetition of the proposal made at the beginning of this century, that the Volunteers should exercise on Sunday. To have been spared a discussion of this nature is surely a vast benefit, and is mainly due, as it appears to us, to the progress of the Saturday half-holiday. The only objection that we anticipate against the movement is that it may lead to idleness, and so to vice. The best answer is to be found in the testimonies cited by Mr. Dennis. Thus Mr. Hitchcock of St. Paul's Churchyard says,—“I consider the young men, as a body, are marvellously improved. I trace this improvement in the character of our young men, under God, to the opportunity which has of late years been given them for moral and intellectual culture. There are many things that will prove that this change for the better has taken place. For instance, the more general attendance of young men at public worship, at the Exeter Hall Lectures, and also their numerous attendance at the prayer meetings connected with the Young Men's Christian Association.” And Sir Morton Peto says,—“I have, in the employment of the firm with which I am connected, given, in all the departments where I can, a Saturday half holiday, and I am bound to say that the greatest advantage has been taken of this for mental improvement and for healthful recreation.” We believe that one of the most formidable hindrances to the further extension of the half-holiday at this moment is owing to the ladies' practice of shopping on Saturday afternoon. Could this be checked, the assistants in a vast number of West-end shops would be able to close their labours and enjoy the air and exercise which they so much need on that day. Those who have not looked into the subject can have no conception of the exhausting nature of the work of young men in these departments. Surely a word upon the subject must be enough to induce our readers to discontinue a practice which cannot be indispensable to any, and which prevents the removal of a grievous burden from a large class of men. We have nearly reached the limits of the space which we can afford to the subject, though by no means what its importance demands. We can only hope that we may have directed attention to the essay itself, which will repay careful study. There is, however, one more aspect which we must notice. The operations of the Early Closing Association have nothing to do with the unfortunate “strikes” by which misguided workmen endeavour to secure less work and more pay. We believe, indeed, that the enlightened action of public opinion, such as this Society seeks to promote on the question, while it repudiates everything like coercion, would in the end be the fair and true arbiter between masters and men in all branches of toil. The half-holiday, as proved by numerous testimonies in this essay, when carried out in an intelli-

gent spirit and with good feeling on both sides, has not been found at all injurious to the employer. Thus Mr. Spottiswoode, the eminent printer, says—"We thought we would try whether by giving them (the men) a few hours, the firm actually lost by it; and we found, so far from that being the case, that the same amount of work was got through. The secret of it was, that a less amount of time was wasted. Everybody went to work, especially on Saturday, with very great eagerness. In fact, our office on the Saturday is quite a sight to see, so anxious are the men to get through all the work, so as to be able to get away early." And the evidence of Price's Patent Candle Company, of Messrs. Truman, Hanbury, and Buxton, Messrs. Barclay, Perkins, and Co., and of Mr. Leonard Horner, the Inspector of Factories, is all to the same effect. On all grounds, then, whether religious, political, or social, we hope this work will have a wide circulation, and that the reasoning which it contains will lead to a corresponding practice. If thinking men will but unite to make their voice heard, and to obtain what is reasonable on behalf of the working classes, the unreasonable demands of mischievous agitators will be seen in their true colours, and will be disregarded as they deserve. It may not be possible to secure equal or the like benefits for all branches of industry. But whatever can be done, consistently with the fair claims of employers, will be done by directing the attention of Society to the question in a candid and temperate spirit. Whatever sets masters and men at variance, and leads them to look on each other as natural enemies with opposing interests, tends indefinitely to postpone any satisfactory or lasting settlement.

A Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Gajetan Ragland, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Itinerating Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in North Tinnevely, South India. By the Rev. Thomas Thomason Perowne, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Seeley and Co., London. 1861.—Those who delight to trace the development of mind and character under Christian influences may find in this volume the highest gratification. It exhibits indeed no stirring events, and no striking situations, such as abound in the lives of Schwartz, Judson, and Moffatt. Mr. Ragland was not distinguished by the brilliance of a Martyn, the fascination of a Heber, or the fire of a Wilson; but in respect of fervent, laborious, self-sacrificing devotedness to God in the missionary service, "he was not a whit behind the very chiefest of these apostles." Where to find a more beautiful specimen of genuine fear and love towards God, of self-subjugation and lowliness of mind, of affectionate, considerate, and consistent demeanour, combined with no mean abilities and sound practical wisdom, we should find it difficult to say.

There was also a singular combination of apparent incongruities in Mr. Ragland, which rendered him, if not a very prominent, at least a very distinct character. This is traceable even from his youth; during which, though religiously disposed, he both devoured works of fiction, and took the greatest delight in genealogies and the niceties of political discussion. Though of retiring habits, and living much within himself, he became a most sociable companion and ardent friend. He was an exception to the dictum that a man cannot possess power of which he is not conscious; for long after entering the University of Cambridge, he unexpectedly discovered in himself that aptitude

for mathematical studies which ultimately placed him in the rank of fourth Wrangler, and Fellow of his college. Though a Sunday-school teacher at the age of fifteen, and thenceforward thoroughly acquainted with his Bible, successful in university studies, and peculiarly a man of prayer and meditation, he found the greatest possible difficulty in the preparation of an English sermon. Though he became one of the most devoted of missionaries, he continued, long after he was a decided Christian, and even while labouring for the spiritual welfare of others at Cambridge, comparatively indifferent to the missionary cause, and regarded addresses upon the subject with jealousy as disparaging the ministry at home. Timid in disposition, often accusing himself of cowardice, shrinking from anything like ostentation, slow and unready in manner, and unable to overcome a difficulty in speaking the colloquial Tamil of South India, he never hesitated to face the boisterous and even blasphemous crowds of heathen to whom he preached, nor to avow his conviction that in case the Sepoy mutiny should possibly extend to the south, himself and his European brethren should remain at all hazards with their native flocks.

The thread of Mr. Ragland's history is simple, though sustaining so much that is valuable and lovely. Early left an orphan, he was religiously trained by the kindest of friends. Till twenty two years of age he continued in the mercantile establishment of an uncle. The offer to make him his successor, which most young men would have eagerly accepted, became to Mr. Ragland a matter of so much anxiety, that to escape it he entered the university. When there, he contemplated nothing more than taking an ordinary degree, and entering the ministry in England. But while pursuing his studies, a mine of mathematical capabilities was sprung within his mind, which he worked until he had attained the distinctions before mentioned. While subsequently exerting a beneficial influence as Fellow of his college and curate of St. Paul's, he was induced to reconsider the missionary subject. The result was a conviction that it was his duty to offer himself to the work. The Church Missionary Society appointed him to the secretaryship of their Madras Corresponding Committee, about to be vacated by the Rev. J. Tucker. While visiting the Tinnevely Mission in the discharge of his duties, he was led to the contemplation of what proved to be the great work of his life. The spiritual destitution of the northern part of the Tinnevely province, as compared with the southern, where the mission had so greatly prospered, forcibly struck his mind; and led him to draw out an admirably conceived plan for permanently itinerating among its numerous towns and villages. This plan he proposed to carry out himself, after resigning his secretaryship; for this purpose he visited England, secured the concurrence of the Parent Committee, and the assistance of two fellow-labourers like-minded with himself. Returning to India, and uniting himself with these and suitable native helpers, he commenced the task; and for nearly five years, in delicate health, under many discouragements and trials, he toiled incessantly in this great undertaking. Nor did he devote to it only body and soul, but all that he possessed besides. He had insisted upon returning to India entirely at his own expense, that the Society might incur no risk by his experiment; he applied the whole income of his

Fellowship to his support and the furtherance of the work, and moreover presented anonymously to the Society the whole of his property, a sum of £500, as his Jubilee donation. The sudden close of this devoted life is touchingly narrated by the only fellow-labourer who was with him at the time. "Within two minutes from the time he called me," says Mr Fenn, "his spirit was with the Saviour." His last word, spoken with a sweet smile and a clear voice, was the name of "Jesus." It is needless to add, that the loss of such a man was deeply deplored.

The memoir is carefully written, and illustrated with several plates by an intimate friend, both as a token of affection, and also with the view, which we sincerely hope may be realized, of inducing members of our universities to follow in his steps. We trust that it will have many readers. An excellent portrait of Mr. Ragland has recently been placed in the hall of his college; fulfilling the words of holy writ: "Them that honour me I will honour."

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

IN our monthly summary of public affairs we are obliged to single out a few points of more importance than the rest, and to leave unsaid much that we should like to say. There are two questions of home growth, very dissimilar in other respects, which seem to have laid hold, almost to the exclusion of other topics, of the public mind, and which for that, if for no other reason, call for some remark; the one is the question of strikes, the other the budget and taxation.

The masons and cognate artisans of London—"skilled workmen" is, we believe, the designation they most approve—have bowed to the unanimous verdict of the country, and tacitly acknowledged their error, by acceding to the terms of their employers and resuming their work. If this were all, we should congratulate them on their returning good sense, and dismiss the subject. But unfortunately their influence has been great and their example contagious. We hear of strikes of builders and masons at Edinburgh and Bath; of strikes of nail-makers and colliers in the midland counties; and of a strike of thirty thousand hands in the looms and cotton mills of Lancashire. The subject is painful in every point of view. It shows how slight are the threads by which the social body is compacted. The connection of master and servant has ceased; superseded by that of capitalist and artificer, the employer and the employed. Between the two there seems to be no other bond than that which is created by a pure regard to self interest; no kindliness of feeling, no personal attachments remain; and mistresses complain, even through the columns of the newspaper, that it is the same at home. Between the parlour and the kitchen the cord of domestic sympathy seldom vibrates.

Then, politically, our skilled workmen, it appears, are five hundred years behind-hand with their political economy. They stand just where the Hanseatic towns, and our own great municipal corporations,

our London, Norwich, Bristol, and Cinque Ports, stood about that period. They are still of the mind of the twelfth century: they are for guilds and fraternities: they think that prosperity depends on the two things which ages of experience have shown to be ruinous to all progress, and therefore to all prosperity. First, they will keep the whole trade, or handicraft or commerce in their own hands: this limits it, of course, to their own capacity of action, and confines it within their own numbers: and secondly, they will place every member of their favoured corporation on the same level; just as our old laws, "to prevent regrating and forestalling," placed all traders upon a level; and as the assizes for bread, coals, or other merchandise, further destroyed all wholesome competition. These barbarous principles have a deep root in human nature; for human nature is a very selfish thing. They lingered on our statute book, some of them till our own times; though they had not only failed to accomplish the good expected from them, but in many cases had actually defeated the very purposes for which they were enacted, time out of mind. It is painful to see large classes of our countrymen endeavouring to reimpose these trammels upon others, and actually binding the fetters upon themselves with an industry at once pertinacious and suicidal. Yet it is for this class that Mr. Baines, in the house of commons, demands an extension of the franchise; contending "that the improvement of the population in industry, comfort, intelligence, had outstripped their rate of numerical increase." And this is their wisdom and intelligence! Could the house of commons have shown a more true regard for them than it did in rejecting Mr. Baines's borough franchise bill by a large majority? We have thought of late that it has become so much the fashion to coax and flatter the "skilled labourer," that he, of all classes, is never allowed to hear unwelcome truth.

Mr. Gladstone's budget has taken the country by surprise. Our national expenses for the year have been enormous, trade has languished, and the harvest was the worst since 1817. In the face of Europe arming to the teeth, every man felt that our fleet and army admitted of no reductions; and that the reconstruction of the one and the perfect equipment of the other, as well as the completion of the national defences along the coast, were all matters of mere necessity. Under these circumstances a deficiency was expected in the revenue; to be met, of course, by additional taxation. A trifling deficiency there is; but still the chancellor sees his way to offer a reduction of a penny on the income tax, and to repeal the duty on the manufacture of paper. The reduction, slight as it is, in the income tax, will be acceptable to all classes; and without discussing the duty on paper, as compared with other sources of revenue which press far more severely, we are glad that at least an awkward subject of contention between the two houses of parliament should be thus removed. Another point gives us unmingled satisfaction. The introduction of French wines last year is already producing beneficial effects. These are shown in the large quantity of wine sold even in the poorer suburbs, and in the east end, of London, under the new licences granted a year since to confectioners and eating-houses. The wine they sell, it appears, is seldom consumed upon the premises; but

taken home in small quantities for domestic uses, and especially for the sick. And further, there is a considerable falling off in the consumption of ardent spirits, a result worth any amount of pecuniary sacrifice to a nation which values the health, morals, and happiness of its lower classes. When these facts are ranged by the side of the financial statements of other nations, they fill us, or ought to do so, with profoundest gratitude to God. There is scarcely a kingdom in Europe,—we may go further, and include the two great republics into which North America is now unhappily divided,—which is not “in the market,” to use the commercial phrase, for a loan; and this many of them can obtain only at an enormous rate of interest, and others not at all.

The diminution in the consumption of spirits is a hopeful sign, but it ought not to be allowed to supersede the exertions of those who wish well to the cause of temperance. We cannot see our way to the cordial approval even of the permissive bill now talked of. It would allow two-thirds or three-fourths of any community to pass a Maine law for itself, and absolutely forbid the sale of liquors. Now let the reader imagine for an instant such a bill passed, and its machinery set in motion in Manchester or Liverpool, with their four hundred thousand inhabitants each. Then, one hundred thousand, let us suppose, or about that number, would compose the still bibulous minority; a noisy minority at the best, and worse than noisy, we fear, when the hand of power came down with summary vengeance to deprive them of what they consider their reasonable indulgence, and their social rights. The permissive act could not be enforced for a single week; and we should witness that most dangerous of all triumphs, the triumph of a resolute minority over a law well known and recently imposed. This is what the state of New York has actually witnessed since she passed the Maine liquor law, five or six years ago. Law itself has been brought into contempt; a state of things not less dangerous to the state than even the debauchery it was intended to remove. Another remedy might, however, be easily applied; and it is so obvious that it is impossible to believe that it has been overlooked. We are afraid that the private interests both of members of parliament and common councilmen stand in the way; and if so, a strong pressure will be required to carry it into effect. Let the number of public houses bear a stated proportion to the number of inhabitants—say one to each thousand at the utmost; and let the old law be again enforced, which forbids games of chance, shows, music, singing, and the like, in houses licensed for the sale of liquors: and the end would be gained. We do not say that drunkenness would cease; but the incentives to it would in a great measure be removed, and the State would have done all perhaps that the State can do, or ought to attempt.

Continental affairs still wear a gloomy aspect. We may sum up all that can be said in a few words. There is an undefined apprehension of coming danger, and the danger is no doubt increased by the apprehension of it in every state in Europe. Garibaldi affords another instance of the familiar lesson that the successful general who has placed a king upon the throne becomes a very dangerous subject. Garibaldi is rash enough to wish to plunge the new kingdom of Italy into two fresh wars at once: he would quarrel with France in order to

make Rome the capital of the Italian kingdom, and with Austria to rescue Venetia from her power. At present, however, he gives way, and the wiser policy of Cavour postpones the difficulties with which he is unfit to cope.

Poland, Russian and Austrian, waits the signal to declare her independence. The emperor of Russia has anticipated a revolution at Warsaw by what we can term nothing less than a massacre of his subjects. At a preconcerted signal the military fired upon an unarmed crowd, columns of troops scoured the streets, and the number of victims killed and wounded is estimated at fifteen hundred. For all this a day of retribution is surely at hand; for verily there is a God that judges the earth in righteousness. The attitude of Poland under her oppressors appears to us becoming a nation worthy of its freedom. There have been no plots, no breaches of the public peace, but an openly avowed protest against oppression, and a determination to regain the rights of which she was deprived, almost in the memory of man, by one of the most shameless and treacherous conspiracies which even the history of the despotic states of continental Europe can afford.

Of America we would gladly be silent. The last few days have filled England with suspense. All the communications received from Charleston or New York utter the same note—the dreadful note of approaching civil war. Our hope in England is, that, if possible, it may still be averted. The deep gloom which overspreads this country is such as no other calamity beyond our own shores could possibly create. We can compare it only to the sorrow with which a parent looks on while his own children arm themselves for a deadly conflict with each other.

The great religious anniversaries will be held in London as these lines meet the reader's eye. Every year adds to their importance, and therefore to the difficulties of those who conduct them. May a holy spirit of unity and godly love prevail. Evangelical truth in England is once more summoned to the bar and put upon her trial, and the whole of Christendom, through her representatives, or through the press, looks on. We have only time to add, that we hope so many christian men, many of whom possess a high degree of influence, will not separate without solemn conference together *on the present aspect of spiritual religion and the dangers which threaten it*, especially in the church of England. The marked success which attended the conferences last year leads us to attach importance to this suggestion.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

IF our friend who writes from Tunbridge Wells had sent us his *matured* thoughts on verbal inspiration, we would gladly have inserted them; "*crude thoughts*," however valuable, hardly suit us.

A COUNTRY CLERGYMAN and Old Reader and Subscriber, reads us a severe lecture on the concluding paragraph of one of our late numbers. It would, perhaps, have made a deeper impression upon us, had he not forgotten to favour us with his name.

WE thank our kind friend near Tenbury.

POSTSCRIPT.—The Christian Observer for June, 1860, Second Edition, is now ready, and may be had, together with the present Number, from all booksellers.

THE

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[1861.]

THE POWER AND WISDOM OF GOD.

WE have no reason to suppose that wisdom and power are ever dissociated in the works and ways of God; rather we are led to believe that they are invariably combined, wreathed together, as it were, in beautiful harmony, and their combination presents a subject for grateful contemplation. Angelic minds, and such human minds as come nearest in perfection to theirs, may, perhaps, be able at once to perceive the blending of these attributes in perfect union; but ordinary minds discern them separately and consecutively. And if we mistake not, these features of the Divine operation and government are perceived in the order we have above indicated: the power first, the wisdom afterward.

We discern the evidences of wisdom more slowly than those of power; perhaps because they are more recondite. But the principal reason seems to be, that our minds are so much engrossed with material things, so much diverted by matters of fact in the ordinary affairs of life, that the manifestations of Divine wisdom, though near and abundant, fail to arrest, or at least to retain, our attention.. It is true that many evidences of that wisdom lie beyond the reach of observation; but it is equally true that many lie in our path, and beneath our eye, unobserved. It would be of less consequence if this unobservant disposition existed only in regard to the works of nature. Unhappily, it is still more prevalent in matters of higher moment. Many an eye which discerns the wisdom of God in creation is blind to its manifestation in the work of redemption. The apostle's words are but too evidently true: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit: they are foolishness unto him." (1 Cor. ii. 14.)

How, then, it may be asked, can such minds be arrested, and made to reflect on the works and ways of God? By what

process is it that the thoughtless and earthly-minded are permanently awakened to spiritual perception? We are disposed to answer, that it is generally by directing attention to some manifestation of Divine power. The impression thus made is more vivid and emotional. It excites a desire for further inquiry, and places the soul in a favourable posture for pursuing it. Besides which, to perceive and understand the manifestations of power is easier than to trace the evidences of wisdom, and requires less diligent application. We are almost passive in the one case, some reasoning is exerted in the other. Hence it is, that in the conversion of sinners, and in dealing with untutored and unreflecting minds, the Spirit of God seems usually, in the first place, to present facts and considerations which manifest the Divine power and majesty in some form, and afterwards those which unfold His wisdom. When the mind has been duly affected by the perception of power, it is better prepared to appreciate the wisdom involved, but less apparent, in the very same facts and considerations. And thenceforward the evidences of wisdom appear more clearly, and leave a deeper impression upon the enlightened mind than even the evidences of power. The idea of power arrests the sinner, that of wisdom confirms the believer. St. Paul seems to have noticed this order of the Divine procedure, for he says, "To them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, (we preach) Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." (1 Cor. i. 24.)

A reference to the narrative given us of the world's creation would confirm this view. We first read of the darkness, and the face of the deep agitated by the power of God's Spirit; then comes the birth of light at the word of power. The vast expanse of sky, the rush of the divided waters, the uprising of continents and the burst of vegetation, the appearance on high of sun, moon, and stars, and below of birds and beasts springing into life—all these strike us at once as the manifestations of the Creator's *power*. But as you behold and notice the gradual development of a plan, the perfect adaptation of all these particulars to the completeness and welfare of the whole, and see at length man introduced as the intelligent ruler, under God, of this new world, to whose happiness everything subserves, the *wisdom* of the Creator becomes apparent, and impresses the soul with a still deeper reverence. Such, evidently, was the conviction upon the psalmist's mind while penning the 104th psalm. For, after contemplating the majesty and power of God as displayed in the creation, until man appears upon the scene, he gives utterance to this sentiment: "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all." (Psalm civ. 24.)

From the numerous illustrations of this idea, as developed in

the *ways* of God, furnished in holy scripture, we purpose to select one. It presents itself in that conspicuous and wondrous event in the history of Israel which we term the deliverance from Egypt. How signally, how gloriously the power of God was manifested in that long and terrible conflict with the stubborn king is known to all. Year after year we read the story of the plagues, the terror of the Egyptians, the death of the firstborn, the crossing of the Red Sea, and the destruction of the tyrant, with unabated interest and awe. We see "the mighty hand and the stretched-out arm," as it were, laid bare for the salvation of God's chosen. But there is another feature in this event less striking, but not less wonderful and impressive, which we must not overlook—the *wisdom*, as well as the power, of God. To bring out our meaning, we must notice more fully the whole event.

We must revert, then, to that period in Israel's history noticed in the first chapter of the book of Exodus, when Israel was dwelling in quietness and prosperity under the Egyptian crown. They had been sheltered for a long period in the land of Goshen, under the mild rule of kings, who remembered and acknowledged the benefits conferred upon the land, and especially on the ruling dynasty, by the Hebrew youth who had stepped from a prison to a throne. They were now grown numerous and powerful, multiplying more rapidly than the Egyptians, and filling the land of Goshen. Their numbers were now almost large enough to take possession of the promised Canaan. Thoughts of returning thither no doubt sprung up in their minds, or were suggested by those among them who, being more spiritually-minded, read and regarded the promises and prophecies given to their forefathers. These would perceive that the time was drawing nigh when their departure for Canaan would be the question of the day; and as they looked upon the body of Joseph embalmed and preserved among them as a memento of their future destiny, they would feel, as St. Paul says of Abel, "he being dead yet speaketh."

We are not, however, to suppose that there was any great desire, on the part of the Israelites generally, to leave Goshen for Canaan. The evidence is in favour of a contrary supposition. The history of their deliverance shows that there was a strong attachment in their minds to the land of Goshen, and a great reluctance to leave it. If it is evident, from their remonstrances with Moses during the struggle with Pharaoh, and from their reproaches against him afterward in the wilderness, that, even when groaning under the oppressions and cruelties of the king, they were disinclined to leave it and go forth, can we suppose that there was less reluctance when they were yet living there in prosperity and peace?

It may seem, at first sight, unreasonable to suppose that the Israelites should feel indisposed to march out from a land of strangers to their own land, "a land flowing with milk and honey," the land of their forefathers, hallowed by so many pleasing associations, where they were designed to shine as lights of the world, illumined by a distinct revelation from the only true God, and under no authority or control but His. A closer view, however, of Israel in Egypt will show that such a reluctance was not to be wondered at. The feeling of a nation is the aggregate of the feelings of the individuals who compose it. What, then, could be the feelings of the individuals composing the nation of Israel at that time? That generation had been born, not in Canaan, but in Goshen. They had never seen the land of promise. Its lofty hills, its verdant plains, its flowing rivers, had never met their eye, nor won their heart. Their early associations, strong in every place, were all connected with the land of Goshen. There it was that they had prattled as infants, and played together as children. There they had formed the friendships of youth; and there, as young men and maidens, they had contracted the closest intimacies, and the happiest relationships of life. They were daily looking upon the places where their nuptial vows had been breathed and sealed. There they had brought up their children, and even the grandsires among them had dwelt in no other home. The country, too, was healthy, and the climate genial, for there their numbers had marvellously increased. The kings and authorities, too, had been friendly, treating them with consideration for Joseph's sake. They enjoyed a large amount of liberty, peace, and plenty; and what more could they expect to enjoy in the promised land?

On the other hand, there were inconveniences in returning to a country long forsaken; to encounter difficulties and opposition from tribes who regarded it as their own. Had not Abraham, on his first arrival, found a famine there? Rival kings had fought in the vale of Siddim; fire from heaven had consumed cities; and their ancestors had suffered many annoyances from the unprincipled inhabitants of the land. Such evils had not befallen them in Goshen. Why, then, remove? Why give up an abode of prosperity and ease for a land known to them only by report; a land far off, to be reached with difficulty, and gained by war and conquest? That such feelings would be likely to exist, we can easily conceive; and that they did exist, is certain from their history.

Now this reluctance on the part of Israel to forsake Goshen constituted one of the greatest difficulties connected with their deliverance. It was a formidable obstacle, the removal of which was essential to success. Of what use would have been the demonstration of God's power and wrath against their enemies,

if, when the door of their prison house were burst open, Israel had refused to go forth? How, then, could this reluctance be overcome? How could Israel be weaned from their love of Goshen? There are things which power cannot accomplish, and this was one. It was not the work of power; the mighty hand and the stretched-out arm could not effect it: it was the task of wisdom. And if we notice the way in which it was brought about, the wisdom will be apparent.

It may be, that we have sometimes wondered, as no doubt the Israelites at the time did, why their covenant God, the God of their fathers, should permit such a series of trials and miseries to come upon them, after their long peaceful sojourn in the land of Goshen. When their numbers had so greatly increased, as we have before noticed, we read that the kings of Egypt, possibly a new line of kings, adopted an entirely different policy in regard to themselves. "Another king arose which knew not Joseph." The new monarch, as he surveyed his kingdom, beheld, in one of its most fruitful provinces, a large and rapidly increasing body of strangers. Their growth and strength filled his mind with jealousy and fear. Under the influence of these feelings, gratitude for the past services of this people was soon extinguished. Envy is watchful and suspicious; and he would no doubt discover that they had some thoughts of Canaan, and certain prophecies to encourage and direct them. He perhaps found that there were men among them whom he would deem fanatics or ambitious leaders, urging the masses to aspire after a land of their own, and speculating upon the predicted time. His suspicions would lead him to attribute plots to them, and to adopt measures for defeating them. His kingdom was not altogether free from apprehensions of war; and should it break out, what more likely than that Israel should take advantage of it? An advancing army would be delighted to secure their assistance as allies; and they, to gain their liberty and make good their claim to depart, might make common cause with the enemy. What, then, must be done to render this impracticable? Why not let them depart? Why not acknowledge their claim as refugees to return to their own land, and, by helping them to gain possession of it, secure their friendship as a nation for ever? Ah! that were a policy for a generous mind, not for a proud and selfish king. What! lose a million of people, rich in flocks and herds? Give up their personal services, their productions, and so large a revenue? No, he thinks he sees a far more astute and profitable course. "Come on," he says, to his counsellors (i. 10), "let us deal wisely with them;" and he instituted, or adopted, a piece of state-craft which has proved a curse to many lands since. He resolved to enslave, debase, and weaken them by an organized system of unremitting toil. Thus he would extinguish aspira-

tions for Canaan, impair their physical strength, break their spirit, and render them unfit tools for an advancing foe. They are now set to brick-making, and the building of treasure cities, and possibly of the pyramids. Vast numbers are drawn away from their peaceful homes in Goshen, and scattered among these works, by which family intercourse is seriously interrupted. Taskmasters exact the utmost amount of labour, rule with rigour, and make their lives bitter with hard bondage. They feel themselves now to be not only strangers but slaves. Goshen was no longer to them what it had been. The sunshine was gone, dark clouds hung over it, and their unwillingness to leave it was somewhat shaken.

Still they increased and multiplied. The disappointed king, therefore, must adopt more vigorous measures to suppress them. A secret plan for destroying their male infants as soon as born was attempted, and failed. A public edict then commands every Egyptian to cast their male infants into the Nile; and, moreover, the police are charged to search their dwellings for newborn males. What could give to a people a more painful feeling of insecurity than such arbitrary and cruel measures? What more likely to overcome their love of place? This fearful edict, permitted for a time that a Moses might be introduced into the palace, may after a time have been revoked, or have lost its power; but the general oppression under which the people groaned, suffered no abatement. A generation passed away, and with it probably the king who introduced this system; but the policy was continued, and when Moses returned from Midian the bondage was as heavy, and the groans as deep, as ever.

But how was the wisdom of God traceable in this state of things? It would have been easy for Him to remove this jealous and cruel king from his throne, or to compel the abandonment of this line of policy. He was, however, permitted to inaugurate and enforce it, and his successors were allowed to perpetuate it. Why? because it was the only mode by which the hearts of Israel could be weaned from Goshen, moved to higher aspirations, and made willing for the day of God's power. Pharaoh, acting out his own wicked intentions, must be the instrument of turning Goshen into a desert, and planting in the pillows of this slumbering people the thorns which should disturb their too lengthened repose. They did not understand these things at the time. Perplexed and discouraged, they were tempted to think that God had forgotten His promise to their forefathers, and had delivered them over to the cruelty of their oppressor. But it was they who had forgotten those promises, and God who remembered them. He was looking on all the time, and waiting for the period when they should be ready for the demonstrations of His power. "I have seen," He said, when that period arrived: "I have seen the affliction

of my people. I have heard their cry, for I know their sorrows:" and Moses was sent to deliver them. Here, then, was the wisdom of God,—unostentatiously adopting a course not understood at the time,—using even the craft and cruelty of an enemy to accomplish its ends,—and ruling events, which caused perplexity and despair to the minds of those in whose behalf they were adopted, to a most successful issue. And then at length the whole scheme blends with the power of God manifested in those terrible judgments by which the stubbornness of the enemy is overcome, the hearts of the afflicted are invigorated, and the event of their deliverance is achieved. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out." (Rom. xi. 33.)

May not these observations apply, by analogy, to the redemption of the individual soul? It has often been so applied, and, we are disposed to think, correctly.

The act by which the soul is delivered out of its carnal state into one of reconciliation with God through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, is undoubtedly an act of Divine *power*. "I am not ashamed," says the inspired apostle, of the gospel of Christ, "for it is the power of God unto salvation." We find, too, on referring to cases of conversion, especially when very distinct and decided, that they usually take place, as before observed, under some manifestation of Divine power. The change has occurred in connexion with a striking portion of scripture, an alarming book, an eloquent, solemn, or persuasive sermon. An awful dream foreshadowing the terrors of judgment, the proximity of some frightful accident or sudden death, a marvellous escape from danger or dreaded evil—may have been the means by which the Spirit of God powerfully and permanently arrested the thoughtless or reckless sinner, and turned the whole current of his life. This is first noticed.

On closer inspection we should probably find that the wisdom of God, not noticed till afterward, had been carrying on some preparatory work within the mind, by which these demonstrations of power have been rendered successful. Like Israel once happy in Goshen, the soul was dwelling contented in the far-off country, scarcely deeming it a strange land. There was no sense of alienation from God, no real consciousness of its spiritual misery and danger. It had heard, indeed, of eternal life beginning on earth, to be consummated in heaven, and of the promises which offer it to the professed people of God, just as Israel in Egypt had heard of Canaan; but its glories, lying beyond the reach of sight and sense, were too far off to be attractive. The world near, visible, and tangible, had many charms, and pleasing associations; and there was time yet for seeking the heavenly Canaan, if indeed it must be sought at all.

But this dream, if the soul is to be saved, must necessarily be disturbed. Thorns must be planted in the pillow. Affliction, in some form or other, must be employed—pain, loss, disappointment, poverty, anxiety—arise and embitter the world. The self-satisfied spirit, falling under some fierce or subtle temptation, is humbled; conscience is aroused, and Satan's work is turned against himself. The law of God begins to utter its spiritual demands and dreadful penalties within the heart; and the soul resolves upon reform. Attempts to subdue evil propensities, to gain a self-righteousness, and restore self-satisfaction, bring about that feeling of bondage mentioned in Rom. vii. under which the soul moans and despairs, as Israel did under the bondage of Pharaoh. Now the soul is willing to leave its Goshen, for the liberty wherewith Christ makes His people free. Thus, quietly, gradually, and almost imperceptibly, has the wisdom of God been preparing for the demonstration of power: and at the right moment the soul, under this gracious influence, passes out of bondage into liberty, from death unto life, from the power of Satan unto God.

E.

HOUGH'S CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

The History of Christianity in India, from the Commencement of the Christian Era. By the late Rev. James Hough, M.A., Incumbent of Ham, and Chaplain to the Hon. East India Company at Madras. Vol. V. Edited by his Son, Rev. F. G. P. Hough, M.A., Incumbent of Ham. London: Church Missionary House, and J. Nisbet and Co. 1860.

To avoid the reaction of indifference, after such an intense degree of interest as we felt for British India during the mutiny of 1857, is a difficult task. We cannot, therefore, but regard the publication of this volume as opportune. The two preceding volumes detailed the first efforts of modern missions to gain a footing in India, as well as the commencement of their operations after an entrance was at length gained at the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813. The peculiar excellence of this fifth volume is, that it exhibits the subsequent progress of those missions, together with that of others more recently established, to the close of 1826. It is so arranged as not necessarily to require a reference to the preceding volumes; the author having himself, in some instances, recapitulated what he had before written; and where this had not been done, the editor has supplied the deficiency by giving a condensed account of the mission under notice in the form of an appendix at the end of the book. Thus we have a connected history of every Protestant mission which existed in India in the above-

mentioned year, and the importance of such a record can scarcely be overrated.

A number of highly interesting topics, intimately connected with the responsibility of the church of Christ to an empire under our rule, as well as with the management of Christian missions, present themselves in the course of this book, some of which are specially noticed by the author; others suggest themselves, or are easily discernible. Some of these we propose to select for consideration; but, before doing so, we may call attention briefly to the general structure and contents of the volume.

Prefixed is a biographical sketch of the author, written, with excellent taste, by an affectionate son. From this we learn that Mr. Hough, while faithfully discharging the duties of chaplain at Palamcottah, the European capital of Tinnevely, was able to devote time and labour to the general establishment and care of native schools. He also undertook the superintendence of the native Christian congregations in that province which had been gathered by the labours of the venerable Shwartz and his successors; visiting and encouraging both them and their teachers, and reporting to the Christian Knowledge Society, with which they then stood connected, their condition and necessities. The demands for Christian instruction in his own neighbourhood, and the openings for usefulness around him, became at length so urgent, that finding that Society unable to meet them, he invited the Church Missionary Society's committee in Madras to take up the new work which he had begun. After five years' residence in Palamcottah, he was removed to a chaplaincy nearer Madras: but not till after he had welcomed those excellent missionaries, Rhenius and Schmidt, who had been sent by the Church Missionary Society to labour as their agents in the province.

These were not the only services which Mr. Hough rendered to the cause of Christian missions. His able published replies to the aspersions, first of the abbé Dubois, and afterwards of Dr. Wiseman, since exalted into a cardinal, manifest not only his Christian zeal, but also his extensive and accurate knowledge both of Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in India. This knowledge, after his return to England through weak health, he generously placed at the service of the Church Missionary and the Christian Knowledge Societies, as a member of their home committees, and has moreover bequeathed to the Christian church in the work under notice.

The preceding volume had brought down the history of Christianity in India to the year 1816, soon after the commencement of the first Protestant episcopate in India. The first chapter of the present volume furnishes a succinct narrative of the proceedings of Dr. Middleton, the first occupant of the see;

notices his plans and exertions for the extension of Christianity throughout his diocese ; and discusses his character and qualifications, as well as the influence of his episcopate upon the Christian cause. Succeeding chapters detail the ten years' operations, at their various stations, of those missionary organizations which had taken root in India, or were then commencing. Those of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (which had not then, at least not till 1824, transferred its missions to the Propagation Society) are first detailed : including as well the proceedings of its own missionaries at Madras and other places, as of those pious chaplains who, like Mr. Hough, laboured more or less, in connection with it, for the education and conversion of the Hindoos. Then follow the operations of the Baptist missionaries in Bengal and the East, among whom were those admirable men who founded the Serampore mission, Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Next comes the affecting narrative of the American Baptist mission in Burmah, in which Dr. Judson and his devoted wife laboured and suffered so much. The next four chapters are occupied with the ramifications of the Church Missionary Society's work, first in North India, as aided by the zeal and wisdom of Corrie, afterwards bishop of Madras ; then in South India, especially at Madras, Tinnevely, and among the Syrian churches of Travancore ; also in the Bombay presidency, and in the island of Ceylon. The Wesleyan missions in Ceylon and in South India are detailed in the next two chapters. Then follow those of the American Board of Missions in Bombay and in North Ceylon, where the educational element in missionary work has been so fully tried. The details of the London Missionary Society in Southern and in Western India are next given, especially those of its very successful mission in South Travancore, which adjoins Tinnevely, and resembles it in many particulars. A notice of the Scottish Missionary Society in Bombay, then recently commenced, completes the history of the several Societies.

From this diversified and comprehensive view of many agencies engaged in the same great work, we are introduced into one more easy and absorbing, because it furnishes, as it were, a single thread upon which to hang the varieties of missionary development. We refer to the episcopate of the accomplished Heber, who succeeded bishop Middleton in the see of Calcutta, and devoted, like him, a large portion of his time to the visitation of his diocese. It is impossible to trace the footsteps of this remarkable man, whether to the bedside of a dying chaplain, to the cathedral pulpit, or to the floor of a native congregation, till they reach the fatal bath at Trichinopoly, and cease in the midst of his short but laborious career, without feelings of the deepest interest. With the close of this narrative Mr. Hough had intended to conclude this volume.

The urgent request, however, of the late bishop Wilson induced him to append two more chapters, containing the brief episcopates of James and Turner. For these additions, especially for the latter, not only because of its intrinsic value, but because it is the only published narrative of bishop Turner's episcopate, the reader will feel grateful to bishop Wilson who suggested, and to Mr. Hough who complied with his request.

The value of such a comprehensive history of that period must be evident, whether as a narrative of deeply-interesting facts, or as a book of reference. The author has accomplished his task with so much ability as to render it an invaluable addition to every Christian library. More especially will those who have long felt interested in missionary labours, and remember its periodicals of the last generation, delight to be carried back to old scenes, to renew their acquaintance with names familiar to them in youth, and to be reminded of circumstances, exhibiting zeal, energy, and suffering in the cause of Christ not unworthy of the apostolic age.

In proceeding to some general observations upon this book, we may first notice the period of time which it embraces. The decade from 1816 to 1826 was one of vast importance to India. Till the door was opened to the Christian church in 1813, the spiritual condition of our countrymen scattered there was dark and painful in the extreme. Bright stars, indeed, had illumined and adorned the long night, and latterly symptoms of dawn had appeared. Here and there a holy man had testified for God, and laboured successfully, both among his own countrymen and the natives around him. But that the vast majority of Europeans were grossly irreligious and immoral, admits of no doubt. In the eyes of the natives they must have seemed infidels; for they professed no religion of their own, and manifested no reluctance to take part with them in ceremonies and festivals held in honour of gods whom they disbelieved and despised. The Hindoos are said to have thought that the English had no religion at all: and the following story current in India confirms the statement. Some missionaries, recently arrived at Bombay, were asked to dine with a party of Europeans. Before taking their seats, they stood reverently at the table to observe a custom which the others had long neglected. When the missionaries clasped their hands, bowed their heads, and said grace, the native servants, arrested by this strange proceeding, are said to have whispered to one another: "Why! they have a religion after all. See, they worship the knives and forks."

We can hardly be surprised that our countrymen had sunk into these irreligious and vicious habits in the presence of so many temptations and with so few restraining influences.

Scarcely any had Christian homes. The means of grace, and religious literature, were scantily supplied, in many cases altogether wanting. Chaplains were few, and widely scattered; and of these many failed to exert a beneficial influence; while some, by their inefficiency or inconsistencies, lost even the respect of those who were so lamentably in want of powerful preaching and holy example. Evidences of this appear in the volume before us, and others might have been added.*

It is most gratifying to notice in this volume the evidences of decided improvement in this respect. A different order of men had been sent out as chaplains, through the influence of Mr. Simeon. European missionaries had come into contact with our people in various places. The public attention, which in England had been directed to the spiritual condition and necessities of India, must also have had some effect. A desire for English education had taken hold of the native mind; and their prejudices against the efforts of missionaries and others seeking to enlighten them, and instruct their children, had begun to subside. Amongst Europeans, too, such labours were not deemed so dangerous, or so hopeless, as they had been. The establishment of a bishopric for India, and the manner in which Middleton and Heber sustained its dignity and fulfilled its duties, contributed greatly to encourage the incipient good and facilitate its wider diffusion. We cannot do better than adduce here the following extract from a letter of the late bishop Carr, found on p. 119, which not only testifies to this change, but indicates also the means by which it pleased God to effect it. His remarks made in reference to Western India will apply, we believe, to the whole country:—

“Between the years 1815 and 1826 a very great change had taken place in the Christian community of the Bombay presidency. A question has often arisen in my mind, By what means was the change brought about? There was no popular minister in the presidency, nor any particular season of distress which roused the attention to eternal things. The cholera was flying about; but we had become, in a measure, used to it. The causes which occurred to me were,—there arrived an increased number of young persons who had received a truly Christian education, some who from their arrival attended to religion. The great influence of such persons with their brother officers, to whom they spoke of religion as opportunities presented themselves; the same quiet intercourse of chaplains and missionaries; and the provision of Christian books, seem to have been the different means blessed of God for bringing about the change.”

* How obsolete was the idea of writing their own sermons may be gathered from the following anecdote, for which we can vouch. Persons at a station in South India had said of their chaplain, whose character was inconsistent with his sacred office, that he did not preach the gospel,

An elderly relative who kept house for him having heard this reproach, remarked, *How uncharitable people are! I am sure my uncle gets the very best sermons he can, and pays the highest price for them.*

With regard to the episcopate of bishop Middleton, much of a gratifying nature is recorded. Without the fascinating manners of Heber, with less decidedly evangelical views than Turner or Wilson, he appears to have been admirably suited to lay the foundation of episcopacy in India, and to secure for it the respect which few were ready voluntarily to render. His scholarship, as the author of the work on the Greek article, had prepared the way for him; his administrative ability, his dignity of manner, his caution, conscientiousness, and incessant labour, gave him great influence, not only with the community and with his clergy, but also with those high in authority. He does not seem to have had strong leanings to missionary work; and so little had he contemplated taking part in it, that he had not secured for himself in his charter the power to ordain or license any but chaplains. Nor does he seem to have anticipated distinct action for promoting the education of the Hindoos. It is gratifying, however, to find that ere he had been long in India his convictions of the safety and necessity of Christian effort among all classes caused everything like indifference or scruple to pass away; that he became an earnest advocate for the universal extension of the gospel, and was at last even urgent in his appeals to England for missionaries. His condemnation of the ignorance and superstition of Romanists in India is very emphatic; nor is his disapproval of the Government plan, of excluding religion from their system of education, less decided. His observations on this point are even prophetic, having been but too well verified by the experience of later years:—

“Knowledge, (he says,) or at least a smattering of everything, is, I suspect, making a much more rapid progress than religion. I expect that in a few years we shall be overrun with small philosophers and politicians; and then, if the country is in danger of being lost, blame will be laid upon Christianity, which will be wholly unconcerned in the mischief, and is the only thing which could have averted it.” (p. 18.)

The bishop, however, was often thwarted by the difficulties of his position. He lamented his want of power over the clergy, and desired an immediate increase of bishops. We are not surprised at this, but we think it no evil that his wishes were not granted. We do not think it good that colonial bishops should have the power over their clergy which Middleton desired and others aim at. Certain advocates of the Propagation Society boast of it as a better representative of the church of England than the Church Missionary Society, on the ground that it gives to the colonial bishop full power over the missionaries in his diocese. It certainly does this; for it authorizes the bishops in India and Ceylon to appoint and remove missionaries at will, without, if they so please, the concurrence of the local committee, and even against their expressed wishes.

And this we know to have been actually done. But we would ask, have bishops in England such power over their clergy, even their curates? To place missionaries at the mercy of their bishop is surely far less in accordance with the spirit and practice of the church of England than the policy of the late East India Company, or the principle of the Church Missionary Society; who retain in their own hands the right of appointing and removing, in concurrence with the diocesan, their chaplains and missionaries, while yet withholding no powers exercised by the English bishops over their clergy at home.

Nor are we at all certain that the earlier subdivision of the Indian diocese, enormous as it was, would have been wise. There was no small advantage in having the whole episcopal church in India subjected for a time to the same inspection and government. Uniformity was thus more likely to be attained; while the Government, both there and at home, would be more disposed to place confidence in the recommendations of one bishop who had seen and managed the whole, than in the possibly discordant views of several. We cordially rejoice, however, that the subdivision was no longer delayed; for though we may still question whether five bishops were required for New Zealand, and, with the present bishop of Gloucester, may doubt the necessity for any large increase of the episcopate in England, we feel sure that three bishops were needed for the millions of British India.

This volume presents, as may be supposed, great varieties of missionary labour, according to the mental, moral, and social condition of the tribes among whom it is attempted. Such varieties among the natives of India, notwithstanding remarkable identities, are numberless. Between the Brahmin, who never touches animal food, and the vagrant, who undertakes to eat everything that can possibly be swallowed; between the metaphysician, who analyzes all things, even the Divine nature, till the whole is resolved into mere thought, without a subject to think of, and the man from the hills, who enters the marketplace in *puris naturalibus*; between the man who makes an offering of twenty thousand pounds to an idol, and him who builds his hut for two rupees, and lives on three half-pence a-day,—differences, and the modes of dealing with them, must be very numerous. Accordingly, we find in different missions sometimes one element predominating, sometimes another. In those more recently established, translations of the scriptures, and publications of an elementary kind, are chiefly mentioned. In others, the educational department is prominent; in others, public preaching at fairs and festivals; in others, private intercourse with inquirers. Generally, however, at first, schools seem to have occupied the chief attention of missionaries, rather than bazaar preaching and itinerating. Nor is this to be won-

dered at, since the prejudices of the natives gave way first in this particular ; whilst the great desire for education among all classes led them to seek it of those who alone were able and willing to give it. In some places, particularly in the Ceylon missions, we find a conviction expressed, that the prospect of success lay almost entirely with the rising generation, while the adult population are despairingly spoken of. In this sentiment we cannot concur. And we think that the experience of missions mentioned in this book, and certainly that of later years, has refuted it. We deem it, moreover, a mischievous sentiment, likely to abridge or enfeeble the efforts of the missionary in that direction. The child who cheerfully enough receives the missionary's teaching, finds, as he grows up, the authority and influence of his parents and family far stronger. Convert the parents and the family, and you secure the children as a matter of course. This, then, should be the missionary's chief aim. And when we read of forty-five thousand converts, consisting generally of whole families, in the province of Tinnevely, and of large accessions in other parts, we must by no means despair of adults.

We think it impossible for any one reading this work not to feel most deeply interested in those missions where the labour and success have been chiefly among adults ; where the mental conflicts or domestic difficulties of individuals advanced or advancing to manhood are adduced ; and where the missionary has had, to use the apostle's simile, "to travail in birth," with cases of this kind, or to suffer persecution on their account. Hence the charm which attaches to such missions as that of the American Baptist mission in Burmah. What narrative of human life can exceed in interest that of the patient labour, the slow success, the painful anxieties, and the almost unparalleled sufferings of Dr. Judson, and his incomparable wife, detailed in the fifth chapter of this book ? We are tempted to refer to them, because of their resemblance to those sufferings which our own countrymen recently endured at Peking, through the treachery and barbarity of the Chinese ; with this difference, that the heroic missionary and his companions survived indignities and tortures, as severe as those which proved fatal in the latter case. It is gratifying to observe how the faith and patience of the missionary triumphed, and furthered the cause of the gospel. And fervently do we hope that our recent dealings with the Chinese may leave the same favourable impression upon their minds which was left after a similar war upon those of the Burmese. Speaking, in p. 264, of Judson's coadjutor Dr. Price, it is said :

"At the close of the war he was sent to Calcutta, by the king of Burmah, to complete some negotiations then pending between him and the British ; and he returned to Burmah in 1826. He found that

a complete revolution had taken place in the feelings of the king, the royal family, and principal men of the country, towards the British. They were so astonished at the forbearance, good faith, and noble exploits of the conquerors, that they attributed all to the religion which they professed, and the God whom they worshipped. They desired Dr. Price, who was called 'the peacemaker,' from the prominent part he had acted in the negotiations, to explain to them the cause of all this; and they could not conceal from him their astonishment at the good behaviour of the white foreigners."

The early years of missionary labour must necessarily, to a great extent, be tentative. Accordingly many experiments are mentioned in this volume, from the success or failure of which much valuable experience has resulted to missionary societies and their managers. We select two; the first because of its bearing upon the important question, how far or in what way persons holding high situations under the government of India, may engage in direct missionary efforts? At page 411, we read of an excellent Christian man, holding the position of judge and magistrate, who while faithfully and assiduously discharging his official duties, devoted, with zeal and self-denial very uncommon, personal labour, influence, and wealth, to the diffusion of Christianity among the natives. He himself prepared native teachers, gathered a body of 400 converts, including children, maintained schools for them at his own cost, and altogether spent out of his income more than twenty thousand pounds, dying in the midst of his work, such a death as a Christian may hope to die. Who can help admiring such a man, and wishing for hundreds like him in British India? Yet, painful as it is to relate, this apparent success melted away after his death, and originated the reproachful epithet often flung at native converts, "rice-and-curry Christians." Mr. Hough has offered some judicious remarks upon the case, apologizing for the inexperience of this excellent man, and clearing his name from reproach. It may also be well to remind those who utter such reproaches, that it was not a missionary society, nor a missionary, who made the experiment: nor would we ourselves overlook the warning thus given, that the purest zeal of the best men holding responsible positions under the government, may, if not judiciously applied, do harm rather than good.

The other experiment to be noticed, is the long-continued endeavour of the Church Missionary Society to reform the native Syrian churches of Travancore, undertaken at the recommendation of Buchanan, and sanctioned by bishop Middleton and his successors. The measures adopted for this purpose are detailed in the 7th chapter, as well as the care and perseverance with which they were sustained; especially the quiet and indefatigable labours of Mr. Bailey, in translations and the

management of the press. But subsequent experience has induced the society to abandon the plan altogether, and to place the Travancore mission on the same footing with its other missions; and the result has been in every way successful. We cannot but think that there is evidence in the narrative to show, not only that such an attempt would fail, but that it ought to fail, inasmuch as it involved a compromise in regard to the errors and superstitions of that church, and the conduct of its ministers, which placed the missionaries in a wrong position, and led the natives to regard those evils as venial. The lesson has taught us how, in future, to attempt the reform of corrupted churches. And may not this lesson be useful now in regard to Italy?

Among the pleasing features of Indian Christianity, depicted in this work, is the kindliness of feeling manifested towards one another by parties who are too often antagonists at home. We find societies of different denominations making exchanges with each other of their posts of labour. We find the Church Missionary Society more liberal to Bishop's College than even the Christian Knowledge Society. We find the missionaries of nonconformists volunteering expressions of respect to the bishops, and on the other hand we find the bishops reciprocating sentiments of regard and confidence. "Bear witness," said Heber, when vindicating Protestant missions from the Jesuits' reproach of failure, "these numerous believers of our own immediate neighbourhood, with whom though we differ in many and doubtless many important points, I should hate myself if I could regard them as any other than my brethren and fellow servants in the Lord." (p. 544). Still more beautiful are the words of bishop James; whose short career of only seven months in India, sketched in chapter xix., will be read with melancholy interest. Addressing an assembly of missionaries, among whom were others than churchmen, he said,

"If some of those who in our native country dissent from our establishment on certain questions, and thus place themselves without our pale, are too apt to regard us with an unfriendly view, here at least all such feelings ought and must vanish in sight of our common adversary. All those who are Christians in principle are with us, and not against us. The only dissenters in this land should be the idolatrous heathen or the professed enemies of the cross of Christ." (p. 601.)

We must not lay down this interesting volume without a brief reference to the last chapter, which narrates the episcopate of bishop Turner; a man not only commended by lord Ellenborough, when about to appoint him to the office, as "a very good and pious man, without worldly notions, and really devoted to his high calling," but who is thus described by archdeacon Corrie, no mean judge, after six months' intimate

acquaintance with him in the exercise of his episcopal functions,—“He is by far the best suited for this appointment of any who have occupied it, with more practical knowledge of men and parochial matters than any of them. He has large views of usefulness, and with perfect propriety of language states them to government.”

We cannot wonder if the death of three bishops within so short a time had led Dr. Turner, when anticipating the offer, to hesitate about accepting it. The way in which all difficulty of this kind was removed is told in a touching story of his excellent wife, then on her death bed :—

“She urged him, at whatever sacrifice of ease or health, and favourable prospects at home, to go out in the spirit of a martyr to that distant land, not counting his life dear to himself, if by any means he might promote the glory of his Redeemer and the welfare of immortal souls for whom he died. She had before her eyes the names and early loss of Middleton, and Heber, and James, but she bid him let none of these things move him ; but in the faith and strength of the Lord go wherever his sacred vows of fidelity, as a servant and ambassador of Jesus Christ, impelled him.” (p. 610.)

Other instances of like devotedness to the Saviour and his cause, on the part of Christian women, are recorded in this volume.

The career of the bishop can only be glanced at. Touching at the Cape of Good Hope to make arrangements for an ecclesiastical establishment, he arrived in Calcutta in December, 1829, and immediately commenced his work. He held a visitation, and a confirmation of 317 persons before a month had elapsed. Soon after he induced archdeacon Corrie to take up his abode with him in the palace ; and the bishop's own christian character may be fairly estimated by the description he gives of that good man thus intimately known. He writes :—

“In the archdeacon I have all the aid I could wish for, and supplied in a way I most desire. He is, in very truth, *ad unguem factus*, discreet and patient, gentle and easy to be entreated, yet firm as adamant in purposes for good ; laborious beyond all ordinary measure of labour ; yet altogether without bustle or parade, ever on the watch for good ; and bringing his mature experience to bear upon every circumstance which may be turned to account in the great cause to which every thought of his heart and every moment of his life is absolutely devoted. Such is Daniel Corrie, and well may I rejoice that being such, he is archdeacon of Calcutta.” (p. 622.)

We next find the bishop actively engaged in efforts for the better observance of the Lord's-day in India ; and writing home, in an admirable letter, his views on the ecclesiastical affairs of his diocese. His exertions for the extended usefulness of Bishop's College, and for the greater efficiency of missionaries,

are next mentioned. The High School at Calcutta, for the education of European and East Indian youths, the first Infant School, and the District Charitable Society in the same city, owe their origin to him. After his visit to Madras, where he ordained the well-known native missionary, John Dewasagayam, and thence to the Neilgherries and Bombay; he crossed over to Ceylon, being the first Calcutta diocesan who had reached the north of the island. Here the first symptoms of declining health appeared. Though he returned to Calcutta, it was evident to himself and others that his work was drawing to its close. A most interesting and touching account is given of his last days by his beloved archdeacon, who closed his eyes on the 7th of July, 1831, after a residence of only eighteen months in India. From his dying expressions we select one, which reminds us of Hooker's great argument, and commend it with many other death-bed triumphs mentioned in this volume, to the consideration of those who are seeking to undermine that foundation of revealed truth upon which such hopes and assurances are based.

"I have growing evidence," he said to the archdeacon, "that I know in whom I have trusted. A little knowledge of science makes us confident; but as we advance we feel less certainty; whilst the more we advance in religious knowledge, the greater certainty we attain." (p. 643.)

We would ask of those underminers what they have to propose as a substitute for these soul-sustaining truths and hopes? We would ask of the Christian, "If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?"

We lay down this book with intense satisfaction at the thought that so large an amount of genuine heroism, not for the destruction, but the happiness, of men, has been displayed in the propagation of Christian truth among our fellow subjects in India; and that so many valuable lives, both of men and women, have been cheerfully devoted and freely sacrificed for their spiritual welfare. The church of Christ should have its heroes; the faith of Christ its confessors, "who loved not their lives unto death;" and in India they have had them. And if "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints," how could it possibly be, that while the bones of God's faithful servants were lying there as in so many Macpelahs till Jesus shall claim the land for his own, India should be given up into the hands of treacherous mutineers, whose object was the extinction of Christianity!

THE LIFE OF COLUMBUS, AND ITS DISREGARDED LESSONS.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was a native of Genoa. He was the son of a wool-comber, and his forefathers had followed that trade or handicraft for several generations. But as he soon showed a predilection for a seafaring life, he was sent for a short time in his youth to the university of Pavia, where he studied geometry, geography, astronomy, and navigation. At about the age of fourteen he made his first voyage, after which he is to be regarded as one devoted to the calling of a navigator. For twenty years we have only faint glimpses of his life as a seaman, but these show us that up to his thirty-fifth year he was ceaselessly employed; sometimes in commerce, sometimes in war; but invariably in active life on the ocean.

It was about the year 1470 that Columbus arrived in Lisbon. The efforts and enterprise of prince Henry of Portugal had attracted to the Lusitanian capital "the learned, the curious, and the adventurous," from all parts of the world. This distinguished man, the son of king John I. and Philippa of Lancaster, sister to our own Henry IV., had for years been labouring in the study of the sciences, and in the promotion of geographical discoveries, and had assembled around him men who were devoted to scientific researches from various countries. Under his auspices a great part of the west African coast had been explored, several important settlements founded, and a way opened for the grand discoveries of Vasco de Gama, which rendered memorable the close of that century.

Columbus had been a thoughtful, reasoning, and enthusiastic navigator from his youth; and when he visited Portugal he was led there by the interest he took in prince Henry's undertakings. While resident in Lisbon he married the daughter of an Italian lately dead, who had been one of prince Henry's most distinguished navigators, and from his wife's mother he obtained the papers, charts, and journals of the deceased commander. During the intervals of his voyages to Guinea or elsewhere, he constructed maps and charts, and corresponded with men of science in Italy and other countries. The moment was one in which, all over Europe, the question was agitating men's minds, "How India was to be reached by sea?" The route afterwards taken by Vasco de Gama, by the Cape of Good Hope, had not yet been discovered; the existence of the American continent was wholly unknown; and, among other problems then under examination, that which chiefly interested Columbus was, whether a voyage from Europe, *due west*, would not, in process of time, bring the voyagers to the eastern side of the Asiatic continent?

It is abundantly evident that, in the course of the twenty-

two years which elapsed between his arrival at Lisbon in 1470, and his agreement with the sovereigns of Spain in 1492, the mind of Columbus became quite settled upon this point. And the difference which existed between the scientific view taken by him, and the popular notion which was generally prevalent, may be easily stated.

No one had yet proved that the earth was a globe, by walking, or riding, or sailing round it. Men in general regarded it as a flat surface, extending over many thousands of miles, and divided, in common language, into three great districts—Europe, Africa, and Asia. All round this vast continent flowed the measureless ocean, whose extent no one had attempted to ascertain; and beyond which there might exist what no one could divine. Taking this view, it was natural that the man who proposed boldly to plunge into this unexplored abyss of waters, and to discover *what might lie beyond it*, should be regarded in very nearly the same light as any enthusiast would now be who should fill his balloon with gas sufficient for a month, and leave this earth on a voyage of discovery among the stars. But to Columbus, and many other men of that time who had studied the subject in the light of science, the whole matter presented itself in a totally different aspect. They had fully satisfied themselves of the globular figure of the earth; and this fact, when once it was firmly believed, changed entirely the whole position of the question. Since some travellers had journeyed half round the earth, why should not others complete the circuit? Marco Polo and Mandeville, journeying *to the east*, had travelled over thousands of miles until they reached the eastern limits of Asia. What was to prevent a navigator, keeping in the same latitude, and sailing *to the west*, from arriving at the same point? These questions were revolved in the minds of Columbus and his friends, year after year, till it became established in his mind and theirs, as a settled principle, that a ship, properly equipped and provided, and sailing from the coasts of Spain to the westward, must, in due time, arrive at the eastern shores of the great Asiatic continent.

When this belief had been thoroughly adopted, it became very natural that an ardent and enthusiastic man like Columbus, being also a fearless navigator, should begin to entertain a vehement desire to be himself the first discoverer of the great western road to China, India, and Japan. And accordingly, about 1483 or 1484, some ten or twelve years after his attention had first been directed to the question, we find Columbus asking an audience of John II. of Portugal, and laying his calculations and his plans before him. His offer was entertained, and several conferences were held upon the subject. But already we begin to meet with that fatal mistake which embittered the whole of the

great navigator's after-life. Himself the son of an Italian artisan, and entirely destitute of all means for the fitting out a proper squadron of discovery, he yet "demanded," says Mr. Irving, "high and honourable titles and rewards, that he might leave behind him a name and a family worthy of his achievements."

John II. is accused of double-dealing in this negotiation; but, however this might be, it is certain that the negotiation between him and Columbus came to an unfavourable close, and, towards the end of 1484, the enthusiastic navigator, whose whole soul seems to have been now wrapped up in the great idea which had possessed him, quitted Portugal, and passed into Spain. It seems probable that he had to leave behind him creditors whom he could not satisfy. Like thousands of other projectors, "he had suffered his own affairs," says Mr. Irving, "to go to ruin, and was reduced to struggle hard with poverty. He had to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world."

A notion prevails, which seems to have some probability, that his project was next urged upon the government of his own state, Genoa, but urged in vain. It is towards the end of 1485, in the fiftieth year of his age, that we find him in the south of Spain, seeking to interest in his great object the Spanish nobles of Andalusia. The duke of Medina Celi entertained him at his house, and, for a time, seemed disposed to provide him with two or three vessels fit for such an enterprise. But the project appeared too vast for a subject, and the duke finally preferred to give Columbus a letter to queen Isabella, recommending him to her notice. The ardent navigator was thus once more engaged in the anxious toils of a court-suitor, and he spent the following six years of his life in the painful and harassing task of following the king and queen from place to place, waiting their leisure to attend to him. At last, in February, 1492, he turned his back on the Spanish court, and set out for France, with the purpose of addressing his application, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, to a *fourth* government, undismayed by three previous failures. Mr. Irving justly remarks, that it is impossible not to admire the great constancy of purpose and loftiness of spirit displayed by Columbus. More than eighteen years had now elapsed "since he first espoused the project. What poverty, neglect, ridicule, contumely, and disappointment had he not suffered; yet nothing could shake his perseverance."

But while we readily accord to the great navigator all this praise, it would be wrong to overlook the fact, which now begins to be very apparent, that a disregard of the counsel of God to Baruch (Jer. xlv. 5.) was the grand mistake of his life. He quitted the court of Spain—not because the king and queen refused to entertain the project, but on a *quarrel about terms!*

"His principal stipulation was," says Mr. Irving, "that he should be invested with the titles and privileges of admiral and viceroy over the countries he should discover, with one-tenth of all gains, either by trade or conquest." "More moderate conditions were offered to Columbus, and such as appeared highly honourable and advantageous. It was all in vain; he would not cede one point of his demands, and the negotiation was broken off."

We do not meddle with the dispute, whether this conduct on the part of Columbus was "mercenary" or not. We merely take notice of the fact, that this determination to be great was the one grand source of all the miseries of his subsequent life. The position assumed by him was unlike that of any other discoverer. Vasco de Gama, Cabral, and others, were, again and again, sent forth by the neighbouring government of Portugal. They expected, and received, honours and rewards for their courage, enterprise, and success; but we never hear, on their part, of any strife or contention about *terms*, or of any "demand" for such or such great honours, titles, or privileges. This peculiar pretension was put forth only by this son of a Genoese wool-comber. As we have already said, we mean not to discuss the abstract justice of his pretensions; we desire not to stigmatize him as greedy of gain; but we point out *this* as the one fatal mistake of his life; as that which embittered every step of his otherwise splendid career; and, finally, overshadowed his latest days with all the gloom of disappointed hopes and frustrated expectations.

Columbus was, amidst all the superstition of his age, a sincerely religious man. He must have had, also, some knowledge of Holy Writ, if it be truly stated of him that "he met the dignified ecclesiastics on their own ground; pouring forth many magnificent texts of Scripture, and predictions of the prophets, which he regarded as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed."* Yet it is hardly to be supposed that he had a thorough acquaintance with God's word. He had either never seen, or else had overlooked, the last lessons of the wisest of men. A serious consideration of the recorded experience of the great king of Israel, if rightly taken to heart, might have saved Columbus years of anguish and of bitter suffering. His whole soul seemed set upon becoming a prince;—upon rising to high estate, and accumulating great wealth. Had he contemplated with the religious feeling which generally distinguished him the confessions of king Solomon, they must have given to his heart some juster notions of the True Wisdom. For all that *he* desired, the Israelitish king had *possessed* in the fullest abundance. He himself says, "I was king over

Israel in Jerusalem;—I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards; I had great possessions; I gathered me silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces. So I was great, and increased more than all that were before me: also my wisdom remained with me. Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do:—and, behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit.” It was this one lesson which Columbus needed. He had the noble enthusiasm of a great discoverer, but with it was mingled the meaner craving for earthly honours, titles, rank, and great possessions. This lowered his character, and the “strifes and emulations” into which it led him, made the last ten years of his life one long series of painful struggles and unmerited woes.

We left Columbus, however, on his journey out of Spain, in 1492, to seek for better entertainment in some other court. But it was the will of God that Spain, and not France or England, should, for two or three centuries, possess the wealth of Mexico and Peru. Hence the disconsolate projector, while in the act of leaving Spain, was suddenly recalled, and found all his demands at once conceded. An ardent admirer of Columbus, and one who had entire faith in his project, rushed forward, after the Genoese navigator had actually departed for France; and passionately entreated queen Isabella not to forfeit so great a glory as was tendered to her. The appeal succeeded,—Columbus was overtaken and brought back, and on the 17th of April, 1492, the final agreement was signed, by which this poor Genoese, who probably scarcely knew where to find food or clothing, was invested with the viceroyalty of a new world. On his side we see nothing but a grand idea, an enthusiastic resolve. Means, he had none; these were to be furnished to him by the Spanish king and queen. Yet, simply for propounding this one idea, and offering his own services in carrying it out, he demanded and obtained “the office of high-admiral in all the lands and continents which he might discover or acquire; also, the office of viceroy and governor-general over all the said lands and continents, with the privilege of nominating all the provincial governors, under the approval of the Spanish sovereigns.”

The remaining provisos were equally pretentious on his part; making him the actual sovereign of these unknown lands, which others were to provide him with the means of discovering.

Now to these demands many plain and palpable objections will instantly occur. The one pursuit for which Columbus was well fitted was that of a discoverer; and, in fact, it was to this work that the remainder of his life was really devoted. But the work of an exploring navigator, and that of a viceroy and governor-general, are entirely different,—so different as to be

practically incompatible. And it was the attempt to unite the two, that constituted the main difficulty of Columbus's subsequent life; and gave rise to more than half of his sufferings and distresses.

Again: it was Columbus's firm belief that it was to Asia,—to a land of great khans and moguls, of wealth and settled government,—that his course was directed. He knew not, he never dreamed, that his actual landing would be among tribes of naked savages. Yet did he calmly propose to take into his possession those great Asiatic kingdoms, of which Marco Polo and Mandeville had spoken; and with three small vessels, and about a hundred men, to make himself lord, grand-admiral, and viceroy of the empire of China! It is abundantly clear that had things turned out as Columbus expected, a Chinese or Japanese prison would probably have been his residence for the brief remainder of his life. That his whole project was not thus nipped in the bud, arose from the fact, that the real state of things was wholly different from what he had supposed; and that his landing, when actually effected, was not upon a wealthy and civilized Asiatic continent, but among the naked Indians of the American islands.

However, having thus obtained his desire, little knowing what "apples of Sodom" he was eagerly grasping, Columbus set forth; quitted Palos on the 3rd of August, 1492; landing on an island which he called San Salvador, on the 12th of October. And here we meet with the first exhibition of his eager desire for greatness, in that, the moment he had landed on this insignificant spot, among wild Indians, he forthwith called upon all present "to take the oath of obedience to him, as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns."

Soon leaving this newly-discovered island, the voyagers proceeded onwards to the more important islands of Cuba and Hispaniola. Here they found, indeed, great and valuable territories, of which they took possession; and on the latter of which Columbus raised a fort. Leaving here a few men, in the month of January, 1493, the admiral quitted the American seas for Europe; arriving in Lisbon early in March; and proceeding onwards till, in April, he presented himself before Ferdinand and Isabel in Barcelona. Here, doubtless, was the meridian splendour of his life, so far as outward pomp and show and seeming glory could gratify and content the heart of man. Yet was hollowness and falsehood in everything beneath the surface. With the queen, indeed, sincerity and truth existed; but Ferdinand had never heartily consented to Columbus's demands, and soon found means to nullify all his concessions; while, among the courtiers generally, hatred and jealousy of the "upstart foreigner" were universal.

An otherwise slight circumstance seems to exhibit, at this point, the self-worship, the self-seeking, which was the one unfavourable feature in Columbus's character. A pension had been promised to the man who should first descry the western land. A sailor, one of the crew, who had first hailed the land, expected this honour and reward. But Columbus himself, on the previous evening, had seen a light on the waters, and had pointed it out to a companion. On this ground, the pension was adjudged to the admiral, and the poor sailor, in a passion of anger and disappointment, forswore his country, and fled to Africa.

But now, amidst acclamations of joy on all sides, the second expedition was rapidly prepared. On the 25th of September, 1493, the bay of Cadiz saw a squadron of three large ships, and fourteen smaller ones, with 1500 men, surrounding "the admiral" on his second voyage. Lust for gold was the prevalent feature with all; and all were confident of realizing enormous riches. The golden visions of Columbus had seized hold upon all imaginations; he himself was so carried away by these baseless fancies, as to vow to furnish, within seven years, an army of 4000 horse and 50,000 foot, for the rescue of the holy sepulchre. Nothing could more vividly show the excited state of his mind than this monstrous speculation. All the lands he had yet discovered were peopled by naked Indians, wholly destitute of wealth. Yet, with this fact before him, this ardent and enthusiastic man, who died, after all, in the deepest poverty, deemed himself the possessor of the wealth of empires. There was nothing mean or sordid in his views; he was magnificent in his plans and purposes; but still, to *be* great, and to *do* great things, was the temptation which ruled and overbalanced his mind.

This second voyage of Columbus extended from September, 1493, until June, 1496; and it might have served to prove to the enthusiastic navigator how different is the *reality* of a course of ambition from the *romance* which imagination so vividly portrays. More islands were explored; the mainland of America being still not even imagined by Columbus or any of his followers. But the glorious expectations of enormous wealth which Columbus had himself encouraged, and which had filled his vessels with greedy hidalgos, who dreamed of nothing but easy and abundant gains, were all grievously dissipated. Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Guadaloupe were not, to any great extent, gold-producing countries. Provisions for so large a body of adventurers soon ran short; and Columbus was obliged to order and compel his followers to labour for the production of food. Great indignation was excited among the hidalgos or gentry; insurrections and conspiracies broke out; bitter complaints were carried home to Spain, and in 1495,

Juan Aguado, in manifest contravention of the agreement which the Spanish sovereigns had signed, was sent out to investigate his conduct. From the very commencement, the "demand" of Columbus had been, that he should be supreme, under the crown of Spain, in all the lands which he should discover. Yet here was a man sent forth, under royal authority, to receive complaints against him. Could there be a stronger or a more instructive proof of the intrinsic folly and emptiness of all such "demands" and "conventions?"

Very naturally we next hear that Columbus, grieved and indignant at such a proceeding, resolved himself to return to Spain, and to meet the accusations which Aguado had received from crowds of discontented persons. He landed in Spain, on this, his second return, in far different guise from that in which he had presented himself on his first. Not now in the splendour of a warrior on his day of triumph, but clad in the humble garb of a Franciscan monk. "The change agreed but too well with his faded hopes and altered prospects. Of the dreams of conquest and glory which had filled his mind, how little had been realized, and how much of suffering and disappointment had been endured." The aspect of his companions, also, told a like tale. From his shattered vessels "a feeble train of wretched men crawled forth, emaciated by the diseases of the colony and by the hardships of the voyage, and who had nothing to relate but tales of sickness, poverty, and disappointment."

Columbus, however, was kindly received by Ferdinand and Isabella, and ships for a new expedition were promised him. But the secret opposition of those who envied his fame and advancement, so delayed the preparations, that nearly two years were wasted before the six vessels provided for this third voyage were ready to sail. At the end of May, 1498, Columbus again departed.

But his downward course, not indeed, into crime, but into undeserved misery, was rapid. This third voyage, while he acted as an explorer and discoverer, was a memorable one, for in it he first discovered and landed on the great American continent. But when he resumed his office of viceroy, that post which he had so much coveted, he found nothing but turmoil, contention and actual disgrace before him.

Trinidad and the mainland of America having been discovered, Columbus returned to Hispaniola and St. Domingo, in August, 1498. Here he found all things in confusion. His brother, Bartholomew, whom he had left in charge of the colony, had been involved in war, first with the Indians, and then with a conspirator, named Roldan. The latter had gathered such a party that the admiral was compelled to make a treaty with him, and to overlook his many offences. Other

outbreaks and conspiracies followed, and the discontented, when put down and expelled from the colony, returned to Spain, and carried thither such stories of the tyrannies and cruelties of Columbus, that even Isabella herself, his faithful friend and patroness, was forced at last to consent to the sending forth, again, a royal commissioner, to inquire into the truth of these complaints. These disastrous events were not at all surprising, in the commencement of a new and distant colony; but they exhibit in a strong light the fatal error of Columbus, in claiming to unite with the fame of a discoverer, the more hazardous function of founder and governor of a great foreign possession.

The new commissioner, Don Francesco de Bobadilla, received the fullest powers to investigate and redress the grievances of the colonists; powers so full, indeed, that under them he proceeded, on his arrival at St. Domingo, to put the admiral and his brother into irons, and to send them back to Spain. Thus the great discoverer of the new world left the lands which he had given to Spain, in October, 1500, "shackled like the vilest of culprits, amidst the scoffs and shouts of a miscreant rabble, who sent curses after him from the shores of the island he had so recently added to the civilized world." He arrived at Cadiz, in December, a prisoner and in chains. There was a general burst of indignation throughout Spain, and the king and queen so far shared in the feeling, as to send instant orders that he should be released, and treated with all distinction. He appeared before the sovereigns in Granada on the 17th of December. "When the queen beheld the venerable man approach, and thought on all he had done, and all he had suffered, she was moved to tears." Very naturally, the long-suppressed feelings of the injured hero burst forth; "he threw himself on his knees, and for some time could not utter a word, for the violence of his tears and sobbings." Was there ever a more striking proof given, of the wisdom and kindness displayed in the counsel to Baruch, "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not, saith the Lord?" The whole of these unmerited sufferings of the great navigator may be traced to his unwise determination to be "great;" to have great wealth, great power, great honour and distinction. By this one error, he made thousands of foes, and no degree of purity or virtue could avail, in the presence of such hosts of envenomed detractors.

One more step remained, between him and the grave. Columbus was now in Spain; he was soothed and comforted, but to his greatly-coveted government and dignity he was never restored. Ferdinand had but grudgingly conceded his "demands" in 1492, and now, ten years having passed away, and the admiral being in Spain, there was no alacrity shown in

doing him the justice which he sought, or in replacing him in the "vicerealty" of the new world. Another commissioner, Ovando, was appointed to supersede Bobadilla, and Columbus was told that an interval of repose would allow bad passions to subside, and would promote the peace and welfare of the colony. Thus, all through 1501 and the first portion of 1502, Columbus was detained in Spain, while old age was rapidly creeping upon him. But his active mind could not rest, nor could he fail to perceive that his discoveries were still exceedingly imperfect. Reflection on the past only served to convince him that much remained to be done, and he soon made a fresh application to the sovereigns to be allowed to prosecute his still unfinished investigations. Ferdinand judged this a good opportunity of keeping the admiral employed at a distance from Cuba and Hispaniola. Four small ships were granted him, and in the sixty-seventh year of his age he again sallied forth on this his last voyage of discovery. His first occupation, which consumed four months, was in exploring the Bay of Honduras, and the whole of that coast, in search of a strait which he still fancied would open to him the road to India and to China. The whole of this voyage was one of hardship, toil, and danger. Storms, strife with the natives, and the weak and shattered condition of his vessels, rendered it, from May 1502 to June 1503, a period of great difficulty and trouble. At last, in the latter month, he brought his two remaining vessels into harbour at Jamaica, where he stranded them, to avoid their total loss by foundering. Here he was detained a whole year, by the cruel disregard of Ovando, the governor of St. Domingo, who, not desiring his presence in that colony, sent him word that "he could not spare vessels to bring him off." Twelve months elapsed before this ruthless man felt compelled, by mere shame, to take steps for the admiral's release. At last, on the 28th of June, 1504, two vessels having arrived, Columbus left his island-prison for St. Domingo; from whence, on the 12th of September, he took his last voyage back to Spain. In November he reached Seville—"a broken-down old man, encumbered with debt, and surrounded with needy adventurers, who laid their ruin at his door." He had purposed, in the days of his golden dreams, the equipment, like a prince, of a royal army, for the rescue of the holy sepulchre! Instead of which, hear his own description of himself, in one of his letters to his sovereigns:—

"Such is my fate, that twenty years of service, through which I passed with so much toil and danger, have profited me nothing; and at this day I do not possess a roof in Spain that I can call my own. If I wish to eat or sleep, I have nowhere to go but to the inn or tavern, and I seldom have wherewith to pay the bill. I have not a hair upon me that is not grey; my body is infirm; and all that was

left me, as well as to my brothers, has been taken away and sold, even to the frock that I wore, to my great dishonour. I implore your highnesses to forgive my complaints. I am, indeed, in as ruined a condition as I have related. Hitherto I have wept over others; may Heaven now have mercy upon me, and may the earth weep for me!"

In this spirit he returned to Spain—to find a grave. His sincere friend and patroness, the admirable Isabella, died shortly after his return, and Ferdinand was ever cold-hearted and selfish. "He received him with many expressions of kindness, but with those cold, ineffectual smiles which convey no warmth to the heart." Appeal after appeal was made, but the replies of Ferdinand were always evasive. In fact, the king had no intention of conceding the one point respecting which Columbus was chiefly anxious. To bequeath the perpetual viceroyalty of "the Indies" to his son Diego, and to his descendants, as a matter of hereditary right, was the point always uppermost in his mind. "This," he writes to the king, "is a matter which concerns my honour. As to all the rest, do as your majesty may think proper—give or withhold as may be most for your interest, and I shall be content. I believe the anxiety caused by the delay of this affair is the principal cause of my ill health." Strange infatuation! Had Columbus calmly reviewed his past life, he might have seen that this greatly-prized viceroyalty had been his ruin—had been the cause of all his sufferings. And to his son it must have brought equal woes. If it were a power real and absolute, it would have uncrowned the king of Spain, and rendered the heirs of Columbus "lords of the Indies." But if unreal, as in times past, it was sure to bring other Bobadillas and Ovandos from Spain to harass, counteract, and persecute the viceroy. Columbus could hardly have left to his son a more fatal legacy. Yet he himself confesses that the denial of this claim was breaking his heart: "the anxiety caused by this affair is the principal cause of my ill-health." "It appears that his majesty does not see fit to fulfil that which he, with the queen, who is now in glory, promised me by word and seal. I have done what I could, and must leave the rest to God!"

And so he died, in May, 1506, being about seventy years of age. He was a sincerely religious man, after the religion of his day. He was enthusiastic, noble-minded, sincere, and warm-hearted. Of the grand mission and achievement of his life it is needless to speak, for men are forward and eager to recognize and extol it. Our object has been, while sympathizing with his wrongs, to point out the chief lesson which is taught us by his history. Had he possessed the practical wisdom of our own Wellington, whose noblest distinction it was, that he never sought, never asked, anything for himself, how different would have been his fate! His fame, the honour attaching to

his name and family, was already assured by his own deeds, and needed not the extrinsic help of titles or privileges. And had he left his reward to the free will of the sovereigns whom he so greatly served, it could not have been a niggardly one. Leaving the toils and anxieties of government to others, had he asked and obtained better and more efficient fleets of discovery, he might, in his own lifetime, have circumnavigated America, and colonized Mexico and Peru.

Among the many lessons of practical wisdom for every-day life which are scattered up and down the pages of the word of God, there is, perhaps, scarcely one which is more needed for constant use, or one which men are more ready to pass over with silent disregard, than God's message to Baruch, "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not, saith the Lord." Although again and again enforced by Christ himself, in such words as,—“Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth; for where your treasure is, there will your hearts be also:”—“A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth:”—“How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of God:”—these emphatic warnings fall ineffectually upon “ears that are dull of hearing.” Apostles have followed their Master in warning their hearers, that “they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition;” and in exhorting them to “set their affections on things above, not on things on the earth;” but, throughout all ages, “the love of this present world” has carried away the vast majority of hearers, and “the deceitfulness of riches has choked the word, so that it remained unfruitful.”

Yet beacon-lights, marking the rocks on which many gallant ships have foundered, are not wanting. Numerous, indeed, are the fearful mementos which have come to us from past ages, of those who either have “made shipwreck of the faith,” or else, as God's erring children, have had “their offences visited with the rod, and their sin with scourges.” We are not called upon, nor are we able, to discriminate actually between the one class and the other; but when we observe a notable instance of a great and perhaps a good man, bringing suffering and humiliation on himself by disregarding all these warnings, it seems a plain duty to compare the fault with its consequences; so that, even to human eyes, “God may be justified when he speaketh, and be clear when he judgeth.” And among all the records of the past, we know of no more remarkable proof of the practical wisdom and benevolence of the message to Baruch than is given in the biography of which we have sketched the outline.

We follow the great navigator with sympathy and with painful commiseration. We abhor the hard-hearted selfishness of his numerous enemies, and the frigid indifference of those who ought to have been his zealous protectors. But still, amidst

all this, we trace the main cause of all Columbus's sufferings to *himself*. Not to any crimes, not to any excesses, not to any immoralities, but simply to that one mistaken idea with which he set out; an idea which ran entirely counter to that divine wisdom which had said, "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not, saith the Lord."

DR. TEMPLE'S RUGBY SCHOOL SERMONS.

Sermons preached in Rugby School in 1858, 1859, 1860. By the Rev. Frederic Temple, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty, Head Master of Rugby School, &c. Macmillan and Co., 1861.

A CHARACTER once lost is not easily recovered. Dr. Temple has not a character to lose, but a character to restore. Friendship may put itself forward to excuse what it cannot defend, and urge that a man's character may be better than his opinions; but it is not for us to admit such a distinction; for it is a man's opinions that constitute his true character, morally considered. They are much more a part of himself than are occasional acts of wrong doing, into which the best may fall through inadvertence, or the force of sudden temptation. "As a man *thinks*, such is he," is a maxim as true as it is trite. If, then, a man has deliberately published thoughts and opinions that will not endure the test of truth, he must either retract what he has thus advanced, or prove, by some other writings of his, contemporaneously produced, that his character, as a Christian, has been mistaken. So only can his lost character be restored.

What, then, is the position in which Dr. Temple stands before us? Compromised voluntarily, so far as we can judge, by his connection with the Oxford Essayists, and never having, in any open way, accounted for that unhappy connection, nor retracted any of the statements which have identified him with the more advanced assailants of Divine truth, it is impossible to regard him otherwise than as the *pioneer* of scepticism at the least; unless, indeed, he can vindicate himself by some means unequivocally from the charge. The volume of sermons which he has now put forth is intended, we doubt not, to be an indirect answer to the accusations of unsoundness in the Christian faith. How far it may justly serve that end can be determined only by a careful examination of its contents. Charity "*hopeth all things*." None would more sincerely rejoice than ourselves to find that he had succeeded in clearing himself entirely from the suspicion of being tainted with the Neologian heresy, and had re-established himself in the confidence of his countrymen as a trustworthy teacher of religious truth. His error, we will fain believe, has

been more one of the head than of the heart; and yet we can hardly suppose the heart to be quite right where the head has shown itself so very wrong. It is not, however, a question of personal condition, so much as of safety to the public; for a man may carry an infection in his clothes even when he is free from it in his person. A man's published thoughts are the dress in which he shows himself to others; and if within the folds of this dress there be wrapped up a deadly disease, the man must be put apart, as was of old the leper.

There is always a disadvantage in having to deal with a man, or his writings, against whom there already exists a prejudice; for it is very difficult, in such a case, to see things without some colour, or to judge altogether without a bias. It is, too, the way of the world to condemn, without reflection or inquiry, those who have, by any misfortune, fallen into disrepute, and not even to accord them a hearing. We trust this is not our spirit. We fully admit the justice of the principle that a man's writings are to be judged of as a whole, and not by one separate part; and that then only are they to be condemned when the poisonous admixture that vitiated the part is found to pervade the whole. Dr. Temple, by the volume of sermons which he has now put forth, may be considered as appealing for a fresh hearing. That hearing it is our duty, in all fairness, to give him; and though we cannot say that we approach it altogether without prejudice, it will be our endeavour to conduct it without partiality, having respect only to the truth.

A chemist, when he has to test food, to discover whether there is any poison mixed with it, subjects it, as a matter of necessity, to a most minute analysis. There is a spiritual as well as a material chemistry; and Dr. Temple must not be surprised if, in passing his sermons through our alembic, we should analyse them closely, and test them by such tests as our knowledge of the new system enables us to apply.

It is an extremely painful thing to a Christian mind to be obliged to speak of the work of an estimable man like Dr. Temple, as we felt obliged to speak of his "Education of the World" in our September number. But the purity and integrity of God's truth must be held paramount to every other consideration. "Though we, or an angel from heaven," says St. Paul, "preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." (Gal. i. 8, 9.) The point to be ascertained is, whether Dr. Temple has, in the volume of sermons now placed before the public, so cleared himself from the charge of false teaching—so vindicated his claim to orthodoxy by discourses which, we may assume, were not intended for publication when first written, but are published now by way of silent challenge to his accusers—that his complicity with the Oxford Essayists may fairly be regarded as a *faux pas*. We will waive for the moment the rule,

"*Noscitur à sociis*," and will judge him simply by what he says in the volume before us.

The first sermon in the volume is one for "Good Friday;" and what is its opening statement?—

"This is not a day for difficult doctrines, but for the simplest and humblest feelings. The great work of this day is *quite beyond the reach of our understanding*. *What it was that was done for us*, we are not able to comprehend, nor *why it was needed to be done*." (p. 1.)

Now, here we must take exception at the very outset. To assert that "the great work of this day is *quite beyond the reach of our understanding*," is virtually to assert that no explanation is given of it in Scripture, or that, though the subject of revelation, it lies so entirely out of the range of our faculties, as to be an act on God's part without a reason comprehensible by his reasonable creatures. What is this but to make a *reductio ad absurdum* without perceiving it? The great characteristic of the Christian religion is, that it makes its appeal to our *understanding*. This is the basis on which it builds. Though the feelings, the conscience, and the imagination are all appealed to, and have each their correlative truths as well as the reason, yet the understanding is the fundamental faculty on which the truths of revelation all strike first, the pivot into which they turn, and from which they gain their force. Without it, they have no motive power; and that these three should concentrate in one point in the understanding, is just one of those universalities requisite to, and which mark out, Christianity as a true religion. We are not to be "children in *understanding*, but in *understanding* to be men." (1 Cor. xiv. 20.) And how often did our Lord rebuke his disciples for their want of *understanding*? After his resurrection he "opened their *understandings*, that they might *understand* the Scriptures." (Luke xxii. 45.) And the special point which he enabled them to *understand* was, that it "behoved him to suffer, and to rise again the third day." All believers are to be "filled with spiritual *understanding*" (Col. ii. 9), "the eyes of their *understanding* being enlightened" (Eph. i. 18) by the power of the Spirit of God. Had Dr. Temple said only that there were some doctrines of the Christian religion which were beyond our *comprehension*, he would have said only what was perfectly true. But we may understand even where we cannot comprehend. And the doctrine which we are specially called upon to consider and understand is, *why Christ died*, and *for what end he died*; that is, what there was in our moral relation to our supreme moral Governor, and in our own moral condition, which rendered such an interposition as this on our behalf necessary. Without some understanding of this, the crucifixion would be a mere tragic scene, to be viewed by Christians just as it was viewed by the Roman soldiers and other lookers-on. Without the aid, indeed,

of a spiritual understanding, there would be no difference between the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the crucifixion of any other innocent person. Religion, at the best, would be resolved into a tender sentiment, instead of being a "*reasonable service*;" and ignorance would be, what the church of Rome would make it, the true "*mother of devotion*." Surely Dr. Temple cannot mean to assert such a principle as this? And yet what less can he mean, when he states, "*What it was that was done for us we are not able to comprehend, nor why it was needed to be done*." We answer this by quoting these Scripture statements:—"Christ died for our sins" (1 Cor. xv. 3); "died for the ungodly" (Rom. v. 8); "died, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God" (1 Pet. iii. 8); "He hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him" (2 Cor. v. 21); "In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins" (Eph. i. 7).

This first paragraph in Dr. Temple's volume sounds the keynote to the whole. He is constantly telling his hearers that they cannot understand, and must not attempt to understand, the doctrines of Christianity. The obvious tendency, if not the intention of this is, to get rid of all dogmatic truth. Certain doctrines are offensive as they are usually stated, and so they are not to be stated at all. There is to be no distinct enunciation of the truths which the facts of Christianity contain, and which give to those facts the character of *doctrines*. Thus again, in the XXXIV. Sermon, he writes :

"The depth of the mystery of the Atonement who shall fathom? All that has been written upon the subject only leaves behind the sense of the wonder of the mystery, and every explanation that has been attempted is overthrown with an ease which warns us that explanation is impossible. Every statement of the doctrine which has ever yet been made always contains those self-contradictions, those manifest breaches of the plainest rules of logic which indicate that the human intellect is baffled We cannot understand it, but we can be thrilled by it. We cannot say *how* or *why* we needed it, but we can feel our need of it." (p. 378.)

Those who are familiar with the ideas and the *modus loquendi* of the new School, will know perfectly well what these "*breaches of the plainest rules of logic*" mean; and what those "*self-contradictions*, in the eyes of the party are, which render all avoidance of distinct dogmatic statements desirable. But it is this attempt to throw a mist over the plainest doctrines of Christianity, to involve its revealed truths in obscurity, so that no one shall be able to arrive at any positive belief, which renders their system so peculiarly dangerous. For twilight precedes and ushers in the denser darkness of the night. Once let men lose sight of the great verities of the Christian Faith, which now

shine like planets in the spiritual system, by reducing them into a state of nebulosity, and the gaunt forms of error may walk forth unperceived. Man will be deprived of all sure guidance: he will no longer know his true position, like one who has forgotten the points of the compass, and will have to grope his way to truth, like a person in the dark.

One very observable thing in this volume of sermons, is their studious avoidance of Scripture phraseology in stating Scripture doctrines, so far as they are stated; as if Dr. Temple were most anxious to keep out of sight "the offence of the cross." This may have been deemed judicious by one addressing only youths; or it may have arisen from a personal distaste to the doctrines commonly understood, when this particular phraseology is used. Whichever it be, it indicates an inadequate appreciation of the importance of these doctrines in a system of Christian instruction. It is a being wise *beyond what* is written. It proceeds, too, upon a false principle. For words are the signs of ideas; and if you get rid of the words, the particular terms that have been adopted to express those ideas, you run imminent danger of losing the ideas themselves. Every science, theology among the rest, has its own technical language—a number of terms invented or adopted to express one peculiar thought or truth. And as, by the nature of language, no two terms are of exactly the same force or import, except when they happen to be perfect synonyms, the most fatal mistakes may result from a studied attempt to vary from the received phraseology, where the statement of doctrines is concerned. This is one of the peculiar dangers we are in from those who would avoid what they call "conventional language" and "traditional modes of treatment," (Preface to "Essays and Reviews,") when writing on religious subjects. By means of new terms it is quite possible for new ideas to be suggested. Even when an accustomed term is used, it may convey a wholly new sense, if it is used in a new relation; or it may be made to insinuate a wholly new idea by the connection in which it is placed, and the accompanying expressions with which it is qualified.

We have not overlooked the fact, that the volume before us consists of *School* sermons. As such, we might expect to find that they dealt with the most elementary truths: and so indeed they do. It is not on this ground our objection turns. There must be "milk for babes," as well as "strong meat for those that are of full age." What we complain of is, that they do not convey *true* ideas upon points of eternal moment.

It will not come within our object to notice everything that may be open to comment in these Sermons. The parts in them to which we shall think it right to draw attention are those in which Dr. Temple sets forth his views on the following points:—

The Atonement, Justification, the power of Conscience, the condition of the ancient Heathen, and the non-doctrinal character of Revelation.

I. In our September number we remarked, that the Essay entitled "*The Education of the World*," contained no "allusion, however slight, to the atonement." We cannot assert this of the Sermons. The atonement has been mentioned in the passages we have already quoted, and it is alluded to in other places. But in what way is it described? Are we ever told in what it consists? Is the grand necessity for it ever explained? Is any clear notion given of its central place and importance in the Christian system? Let the reader judge for himself from two extracts. In the first Sermon, which we have already quoted,—that for "Good Friday," where, if anywhere, we should expect to find the cardinal doctrine of the atonement brought out, and clearly explained and enforced in its relation to the sinful condition of man,—speaking of coming to the cross, Dr. Temple says:—

"We come not here with desire to *stand right with God*. We come not *thinking of his justice*, and asking to be made holy, that *his justice may have nothing to find fault with*. We come not *asking to be spared his wrath*. Who could ask for anything for himself in the presence of all this suffering, all this suffering on his behalf. No, we come asking to be taken to his heart; for the love of a Father we beg, for the pardon which brings us to his bosom; not for that pardon which only spares the rod; we cannot here think of punishment; we cannot ask simply that our pain shall be lessened; we do not think of that, but of Christ. We have been away from him. We long to come back to him. Lord, receive us once more to thy love, and do with us what thou wilt." (p. 11.)

Again:—

"We come not asking for holiness, nor for forgiveness, nor for happiness, nor for protection. We come asking to be let once more to live with him, and for nothing else. Christ is all in all; and here we can think of nothing else; if only we may be permitted, kneeling at his feet, to embrace the cross on which he hangs, and never again to move from his sight." (p. 12.)

Now, we appeal to our readers, whether this is the way in which St. Peter or St. Paul speaks of the cross of Christ, or of the great work wrought by the Saviour's sufferings and death. This is what we should call a sentimental preaching of the cross. It amounts to no more than the appeal made by a Romish priest with the crucifix in his hands. It is calculated, no doubt, to touch young and tender hearts with a tender feeling; but the sympathy excited by such appeals turns more towards the sufferer than in self-reflection, repentance, and humiliation on the sinner's own self, and to faith in the justifying righteousness of God.

This is a defect, or, rather, a perversion, which runs through

the whole of Dr. Temple's Sermons. The great doctrine of justification by faith in *the righteousness of another*, we find nowhere stated in the whole volume. It deals only in vague general sentiment; in appeals to human feelings and sympathies; in what we believe to be a morbid, and mistaken, and wholly inadequate view, both of the Divine and the human character. We are far from saying that there is not a large mixture of moral and general truth in these discourses. There are many wise counsels given in them; they display much insight into human infirmities, especially in the young; they contain many safeguards against vice and unmanly weaknesses, against the meannesses of pride and the braveries of cowardice; but in the distinct enunciation of Christian doctrines, and of purely evangelical motives, they are almost wholly wanting. The tree is to produce fruit without having any root, or, rather, it is sought to be planted in the wrong soil.

When Dr. Temple uses the term, "*the atonement*," it is impossible to make out exactly what he means by it. Speaking of the "*Atonement of Christ*," in reference to "the power of the human will to rise above all circumstances, all fetters of habit, all seductions of pleasure, or association, or custom," he says, "*this power is older even than the gospel*;" adding, "*it is the secret working of the power of the Atonement of Christ, working even in those who have never heard of the Atonement*." (p. 304.) We stay not to raise the question whether this be true. What we are concerned with is, the meaning here of "*the power of the Atonement*." Immediately afterwards, he describes it as "*the mysterious grace of God shed even on men who have never heard his name*." (p. 304.) This, to us, is a strange confusion of thought; and it gives us hardly the shadow of a notion of what his idea is of "*the atonement*." It is evidently not the *καταλλαγή*, "*reconciliation*," of which St. Paul speaks, (Rom. v. 10); for that implies the conscious action of two parties, not an unknown influence from an unknown source. The means of that reconciliation—"being justified by His blood," or, on our part, by faith in His blood, can have no place, obviously, with those who have never heard of Him. It is, however, as is evident from the passage we have quoted, *grace*, not *justification*, that constitutes, in Dr. Temple's mind, "*the atonement*;" and that grace of so general and undistinguishing a kind, that it has been alike bestowed upon the heathen before Christ, and believers since; which we humbly submit is a doctrine warranted by no proof of Holy Writ.

II. In the sermon on "*Original Sin*," (p. 122,) where we should naturally look for the doctrine of justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ to be explicitly stated, we find the expression "*justification by faith*" once used, but without that addition of terms which defines it in the Protestant sense. So

far as we can gather, Dr. Temple holds the Romish, and not the Protestant, doctrine of justification ; for he makes "justification by faith" to be the direct antidote to "original sin," simply as an inward corruption of our nature. This is his statement :—

"When we say that we are justified by faith, and not by works, we mean that the power which is to bring us to God is not any human device, however excellent or however useful ; it is not instruction, or example, or exhortation, or education, though all these have their part to play ; it is not anything that is to act upon our outer conduct, or that is to reach us through our senses ; it is the direct influence of God, and of God only. By faith as opposed to works, *is meant the inside as opposed to the outside, the spirit as opposed to the letter, the heart and conscience as opposed to a system of rules and of discipline, the gift of God as opposed to the work of man.*" (p. 124.)

"He and He alone can deal with this *awful disease by which we are all afflicted* ; He and He alone can attack sin *in the very citadel of its dominion*, and win the victory which we could never win. Our justification must come from Him, and therefore must begin with *that which He puts into us*—that movement of the heart and conscience which we call faith ; and cannot come from man nor begin with what man can do for us, that is the regulation and discipline of our habits and our deeds, which is what is meant by works." (p. 125.)

"For God and not man can help us against such an enemy as the *sin which is in our nature.*" (p. 126.)

Here we have sanctification most evidently confounded with justification ; and justification, as defined by our eleventh article, by implication denied. That article—"Of the Justification of Man"—says, "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings." If justification were, as Dr. Temple makes it, only purification, then, as this is inwrought and becomes part of ourselves, all grounds for boasting would not be cut off : we might glory in what we had become. But justification, according to the Church of England, is a thing altogether *ab extra* ; it is *the work of one accounted to others*, and they guilty ;—which lays them under an eternal obligation to their Divine Redeemer, just as does a debt incurred by one person when paid by another. But this brings in what the New School call "the fiction of transfer ;" in other words, the doctrine of imputation, which they cannot endure any more than it can be endured by self-righteous Socinians. This we must regard as a fundamental error, though it is one of those nice points which most people will overlook.

III. The error which attracted most public notice in the Essay on the "Education of the World," was the pre-eminence given to *conscience* ; its exaltation above the Divine rule of faith and practice ; its being constituted a court of appeal, even against

Scripture. This was an error which met with immediate reprobation. The passage we refer to was this:—

“The Bible, in fact, is hindered by its form from exercising a despotism over the human spirit; if it could do that, it would become an outer law at once; but its form is so admirably adapted to our need, that it wins from us all the reverence of a supreme authority, and yet imposes upon us no yoke of subjection. This it does by virtue of the principle of private judgment, which puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter whom it may be our duty to enlighten, but whom it can never be our duty to disobey.” (p. 45.)

This makes conscience not merely a co-ordinate authority with the Bible, but a superior authority. It virtually annuls the Bible as an independent authority; for, as bishop Van Mildert has truly remarked in his Bampton Lectures (page 72),—

“Whatever be the authority that assumes a power to determine, *suo jure*, the sense of Scripture, that authority itself, if its right be admitted, becomes the rule of faith, and virtually supersedes the other.”

That this is the sort of authority which Dr. Temple would give to conscience, is plain from another passage, where he says:—

“When conscience and the Bible appear to differ, the pious Christian immediately concludes that he has not really understood the Bible.” (p. 44.)

It becomes of the utmost importance to note expressions of this kind, because they imply much more than they express. There is latent under them the well-known antipathy of the Neologian school to the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice—the substitution of the innocent for the guilty—the payment of the penalty due to our sin by our Divine Substitute; which they say contradicts our moral sense or conscience, and which, therefore, they reject as a blasphemous fiction. To suppose that the Divine Father could put his innocent Son to suffer in our place, or exact satisfaction to his justice from Him, and then transfer the merit of those sufferings to us, though the Scriptures state it, this is by no means to be believed. Thus our own vitiated moral sense is to be set up against the plain testimony of God's word; the whole scheme of man's redemption by blood is to be set aside; and all because our conscience does not choose to approve of the plan; though the principle of substitution, and of sacrifice, and the suffering of one for the benefit of another, runs through the whole of God's natural

and moral government of the world. In short, according to Dr. Temple, there is to be no "*outer law*" or authority which is to overrule our own inner sense; or, as one of the Essayists calls it, "the verifying faculty within us;" and our guide is no longer to be, "*Thus saith the Lord,*" but, *What says conscience?*

Such was the principle laid down by Dr. Temple in his Essay. He has now given us a fuller exposition of his views, and the question is, Does he in his sermons clear himself from, or does he confirm, this false principle in regard to the verifying authority of conscience? A few passages will suffice to show:—

"The return of Easter" (he says, at p. 14) "demonstrates the truth of conscience." (p. 15.)

What he means by this he explains further on.

"Conscience is ever talking of truth, of justice, of purity, of unselfishness, of absolute self-devotion." (p. 15.)

He then goes on to show that the resurrection of Christ confirms the truth of all that conscience witnesses for God, and for the final triumph of Right over Might. All this is very well; we do not question the substantial truth of this; but what we quote the passage for is, to show the very great power ascribed to our natural conscience. This is the string upon which he harps all through this volume of sermons, from the beginning to the end. A more explicit passage is the following:—

"All through St. Paul's teaching a prominent doctrine is what we now call liberty of conscience. The inner principle is always recognized by him as *supreme over the man.*" (p. 254.)

"Now it is not difficult to see why the Apostle thus puts the *inner voice above all outer voices whatever.* For the inner voice, and that voice alone, speaks personally and individually to the soul. *Any other revelation can give only general rules.*" (p. 255.)

"A man's conscience may be mistaken; but still, after all, *it is the only light he has got which will enlighten him in each separate case* where he has a choice of conduct. A man's conscience may be mistaken; but if so, obedience to it is a mistake, and not a sin, and we know that mistakes are very different from sins. If our conscience be mistaken because we have not taken due trouble to enlighten it, then for that neglect of cultivating our conscience we are responsible. But even then the conscience claims our obedience, and if to obey is a mistake, to disobey is a sin. All other authorities speak to men in general; this voice speaks to the very soul who hears it and to none other. All other authorities speak of the general rules by which we must live; this voice speaks of what is to be done now, here, in these circumstances. Now, no one can help feeling that a command given to him personally to do, or not to do, a given act at the moment, must have more weight than a general command given to all men, or given

for all times. *It is as if God himself had interfered for our guidance, and had thereby superseded all other guidance.*" (pp. 255, 256.)

"This is the claim of conscience, and of this claim St. Paul never loses sight." (p. 256.)

Now, how are all these statements borne out by fact? Do they accord with the Apostle's own representations? Where is this "inner" principle recognized by him as "*supreme over the man?*" Is it in this passage? "My conscience does not accuse me of anything; yet am I not hereby justified; but he that judgeth me is the Lord." (1 Cor. iv. 4.) Was it his own conscience, or the word directly spoken to him from Heaven, he obeyed, when the Lord appeared to him on his way to Damascus, and he was persecuting the Christians to the death, "*and verily thought with himself,*" that is, in his conscience, that he ought to do so? Here, surely, the "outer voice" was allowed to overrule the "inner voice." And what is the written word of God, in all cases, but this "outer voice?" That this is what Dr. Temple refers to in the expressions "outer voice," "any other revelation," "all other authorities," we know too well. We deny not that there is such a thing as the "inner voice" of conscience, and that this has its office. The mistake is, that Dr. Temple makes that general respecting it which the Apostle makes particular, and applies only to a certain class of questions—questions doubtful, and undetermined by Scripture. It is most important to observe that *conscience has no reference to any revealed doctrine*:—its sphere of operation is simply *duties*; and even there conscience must not step in where the duty is a matter of express command, except to enforce the obligation to its observance. Very different was the doctrine of the supremacy of conscience laid down by bishop Butler from that laid down by Dr. Temple. What he argues, in his celebrated sermons on "Human Nature," is, that conscience is supreme over all other powers or principles *within the man*, not that it is supreme over a Divine authority speaking to him *from without*, or by an external revelation. This, by the very nature of the case, must rule the man in his conscience, as in all things else, for it is given for this very end. The office of the conscience in the Christian man is, to be the reflecting medium to God's word, and to give due weight and influence to this voice from without, which proclaims its own Divinity.

At a time when conscience is playing such fantastic tricks in raising objections to the payment of church rates, and other customs and dues, it is rather surprising that a learned divine of the church of England should ascribe such a supreme judicial power to the individual conscience. He must have forgotten, too, what enormities of wrong, what atrocities of crime, in past times, both in Germany and in England, have

been justified by this very plea of conscience. If the conscience did not partake of the general corruption of man's nature, it might be a safe guide ; but obeying, as we know it does, the sinful dictates of the heart, we cannot help thinking that archbishop Whately was not far from the truth when, in reply to a man who pleaded, "My conscience leads me," he said, "Your conscience leads you! Yes, just as the horse leads you which you drive before you." Beyond question, as a general principle, as the heart is inclined, so the conscience will be inclined. The Jews had no other word for conscience but *the heart*.

Dr. Temple attempts to justify what he advances respecting conscience, by a distinction between "good actions" and "good men." His words are:—

"The difference between making conscience supreme, and making any other law or authority supreme, depends, in fact, on this. Which is it, that on earth God will have, *good actions* or *good men*?" (p. 257.)

Doubtless the object of God's word is to make good men, in order to their performing good actions; but then good men can be proved only by good actions; and to insure these actions, God's law prescribes the rule of duty, and God's Spirit gives the strength to act according to it. It would be a curious way indeed of forming good men that they should be at liberty to disbelieve God's word, and to refuse submission to duty, under the plea of conscience. And yet Dr. Temple asserts,

"To procure such men, *the voice within them must be entrusted with the absolute dominion over their lives.*" (p. 258.)

It is true, in a subsequent part of this sermon he draws a distinction between the good men, "exercised to discern good and evil," who may be trusted to the guidance of their own conscience, and bad men who may not; and then he goes on to describe what he calls "the growth of conscience," somewhat after the manner in which he had described the advance of mankind in moral discernment, from age to age, in the "Education of the World." But what is the practical utility of such a distinction as this, when no man's conscience can be a safe guide, except so far as it is enlightened and directed by the written law of God from without—that very law, of which he would make conscience the judge?

In this, and similar passages in these Sermons, we see the germ of the very same error respecting the power of conscience that disfigured his Essay. It makes the advanced Christian independent of the written Word. He is the judge of it, not it of him. In the Essay, Dr. Temple had said:—

"The *spirit*, or *conscience*, comes to full strength, and assumes the throne intended for him in the soul. As an accredited judge, invested with full powers, he sits in the tribunal of that inner kingdom,

decides upon the past and legislates upon the future, *without appeal, except to himself.* (p. 81.)

And in the Sermon, he says :—

“ *Mistaken or not, the conscience must rule the life.*” (p. 257.)

These two statements come to the same thing. The Essay and the Sermon contain substantially the same doctrine. The only difference is, that in the Sermon there is a passing recognition of the office of the Holy Spirit, though even in regard to this there is a strange inversion of the Scriptural order; for it is not *the Holy Spirit opening the soul*, but “ *the inward opening of the soul to the Holy Spirit*, which ever binds the heart to him, and makes the conscience the reflection of His will.” (p. 263.) Again :—

“ That voice is ever calling us to Him who gave it; to God the Father, who created it; to Christ, whose gospel redeemed it, purified it, fills it with power; to the Holy Spirit, speaking in the word of God, and revealing the everlasting truth.” (p. 264.)

There is a sound and a semblance of true doctrine in this passage; but, after all, it is only a sound and a semblance; for here again it is the conscience that is exalted, not the saving grace of Christ, nor the Holy Spirit; for these are represented as subsidiary, if not subordinate, to the *conscience*. The principle attempted to be established in the Sermon is that enunciated in the last sentence — “ *The Christian system is constructed for those who have strength to be free.*” (p. 265.) It is upon this principle the new School would set aside all outer religious authority, all external law, and make every man a god unto himself. A more dangerous doctrine than this for the general guidance of mankind we can hardly imagine, nor one more likely to prove subversive of God's authority, and of all positive truth. Infidelity itself can desire no more effective ally, Persecution no better authority, Libertinism no more congenial friend, than this *autonomy* of conscience.

It may not be generally known that the new race of Negative Theologians would discard the Decalogue altogether, as not being obligatory, *per se*, upon us Christians. They maintain that this is a part of the Mosaic law, and was not given to guide us. Nothing, they hold, is to be binding upon our observance but what is, in its own nature, moral, of which our own conscience or moral sense is to be the judge. The New Testament, they say, lays down *principles*, and not *laws*; that it abolishes all outer authority, and substitutes an inner in the Spirit that is given us; and that it is in the spirit, and not in the letter, we are to observe even those of the Ten Commandments which we recognize as moral in their nature, and which, as being moral, Christ so far re-enacted. But as for the Ten Commandments taken as a whole, and viewed as the rule of Christian life,

they would banish them even from the walls of our churches, and put up the Beatitudes instead (not, of course, that enforcement of "the law," to its least tittle, which follows in Matt. v.). Thus, instead of making the New Testament to confirm and complete the Law, or Old Testament, they would make it to contradict it, and render it void as an *authority*.

Dr. Temple will, no doubt, repudiate such conclusions as we have drawn from this part of his Sermons; they are not what he *intends*; but it is not his own inner intentions we have to do with, but the conclusions that necessarily follow from his premises. A false principle will necessarily issue in false conduct. There is, indeed, a measure of truth in Dr. Temple's principle; but it is just one of those half truths which, by setting up alone, bankrupt themselves and become falsehoods.

IV. The undue elevation of the Heathen is another error which runs through the Sermons as through the Essay. His idea seems to be that there was a revelation before the Bible, a revelation in the heart, which the external revelation by the inspired word only confirms, so that the Heathen were in nearly as favourable a state for attaining salvation as Jews, or as Christians. It is thus he writes on the text,—“All the promises of God in him are yea, and in him Amen.” (2 Cor. i. 2.)

“These promises, the earliest of all God's revelations, made to mankind *before even the oldest Book in the Bible was written*; these promises which the loving heart finds repeated in every page of the Bible; these promises which the Bible often reveals to us in so strange a way, making us quite unable to tell whether the word within or the word without, whether the yearnings of conscience or the oracles of the Scripture, first pronounced them in our spiritual ears; these are *above all the promises which Christ came to ratify and fulfil*. *Far deep in the heart of man there speaks a voice which calls us to God*, and promises to take us to Him. And in former days, no doubt, when *it spoke to heathens who had no revelation to interpret or confirm its sayings*, what it said must have been often strange, inarticulate, even unintelligible.” (p. 294.)

“The Bible is, as it were, the grammar and the dictionary of this spiritual language, and teaches us to interpret its accents into duties, and prayers, and hopes, and battle, and assurance of victory. But even when we have the Bible, how much study we need before we can fathom the depths of spiritual meaning contained in *the everlasting promises which God's finger hath written on the soul of man*.” (p. 294.)

“It was to confirm and fulfil these ancient, these undying promises, Christ came down to earth. The Heathen, who only knew the promise *as revealed within himself*, who only heard by accident, as it were, by fits and starts, faint calls from a distant land, faint promises of an unknown perfection,” &c. (p. 295.)

"To such a seeker after truth, the life and death of Christ, the love and sufferings of Christ, were the fullest answers."

"Here could be seen the proof that the *promises of the heart and conscience* were the promises of God; for here were seen in one Person at once the beauty of life which belongs to Divinity, and the love which answers to *these yearnings of the human heart*." (pp. 295, 296.)

We are mistaken if these statements do not strike others as a very strange interpretation of the text; and the picture of the moral state of the Heathen here drawn, as differing widely from that drawn by St. Paul. Dr. Temple's fond thoughts seem to be, that the Gospel, in its saving influence, existed before the Gospel, and that some, though only a few, were saved by it. This is what he calls "the power of the Atonement of Christ working even in those who have never heard of the Atonement." Hear him again,—

"It is the mysterious grace of God, *shed even on men who have never heard his name*, just as He causeth his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. But unaided by the power of revelation on the heart, it is so weak a power, so bare a preponderance on the side of human strength, that we might, humanly speaking, not go far wrong in denying its existence, and might almost say broadly, that no man without the aid of the Bible, and the teaching of the Bible, could live a holy life. The great lights of Heathen History would refute us, indeed, if we ventured to make our assertion universal. We could not, in the face of our knowledge, deny that *even in Heathen times God's grace has sometimes prevailed over blindness and weakness, and kindled bright lights which Christians would do well to walk by*." (p. 304.)

Any one who reads St. Paul's description of the Heathen, even of the wisest of them, in the first chapter to the Romans, and believes it, will hesitate before he affirms as much as this respecting the best of them. "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools:" is his brief, but all-inclusive condemnation. Or according to the Apostle, in another place, "God suffered *all nations to walk in their own ways*." (Acts xiv. 16.) How they walked, he tells us yet more plainly in Eph. iv. 17, 18, 19: "*In the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart: who being past feeling have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness*."

To elevate the condition of the Heathen, as Dr. Temple does, is proportionably to depress Christianity, to ascribe so much good to the one is to derogate from the other. Whatever human excellence there might be in some of them, this is not to be confounded with that distinctive character which Christianity inspires. The 13th article of our own church—an

article to which Dr. Temple must have subscribed—is decisive on this point: “Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not from faith in Jesus Christ,” &c. It is altogether an assumption, unwarranted by Scripture, that the grace of God has been shed on men independently of the Gospel.

V. The most marked feature in these Sermons of Dr. Temple is their negative character in regard to doctrines. We believe it would be impossible for any one, even the most acute, to make out a system of Christian doctrine, or to ascertain at all correctly what the writer’s creed was, from the whole of these thirty-five published Sermons. Certain we are that the boys of Rugby School, to whom they were preached, must have the most vague notions of what constitutes the Christian Faith, if they have never received any more definite religious teaching than these discourses convey. The generalities of Christian duty are largely insisted upon in them, and often with much force; but what precisely they are to believe respecting Christ and His work, respecting the Holy Spirit, respecting the way in which a man is to be saved, they would never discover from such pointless and undefined statements as form the staple of these Sermons. It is like telling a person that the planets are kept in their orbits by the power of Nature, instead of telling them it is by the Law of Gravitation, and explaining the principle of that law.

It may, perhaps, have been thought judicious not to trouble boys with dry formal definitions of doctrine, lest their minds should revolt at them. In a measure, doubtless, this would be wise. Marrowless definitions, dry technical terms, rigidly precise statements of the points of Christian belief, ideas exhibited in shivering nakedness, would, we admit, be ill suited to win the attention of young minds, or to touch young hearts. And yet, if to any class of hearers clear declarations of the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith—distinct enunciations of First Principles—explicit, though not sharply defined, doctrines were required, we should have said it was to youths’ training in the very grammar of the Christian life. Sermons might contain these without being made an “Assembly’s catechism.” The fault in the Sermons before us is, that there is *nothing* of the kind in them; all is alike vague, general, undefined. The author says a great deal about Christ without ever directly preaching Christ.

This sort of vague general dealing with religious truth, we suppose Dr. Temple would seek to justify by the example of Scripture. For he asserts in one place, “There is no trace in his” (St. Paul’s) “writings of what we should call a *system of doctrine*.” (p. 110.) How any man who has read St. Paul’s

Epistle to the Romans could make such an assertion as this, may well surprise us. Here certainly, if nowhere else, we have a system of doctrine, developed and worked out, with all the regularity of a logical thesis, from the general corruption of human nature and its totally lost condition without the Gospel, up to the culminating point of man's sanctification and glorification. Duty, too, as well as doctrine, is laid down in an orderly manner—duty, civil and social—what behoves us as members of the State and what as members of the Church. Doctrine, by the Apostle, is made, indeed, the basis of everything—the root from which all the fruits of good works are to spring—the sap that gives life to the tree—so that to any one reading St. Paul's writings with a simple eye, it is evident that doctrine is the vivifying, energizing, operative power of Christianity.

As an instance of this deficiency of doctrinal teaching, we may observe that Dr. Temple closes the Sermon on Easter-day with this statement:

“These three,—thoughtfulness, courage, and cheerfulness, are the lessons of Easter-day.”

This is all the instruction which a learned divine can derive from one of the grandest and most luminous events that ever startled a sleeping world. It is needless to remark how differently St. Paul treats the cardinal doctrine of the resurrection—what more truly spiritual, as well as deeper and higher lessons, he draws from it.

Again, in the second Sermon for Good Friday (page 370), termed “The Three Crosses,” we find him stating,—

“The *true Cross of Holiness*, He (Christ), and He alone could bear. Real as that Cross may be to us on occasions few and widely separated, yet it vanishes altogether when we think of His. *The true Cross of Holiness* he alone could bear; but between the Cross of Penitence and the Cross of Condemnation it is still ours to choose.” (p. 373.)

Such is Dr. Temple's notion of the doctrine of the Cross! The phraseology he uses is so different from anything respecting the Cross which we find in Scripture, that this alone might well prompt any one to ask, “What new doctrine is this?”

Having made these strictures upon Dr. Temple's Sermons, we feel bound, in justice to him, to acknowledge that there is very much in them to redeem them from the reflections we passed upon the Essay. They clear him, beyond question, from the charge of *Infidelity*. There is no disbelief avowed in them of any of the mysteries of the Christian Faith; on the contrary, these are touched upon reverently in various places. There are passing recognitions of Christ's work, and of the office of the Holy Spirit in the Christian economy. But then it must be remembered that

it would be difficult indeed for any man to deliver so many sermons of professedly Christian teaching without some recognition of these. The danger lies not here ; but rather in the mixture of so much truth with what we believe to be a system of error ; for it may be laid down as a sure axiom in theology, that *error is dangerous just in proportion to the quantity of truth mixed with it.*

That Dr. Temple is not aware of his own shortcomings and false conceptions as a theologian, we can fully believe. That he will be induced to examine carefully the ground on which he stands, with much prayer to God for the illumination of His Holy Spirit to lead him into the right way, is earnestly to be hoped. He has fallen, it is evident to us, a victim to that intellectuality which is the snare and chief danger of all superior minds. It is one of the most difficult things, as it is the very highest philosophy, to receive the Gospel with all the simplicity of a little child.

There cannot be a doubt that an attempt is now being very extensively made to *Germanize* our pure English theology by the importation into it of the worst errors of a presumptuous Rationalism. This is an evil which must be carefully watched and steadfastly withstood. The smallest traces of it must be noted, and its more subtle forms exposed. It hides itself under very plausible appearances, and makes its appeal to feelings it is very hard to suppress. Our own hearts, not God's attributes, are constituted by it the chief exponents of what is right, and true, and good. The whole character of God is resolved into the one principle of *lovingkindness* ; as if lovingkindness or *love* could exist, in a perfect moral Being, apart from jealousy, and anger at evil, and righteous vengeance against wrong. These are correlative principles. But this divine philosophy is what the Rationalists dislike, and seem unable to understand. We have heard one of the not most advanced of this new School say, that he should like to see the good old English word "*lovingkindness*" substituted for the word "*grace*," wherever it occurs in Scripture. This shows the tendency of the spirit of the system. It cannot look stern truths in the face. It cannot endure to view the Almighty in the awfully severe though unspeakably loving aspect of the cross of Christ. It would make that tender which Scripture speaks of as just, and that loving which Scripture speaks of as righteous, and that feeble which Scripture represents as the triumph of strength. It would humanize what is divinely holy ; and lower to the level of a mere earthly affection that which was the manifestation of a sublime celestial principle. Here is a specimen of the kind of representation we allude to :—

"The grief which a father feels over the misconduct of a son, the

pang of a mother when her child has proved unworthy, these may give us some idea of the burden which He bore, upon whom our Father in heaven laid the iniquity of us all. And as there is no human power which can so deeply touch the soul of a sinner as the sorrow which his sin has brought on a loved and loving heart, so we may recognize in this sorrow *the human counterpart of that His one Atonement, which heals all the sons of men* and brings them back to God." (p. 371.)

Language like this may easily deceive the uninitiated. It looks like Scripture truth, because it interweaves some Scripture expressions into its texture; but those who know the opinions of the new School, know that there is an esoteric sense in which such expressions as "*laid on Him the iniquity of us all,*" are used by writers of this class. In the passage quoted, and in several similar ones in these Sermons, the idea evidently is, that Christ bore our sins in the same sense only as a parent may be said to bear the sins of his disobedient child, in the affliction which they lay upon his soul. This is a very inadequate way of representing the principle of substitution. But substitution is what these divines deny. And therefore, though they adopt such expressions from Scripture as "*Christ died for our sins,*" it is with a latent meaning of their own they use them. It contradicts, they say, their notions of equity or moral right, that the innocent should have to suffer the penalty due to the guilty, and that at the hand of Infinite Justice. And yet the fact remains, even by their own admission, that the innocent did suffer for the guilty, in the person of the Son of God. This was, for some reason or other, a part of that economy of redemption, which, if there be one particle of truth in the Bible, the Almighty has established. They overlook the fact, that every truth of God in relation to man is composed of two terms which must be harmonized, and which does not become truth to us but by their reconciliation. The two terms in this case are, God's mercy and God's justice. These two have to be reconciled, so that the one shall not infringe upon nor annul the other; and nowhere are these reconciled but in the cross of Christ, viewed in its twofold aspect, or as it relates to God on the one side and man on the other.

The desire to be wise *above* what is written, and to put human reason in the place of Divine revelation, is the peculiar peril of an inquiring age like the present. Men want fully to comprehend everything; and what they cannot comprehend, that they will not believe. Hence they invent systems of their own, in which all is clear, because they limit their views to only a part: and all looks very simple, because it is truth seen only on one side.

It is with unfeigned regret we are obliged to speak of these Sermons as thus unsatisfactory. We should have rejoiced had Dr. Temple been able to clear himself from public distrust, as the head master of one of the most distinguished schools in the

kingdom for the education of our higher class of youths. He has given us the opportunity now of judging of his system more fully. It is quite right a *locus penitentiæ* should be granted him. No Christian man will hastily condemn another. Had we found certain received doctrines of the church positively and distinctly enunciated, his vindication, though not complete, would have been so far satisfactory. But the character of these Sermons is negative rather than positive. There is lacking in them those *unequivocal* forms of expression of Christian doctrine which none could mistake; and when we know that such expressions as "atonement," "justification by faith," "sacrifice," "the cross," "righteousness," have all a new meaning attached to them by the new school, we may justly feel mistrust where the sense in which these are used is not defined. Dr. Temple may think it hard to be thus judged; but we are bound to judge him as much by what he does not say as by what he does say, when he comes before us professedly as a teacher of Scripture truth; just as a physician would judge of the state of his patient, not merely by what he might state respecting himself, but by those symptoms which the physician's own diagnosis had told him were the signs and proofs of the existence of a certain form of disease. Dr. Temple has not yet cleared himself from the suspicions that had attached to him. Would that we could see him restored to the confidence of the church! He may have been unfortunate in his associations; and if, as we are ready to believe, he has been led unwittingly into a false position, it behoves him to give some explicit proof of this, and to disconnect himself wholly from opinions with which his name has become ingloriously identified. To kick a fallen man, would be cowardly in the extreme; to help him to recover himself, is the part of a Christian. "If a brother be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." (Gal. v. 1.) It is for Dr. Temple to say whether his fault was one which overtook him, or one which he knowingly embraced with a determination to defy the general opinion. Charity hopes the former; truth, as yet, demands belief of the latter. He has come into court for judgment, and we honestly give our decision.

As regards the style in which Dr. Temple's Sermons are written, there is much to admire. It is not the language we find fault with, but the doctrine. The style may be truly described by the well-known expression, *simplex munditiis*. There is a chaste simplicity, a classical neatness in the dress in which the thoughts are clothed. In this respect they remind us of the sermons of the late archdeacon Manning, the style of which served to make a germinating Romanism so attractive to many minds till its fungus offended them. There is a fresh-

ness and a greenness in the forms of expression, which is like the fresh and tender green of the young leaves of spring. This is very pleasing. There is also in them much that is true, and just, and beautiful in thought. But we must not allow this to cause us to overlook, or to speak lightly of, the latent Rationalism that runs through them. Like a vein of mineral in the earth, this, though it disappears now and then for a space, is clearly traceable. And this is what vitiates them. They are moulded and formed after a new type of thought. Their doctrine is neither that of the old "high and dry" School, nor of the later and more vital Evangelical. It is a new School, called, by way of distinction, Neologian, which is trying to force itself up, and to overlay our received theology with its own obscurities, in the form of novel interpretations. It would substitute a misty Rationalism in the place of the pure dry light of Heaven. It is a coin from the mint of intellectual conceit. And the danger is, that the distinguished names of its authors will help to give it currency; as men in general are more influenced by *names* than by *things*, by *persons* than by *principles*, in adopting any set of opinions. Many will be too ready to say, "If such learned men as Dr. Temple and Professor Jowett are wrong, who then can be right?"

It may be laid down as a general rule—though it is a rule the world will always be slow to give heed to—that men of great talent are, in matters of religion, the least to be trusted. Elated with intellectual pride, and carried away by the cometic power of their own minds, they are apt to rush daringly into the regions of speculation; to hazard opinions, the foundations of which they have never stooped to examine, or the consequences of which they will not see; and thus they startle and surprise the world with new and paradoxical doctrines, and dazzle men only to mislead. They want to appear original, and so, to appear original, they become erroneous. It is a remarkable fact, that almost all departures from the Faith have originated with the reputedly learned; that almost all assaults upon the stronghold of God's word have been made by the intellectually mighty; that almost every error which has gained currency among mankind has been gilded at its issue with the fine gold of natural genius. It was unlettered fishermen who first taught the Truth—it is philosophers who corrupt it. Hence the necessity to all of acting upon the caution given by the great Apostle: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." (Col. ii. 8.)

We are sincerely sorry to have to repeat such a warning to Dr. Temple. May he yet be led to reconsider the whole question of Scripture doctrine, and to profit by the warnings he receives.

A truly wise man will be willing to learn even from his intel-

lectual inferiors. But what it behoves all Rationalists most to remember is, that reason, as it exists in men, is only our intellectual eye, and that, like the eye, to see it needs light, and that it can never see clearly or far without the light of heaven. "Wisdom," as the simple-minded Wordsworth has well said, "is oftentimes nearer when we stoop than when we soar."

THE FUTURE DESTINY OF THE JEWS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

It cannot have escaped observation, that the question concerning the future destiny of the Jews is becoming more and more a public and practical question. I need only refer to the fact of the venerable Dr. Marsh proposing it as the theme of prayer for the Christian world this year; and also that our excellent brother, Dr. Cumming, is pointing out to us, in eloquent harangues, that it is at once our interest, our duty, and our mission as a nation, to forward, physically and materially, the return of the Jews to Palestine, as the first and foremost of the great events that are coming upon the earth. The matter thus assumes a startling significance; and one can scarcely conceive of a subject on which it is more desirable to have settled views.

Unfortunately, however, my own mind—and I believe I speak for many others—is far from being settled on this matter. We sincerely envy the delightful facility of apprehension and freedom from difficulties which some of our brethren seem to enjoy. It is not so with us. Whether the prejudices of education in another school cling too pertinaciously to us, or (as we are sometimes informed) we have not yet received that special illumination which this subject requires, I know not; but certain it is that some of us are constantly praying for light, and studying the sacred word with all the impartiality we can command, and yet no further light comes, and we feel more than ever perplexed and distressed.

Inasmuch, then, as the Lord's people speak often one to another, and the Lord hearkens; and since one of the laws of the church is that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety;" it has occurred to me that an appeal to one's brethren through your pages might be the means of drawing out some dispassionate, and condensed and satisfactory explanations.

If I may venture to suggest a thought or two as to my position, I would say that the point wherein my difficulties seem to centre, is the literal return and national restoration of the Jews in Palestine. Of the final and full *conversion* to Christ of this wonderful people, and its blessed sequences, as indicated in the 11th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, I have no

doubt. But I do not see the same, or indeed any sufficient warrant in God's word, for our belief in their restoration to their ancient land and peculiar privileges as a people. I do not deny that this thing may be, and that there is some probability of it, and that it would have a very powerful effect upon the nations of the earth; but I want to see the matter, which some affirm to be as distinct as the doctrine of the atonement, more clearly, ere I can accept it and act upon it as a yet unfulfilled part of the covenant promises of Jehovah.

The "literal return," then, is the point to be kept in view. It may be convenient to subdivide it into four heads, which will be found to cover the whole of the question. 1. There are the extra-Scriptural arguments; 2. there are those arising from the Abrahamic covenant; 3. from the Prophets; 4. from the New Testament references. The difficulties that seem to me to arise under these several heads are the following:—

1. The extra-Scriptural arguments. It is frequently said, "Look at the Jew, what else is he reserved for amongst the nations of the earth?" It strikes me that this argument, from the present existence of the Jew, if valid for the return of Judah, must be taken as equally valid against the return of the "lost" tribes. Again, it is sometimes argued that the Jewish people are the most down-trodden on the face of the earth; indeed it is necessary to make them out to be such, in order that the language of the Prophets should apply to them. But here, I cannot fail to perceive an inconsistency; an inconsistency with facts. Is it so? Are not the Jews high, very high in the scale of social and moral condition, above most of the Gentile nations—the North American Indians, the Fee-jee islanders, and the natives of Central Africa, for example. There appears also an inconsistency in the views entertained on this matter by our friends on the other side themselves. Are not the Jews sometimes held up on our platforms as possessing half the wealth of the world, and being equally intelligent, learned, and influential? How can these statements be said to harmonize?

Once more I find another difficulty here. Of this so-called down-trodden race, upon whom a judicial blindness is supposed to rest, and who must wait till another dispensation open to them the spiritual advantages which the Gentiles are now enjoying, it is found that during the last forty or fifty years actually a larger proportion have been converted and saved, than of Gentiles during the same period.

2. We come next to the bearing of the Abrahamic covenant upon this question. I need not say how frequently this covenant is referred to as yet standing over and waiting its accomplishment. I have heard an excellent and popular clergyman at a Jews' meeting base his remarks on Genesis xv.; "That land," he contended, "thus promised to

Abraham in covenant, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, had not been granted yet, and therefore the Jews are still reserved to the full inheriting of that promise." More than this, I have understood that the Principal of one of our missionary colleges positively teaches that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob must be raised up from the dead, in order that God's promise of "this land" should be verified to them personally and individually.

Now, I must say, I have never listened to statements of this kind without feeling puzzled and pained. "What a handle," I have said to myself, "does this offer to the infidel! For what promise or prediction in God's word *can* be said to have been fulfilled, if this has not been?"

But here is the great difficulty. There are passages in God's word which directly and absolutely declare the fulfilment of this very promise. Take two or three. "This good land which the Lord your God hath given you . . . not one thing hath failed of all the good things which the Lord your God spake concerning you." (Josh. xxiii. 13, 14.) "But when the time of the promise drew nigh which God had sworn to Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt." (Acts. vii. 17.) "Thou art the Lord the God, who didst choose Abram, . . . and madest a covenant with him to give the land of the Canaanites, &c., to give it, I say, to his seed, and hast performed thy words; for thou art righteous." (Nehem. ix. 7, 8.) Still further; I turn to Solomon's reign, and find the boundaries of the kingdom extending to the limits which God had intimated to the patriarch. "And at that time Solomon held a feast, and all Israel with him, a great congregation from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt. . . . Solomon reigned over all the kingdoms, from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt;" which is thus explained in the "Biblical Encyclopædia": "By his alliance with Egypt and Tyre he held sway over all the countries between the Nile and the Euphrates, and even over some districts beyond the latter river." Whether the "river of Egypt" means the Nile or the Sihor, is of no consequence; God's promise was literally and accurately fulfilled. I see no room, therefore, for any further temporal inheritance to Israel in respect of this Abrahamic covenant.

(3.) The arguments founded upon the language of the *Prophets* follow in order. These seem the stronghold of our brethren on the other side; and when any question arises, we are always referred to some sublime passage in Isaiah, which, it must be confessed, often appears very overwhelming at the time; at least with the particular construction put upon it. But, upon sober reflection, many difficulties seem to present themselves as to the fairness and propriety of this construction. I will mention two in connection with the prophets. The

first is, that we find a literal fulfilment of much that the prophets wrote interposed and narrated in Scripture itself in the historical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The question is the point of time to which the prophets refer. Now, if we find other inspired writers, later in date, announcing both in terms and in facts the accomplishment of those predictions, it seems to me that we are bound to accept them as so far fulfilled. Take a general view of the prophets. With the exception of two, they all wrote before the return from the captivity, many of them two or three hundred years before. Their burden consists of threatenings and denunciations against Israel first, and then against the surrounding heathen nations. This is followed by encouraging promises to Israel alone, as God's chosen people. True, they should go into captivity for seventy years; but then, whilst their enemies would be destroyed, they should return and be blessed. Now we find all this literally fulfilled, and not left to be gathered from inference or tradition, but distinctly recorded in the same word which contains the prophecy. In the books of Kings and Chronicles, in the books of Esther and Daniel, we find Israel's punishment, and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah we find Israel's forgiveness and restoration to their own land. Let me illustrate this point. We are referred to the 3rd of Hosea, and are told that this is descriptive of Israel's present condition, and in no way associated with their past history. But we find even Scott allowing that there has been such a connection. "The Jews," he says, "remained for several years without these advantages during the Babylonish captivity." But observe the state of the case. Hosea writes B. C. 820, that is, in the reign of Jeroboam II., and long before either of the captivities. Let us put this prophecy, therefore, in the place where it synchronises—say in the 14th of 2 Kings, or in the 25th of 2 Chronicles. Now, read the account of Israel (to whom particularly Hosea was sent), and mark how exactly the *sins* of the people agree with those described by Hosea. Observe especially the 17th of 2 Kings, and the 13th verse: "Yet the Lord testified against Israel and against Judah, by *all* the prophets and by *all* the seers, saying, Turn ye . . . notwithstanding they would not hear . . . therefore the Lord rejected all the seed of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the hands of the spoilers." All this is in the past tense, and therefore necessarily referring to past punishment. Equally certain is it that Hosea was one of those prophets who were sent to teach and to warn Israel, and to announce impending judgments, if they repented not. Indeed, it would seem a strange thing to suppose a prophet referring to sins prevalent in his day, and then to threaten with chastisement and comfort with promises due some thousands of years after, and even yet not fulfilled. Is it not more natural and probable that these promises were

intended to support the captive Jews during their seventy years' exile, and were literally fulfilled in the return from Babylon?

Or we are referred to Isaiah lxx. 20, 21, and we are asked, where and when has this prediction of prosperity been fulfilled? I should reply, in the times of the return as recorded in Ezra and Nehemiah. For what do we read there? "And when the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel were in the cities, the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem and they sang together by course in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord; because he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever towards Israel." "And they kept the feast of unleavened bread with joy; for the Lord had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel." "O Lord God of Israel, thou art righteous; for we remain yet escaped, as it is this day." And so Nehemiah afterwards. "Also that day they offered great sacrifices, and rejoiced; for God had made them rejoice with great joy: the wives also and the *children* rejoiced; so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off." It seems to me that declarations of this kind must be taken into account somehow and somewhere.

But, observe further, the most distinct assertions, that the events of this return (however inadequate they may seem to our minds) were the very events in the minds of the prophets when they wrote. Esra commences his book thus: "Now in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia," who is presently found saying: "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and hath charged me to build him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah." "Let the house be builded in the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof three-score cubits, and the breadth thereof three-score cubits, with three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber." Where are these details to be found but in Ezekiel?

And so even of the later prophets Haggai and Zechariah, we find some at least of the substance of their predictions fulfilled at this time. "Then the prophets Haggai and Zechariah prophesied unto the Jews, that were in Judah and Jerusalem, in the name of the God of Israel, even unto them." And we learn what they prophesied by the effect produced "*Then*, rose up Zerubbabel—and began to build the house of God." And so again to the same purport: "And the elders of the Jews builded and they prophesied, through the prophesying of Haggai, the prophet, and Zechariah, the son of Iddo. And they builded and finished it, according to the commandment of

the God of Israel." This determination of the point of time to which the prophets are declared to have referred, carries a great deal with it. Our brethren, on the other side, rarely refer to this self-interpreting part of Scripture. Indeed, Nehemiah and Esra might be expunged from God's word, for all the notice that is taken of them in many prophetic books. And it is in consequence of overlooking this, that these same brethren continually charge us with not taking God's Word literally. "You give the Jews the curses," they say, "and spiritualize the blessings, or appropriate them to yourselves." This is constantly reiterated at our Jewish meetings. Nothing can be more incorrect. We fully accept the literality of Scripture, and we alone, so it seems to me, can and do point to its fulfilment. What the prophets foretold, we say has been accomplished to the letter; while the heathen nations around—proud Babylon, Moab, Egypt, Tyre—were turned upside down, and left to their fate, the little nation of the Jews was again brought forward even out of Babylon, their walls and temple rebuilt, their services resumed, and their vines and fig-trees cultivated. Here is certainly a literal fulfilment.

But it will be said, is this all you make of the testimony of the prophets? Certainly not. Shining through and extending far beyond all these literal references, were far more important, because spiritual references to the doctrines of Christ, and the glories of the Gospel. The Jews were a typical nation, and their dispensation a foreshadow and preparation for the gospel. We are not left to conjecture here; the quotations made in the New Testament from the Old, seem to settle the question. A few will suffice:—"The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." "Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One." "This said Esaias, when he saw His glory and spake of Him." "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: *ought not* Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself."

And if we want to know what these things were, let us turn to the Epistles, and there we shall find the prophets quoted abundantly, and always spiritualized. For example: "Even *us*, whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles?" As he saith also in Hosea, "I will call them my people which were not my people and her beloved which was not beloved. For ye *are* the temple of the living God." As God hath said, "I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." *Therefore*, that is, on the strength of this, you Corinthians, now at once—

come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you. And I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

So also in the Acts, (on the day of Pentecost), "This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel." And again, in the 15th chapter, at the first council in Jerusalem, when St. James, after St. Peter, is insisting upon the admission of the Gentiles into the churches, "And to this agree the words of the prophets, as it is written: After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: *that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles.*" All this is clearly a present and spiritual meaning. And so in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "But ye *are come* unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, 'therefore we, receiving a kingdom, which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear.'"

Thus, I imagine, it may be urged with considerable force that in this way the Jewish element in the prophets is exhausted; first, in the literal and typical fulfilment in past days, and now in their enjoyment of gospel blessings, only save and except the fulness of the latter yet waiting accomplishment, and perhaps at this moment travailing in the birth. At any rate, it becomes those who so freely quote the prophets as to a still future Jewish temporal dispensation and earthly prosperity, to show very good and positive grounds remaining, after taking the principles of the self-interpretation of Scripture, thus illustrated, into consideration.

(4.) And now, lastly, we come to the references found in the New Testament itself. Here two further difficulties present themselves to my mind. First, the ominous silence of the New Testament on the subject of the Jews' return to their own land. I need not enter into a discussion of the passages which may be said to have a bearing on the subject; suffice it to say, they are but few and far between; and are, in no one case that I am aware of, in the least direct. "How is it," one asks oneself, "that the clearer and professedly final revelations of God's will to individuals and to the church at large, while entering into the utmost *minutiae* as to present duties, and future events even out to the very boundaries of time, should omit altogether, in a way of direct teaching, any reference to this remarkable event in the world's temporal and spiritual history?"

Again, is not such a return, with its accompaniments and consequences as affirmed, contrary to the whole spirit of the New Testament? There is no more sacrifice for sin, no more altars, nor priests, nor temples made with hands, since Jesus has gathered up all types unto himself; and yet here there is to be

—and that, we are told, not only *de facto* but *de jure*—a temple and sacrifice offered unto God ! The apostles were ever preaching against semi-Judaism, and telling us that the wall of partition is taken away, and there is now neither Jew nor Greek, but we are all one in Christ Jesus. Yet here is to be thorough-going Judaism, or, at least, a semi-Judaism, revived ; tribes recognized, an earthly inheritance, and an earthly glory, and that for ever ! This seems to me going backwards,—the noble river, just issuing into the ocean, contracting again to its diminutive proportions at first, and altogether contradicting the spirit of the grand universal purposes of Christianity. Of course, I should believe and accept it if it was pointed out and proved in Scripture, especially in the last testament and revelation of Jehovah. But is it written there ? This seems to be the question.

Such are some of the chief difficulties I seem to encounter whenever the Jewish subject rises before me. I have put them in a strong form, in order to exhibit clearly, to any Christian brother who may feel disposed to assist me, the real points of departure between us on which I seek help and direction. I know that it is very easy to start objections, and that some objections must necessarily lie against everything, even against truth itself. But I cannot help thinking, that upon a calm review of the matter, it will be seen that there is much solid weight to be attached to the difficulties I have suggested as a whole ; and that they require at least a thorough investigation, if not a certain amount of answer and removal, before the system at the very threshold of which they lie can be admitted as probable or true.

B.

[NOTE.—We are not convinced by the arguments of B. He has not shaken us in our belief of a literal restoration. It still seems to us that the Scriptures which foretold a literal dispersion are not a whit more precise than those which still foretell a literal restoration ; nor before their accomplishment were the difficulties which surrounded them by any means greater than those which now surround the yet unfulfilled predictions of a literal return. To most of these difficulties we think bishop Butler's canon applies ; namely, that where one part of a prophecy is clear, and the rest obscure, that which is clear is not affected by that which is obscure ; inasmuch as the obscure portion is to us as though it had no existence.

Still we do not undervalue such communications. We think that, just at present, they may serve some useful ends. They may remind us of the great importance of maintaining nothing as scriptural truth, especially in public, without being well able to support it. Traditional statements, often repeated because often made before, conventional phrases to conceal the want of accurate knowledge, and so forth, will not serve our purpose,

either from the pulpit, the platform, or the press, in the face of objections such as now rise up everywhere to confront us. And we may learn, again, not to assume too readily that all who agree with us in the great doctrines of protestant and evangelical truth, agree with us in all our details of exposition, especially on the subject of prophecy. We might cite the author of the foregoing papers in illustration,—an evangelical clergyman, occupying a most important post, yet differing, probably, from the majority of his evangelical brethren on a point of no less interest than the literal restoration of the Jews. In this, however, perhaps, we may be wrong: for when Scott wrote his Commentary, the views which “B.” still advocates were all but universal.—EDITOR.]

ON THE OBLATION OF THE BREAD AND WINE IN THE EUCCHARIST.

THE question of the oblation of the elements in the Lord’s Supper has acquired fresh interest from the bishop of Exeter’s* recent communication to one of his archdeacons on the subject of church rates. We take the liberty of transcribing in italics the more important clauses of the following extract from his lordship’s letter:—

“In examining the list of strictly necessary charges (on account of which church rates require to be collected), the first particular is at once the largest and most important,—*the supplying the elements at the Holy Communion*. But this, I hesitate not to say, is most unfit to be made a charge on any man. *None but those who actually communicate*, ought to be, I will not say compelled, *but permitted, to contribute*. In the primitive church, to make offerings of bread and wine, out of which the elements were taken, was a privilege from which all but the faithful were strictly excluded. . . . To carry out this principle in consistence with our present object, the simplest and easiest method would probably be, to take the cost of the bread and wine *out of the money collected at the offertory*; and we need not doubt that devout communicants would offer somewhat more largely in consideration of this charge.”

Now, the plan here proposed for providing the bread and wine for the communion is brought forward in such direct and open terms, that churchmen may well feel jealous of the ultimate object. The *animus* of this proposal—and we doubt not that his lordship, were the question courteously put to him, would at

* See Christian Observer, April 1861, p. 314.

once frankly avow the purpose which he has in view—may be not obscurely gathered from what bishop Philpott says, in his letter to Dr. Lushington, of the rubric which immediately precedes the prayer for the church militant. We first cite the rubric itself:—

“And when there is a communion, the priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient.”

This rubric, as is well known, was introduced into our Prayer-book, for the first time, at the “Last Revision, in 1661—2. The bishop of Exeter says* of it:—

“The real intention of the rubric was to ENFORCE *the church's doctrine of the eucharist* in one of its not least important particulars; to enforce an OBLATION of bread and wine, in the thankful acknowledgment of the Great Author and Giver of all good things (especially of those good things with which he is pleased to appoint that our bodies be strengthened and refreshed), in order that, with the elements thus made sacred by being offered to God and placed on his holy table, which (we know from our Lord's own words) sanctifieth the gifts placed upon it, we may make commemoration of the sacrifice of his death.”

In Matt. xxiii. 19, we read these words:—“Whether is greater, the gift, or the altar which sanctifieth the gift?” According, then, to the bishop of Exeter, the communion table in the holy eucharist would seem to be an altar. The first Prayer-book of Edward VI., to which his lordship, in his letter to the arch-deacon, appears to wish to bring us back, would perhaps justify this view; for there the rubric directs “the bread and wine to be set upon the altar.” Why, then, did our reformers, when they had become better instructed in the letter and the spirit of the New Testament, carefully and deliberately exclude the word altar from the communion rubrics? Surely it was in order to teach Anglican communicants that the piece of church furniture on which the paten with the bread, and the chalice or cup with the wine, are placed at the communion, is a table and not an altar. But this weighty (though inferential) rubrical protest against the notion that the communion table is an altar is, to say the least, by no means favourable to their view who assert that, in the reformed Anglican church, the bread and wine are to be looked upon as oblations in the strict and literal ecclesiastical meaning of that term.

The following fact, brought forward in a layman's letter to the bishop of Exeter, may perhaps make candid high-churchmen, even of the Laudian school, pause before they accept his lordship's assertion, that an oblation of the elements in the eucharist is the peremptory law and doctrine of the church of

* We have here also marked in italics the clauses which bear more especially upon the question before us.

England as at present constituted. They may think that it ought to be, and wish that it were so. But this is very different from believing that what they approve and desire is the real and undoubted law and doctrine of our Prayer-book :—

“I would again* revert, for an instant, to page 32 of your Lordship’s ‘Letter to Dr. Lushington,’ wherein you state your opinion that the object of the reformers (? revisers) was to establish and set forth the duty of an oblation when placing the bread and wine upon the table. Is your lordship aware that, upon that occasion, when archbishop Sancroft proposed to insert in the rubric the words, ‘offer up, and,’ by which the rubric would have been in these words :—‘And when there is a communion, the priest shall then *offer up, and* place upon the table so much bread and wine, &c.’; that the proposition to insert the words, ‘*offer up, and,*’ was deliberately rejected? It would therefore appear that, instead of there being oversight and remissness on the part of those who wished to introduce the *oblation of bread and wine*, in making arrangements necessary to the due carrying out of such intention, that the proposition itself, though actually made, was overruled by the more faithful members of that commission; by the more consistent and devoted advocates of the reformation.”

Sancroft did not become archbishop of Canterbury until 1677, when he succeeded Sheldon in the primacy; the latter was elevated to that dignity in 1663, on the death of Juxon. Sancroft continued in the primacy until 1691, when, refusing to take the oaths to the new sovereigns, William and Mary, he was deprived of the archiepiscopal see.

It is, perhaps, natural, at the present crisis, that they who duly appreciate the blessings of the protestant reformation should trace the hand of an overruling Providence in the failure and disappointment of Sancroft and his supporters. Had they been content to borrow and partially repeat the language of the rubric which immediately follows the sentences of the offertory, and proposed the second rubric (which immediately precedes the Prayer for the Church Militant) under something like the following form—“And when there is a communion, the priest shall then humbly and reverently present and place upon the holy table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient”—they might possibly have been so far successful. And if this had been accomplished, how different would be, at the present time, the power of such prelates as the bishops of Exeter and Oxford! The former could have then triumphantly pointed to the terms “humbly and reverently PRESENT and place the bread and wine,” and have in the spirit, (but doubtless then with better

* “A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Exeter, in reference to his Lordship’s Letter to Dr. Lushington, on his Judgment in the Cause of Westerton v. Liddell (Clerk), by William Peace, a Layman.”

ground and warrant,) of archdeacon Denison,* rigorously enforced upon all candidates for ordination in his diocese, on pain of summary rejection, a subscription of their assent and consent to a formal declaration that the oblation of the elements in the eucharist is truly and certainly the law and doctrine of the church of England. His lordship's episcopal brother could, with a plausible exercise of authority, have peremptorily insisted on the erection of credence tables in all the new churches and chapels of the diocese of Oxford. He could also have proceeded more courageously to accomplish a full and entire union between the Anglican church, which certainly does not offer up the eucharistic elements, and the Scottish episcopal church, which does offer them up, and which, a few years ago, held out the right hand of fellowship to English Tractarianism.

An oblation is something which we ourselves provide at our own expense; and that cannot be called our oblation which is provided by others. And one of the rubrics at the end of the communion service would seem especially to set aside the idea of oblation, by directing that that "the bread and wine be provided by the curate and churchwardens at the charges of the parish."

Again: an oblation is something which we expressly present and offer up to God. Sancroft was aware of this when he wished to add to the new rubric the deliberately rejected words, "offer up, and." All will allow that "the alms and other devotions of the people" have the nature of an oblation; and the rubric which immediately precedes the sentences that are to be read before the collection of the alms directs the priest to "begin the OFFERTORY (the oblation service) by reading one or more of the sentences following."

And what is the language of the rubric which immediately follows the sentences?

"Whilst these sentences are in reading, the deacons, churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people, in a decent basin to be provided by the parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the priest, who shall humbly *present* and place it upon the holy table."

And what are the words of the rubric on which the bishop of Exeter lays such stress, as a church-enforcement of the doctrine of the oblation of the elements?

"And when there is a communion, the priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient."

* Few acts are, *prima facie*, more unjust than archdeacon Denison's apparent breach of trust in endeavouring to enforce, as the bishop's examining chaplain, his own views of the real presence in the eucharist upon candidates for orders. We purposely use the word *apparent*, for we have ever felt a strong persuasion that the archdeacon could not have pursued such a course without the privy and approbation of his bishop.

It has been pertinently asked by a writer on the subject of the oblation of the elements—

“Of these two directions in our Prayer-book, which is it that conveys more distinctly the idea of an *oblation*? Most people will think that the oblations, the acceptance of which we supplicate in the prayer immediately following, are not the bread and wine (provided *at the charges of the parish*) which we are merely directed to *place* upon the table, but the devout offerings of the communicants themselves, which we are directed *humbly to present* as well as place. For an oblation, surely, is not merely something that we *place*, but something that we *humbly present*.” *

This writer might, perhaps, have still further illustrated the intimate connexion between *oblation* and presentation from a passage (borrowed from Rom. xii. 1) in the post-communion prayer which immediately follows the Lord's Prayer:—

“And here we OFFER and PRESENT unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee.”

The writer just quoted comments temperately and judiciously upon the bishop of Exeter's assertion, that “the elements of bread and wine are made sacred by being offered to God, and placed on His holy table.”

“‘Nor can we,’ says he, in his letter to the bishop, ‘understand to what purpose the elements, as your lordship suggests, should be thus made sacred by being offered to God, and placed on His holy table,’ seeing that, in the communion service, a prayer of consecration follows; and therefore, to make them sacred by previous ‘oblation,’ seems, to say the least, superfluous.

“Indeed, it can hardly excite surprise if, in these days of just apprehension and suspicion as to every attempted modification and innovation in our church service as usually performed, special alarm should be excited by any proposal to establish a twofold consecration of the elements. For if, when the elements are first placed on the holy table, they are already by that act made sacred, then, what is it that the priest really does to them, when, subsequently, laying his hand on the bread, he says, **THIS IS MY BODY**; and, laying his hand on the chalice, he says, **THIS IS MY BLOOD**? What does he **THEN**? Does he simply consecrate the elements? No! they are consecrated already. They are already made sacred by oblation. Then, **WHAT**? I will not offend your lordship by giving utterance to that which many will deem the obvious, the only answer. Suffice it, then, to say, it is utterly inconceivable that our church, by which consubstantiation is ignored and transubstantiation repudiated, could really have contemplated a first and second consecration of the bread and the wine.”

CLERICUS.

* “The Oblation of the Elements and the Credence Tables, &c. By Rev. Thomas Boys, M.A.”

REVIEW OF BUCKLE ON CIVILIZATION, AND DU CHAILLUS' ADVENTURES IN AFRICA.

1. *The History of Modern Civilization.* By Henry Thomas Buckle. Vol. 2. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.
2. *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa.* By Paul B. du Chaillu. London: Murray. 1861.

WE were glad to observe, some two or three months ago, the expulsion of the *Essays and Reviews* from the house of Messrs. J. W. Parker and Son. It always seemed to us a mistake that the book had ever been admitted on their list. A house first introduced among London publishers by the University of Cambridge and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, seemed hardly following its vocation, when it produced books calculated to promote doubt, if not disbelief, respecting the Scriptures, and the Christian faith. We rejoiced, therefore, when we observed the dissolution of a connection which ought never to have been formed.

But these feelings were greatly changed, or rather were reversed, when we took up Messrs. Parker's monthly list for May, and found, standing between a book by the *archbishop of Dublin* and one by the *dean of Westminster*, the announcement of a second volume of Mr. Buckle's *History of Civilization*. That our readers may understand the character of this book, we give them a single extract. No one, we feel certain, would wish to have his eyes or his heart pained by a second. The following brief sentences will speak for themselves:—

“Of two things, choose one. Either deny the Omniscience of the Creator, or else admit it. If you deny it, you deny what, to my mind at least, is a fundamental truth, and on these matters there can be no sympathy between us. But if you admit the Omniscience of God, beware of libelling what you profess to defend. For, when you assert what is termed the moral government of the world, you slander Omniscience, inasmuch as you declare that the mechanism of the entire universe, including the actions both of nature and of man, planned as it is by Infinite Wisdom, is unequal to its duties, unless that same wisdom does from time to time interfere with it. You assert, in fact, either that Omniscience has been deceived, or that Omnipotence has been defeated. Surely, they who believe, and whose pride and happiness it is to believe, that there is a power above all and before all, knowing all, and creating all, ought not to fall into such a snare as this. They who, dissatisfied with this little world of sense, seek to

raise their minds to something which the senses are unable to grasp, can hardly fail, on deeper reflection, to perceive how coarse and material is that theological prejudice, which ascribes to such a power the vulgar functions of a temporal ruler, arrays him in the garb of an earthly potentate, and represents him as meddling here and meddling there, uttering threats, inflicting punishments, and bestowing rewards. These are base and grovelling conceptions, the offspring of ignorance and of darkness. Such gross and sordid notions are but one remove from actual idolatry. They are the draff and offal of a by-gone age, and we will not have them obtruded on us."

Thus Mr. Buckle does not, like the authors of *Essays and Reviews*, raise doubts, propose new interpretations, or question the uniform and entire inspiration of Scripture. By a much shorter course, he discards it altogether. From the first page of Genesis to the last page of Revelation, it is, in his view, *utterly false*. From the first page of Genesis to the last page of Revelation, Scripture sets forth to us the constant interference of God in the affairs of men;—and Mr. Buckle would as readily give credit to the dreams of Mahomet, or the romances of the *Arabian Nights*. A Deity "meddling here and meddling there, uttering threats, inflicting punishments, bestowing rewards," is, he says, "a base and grovelling conception, the offspring of ignorance and of darkness." And this is the writer who, in Messrs. Parker's list, appears, as it were, arm-in-arm with archbishop Whateley and dean Trench. We know not whether a portion of the publications of the *Christian Knowledge Society* are not still issued from Messrs. Parker's shop. Is it possible to avoid thinking of the words of the Apostle: "Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree bear olive berries, or a vine, figs? So can no fountain yield both salt water and fresh." Yet "out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing! My brethren, these things ought not so to be."

Our chief object, however, is not so much to comment on the inconsistent conduct of Messrs. Parker, as to warn those of our readers who may be members of book-clubs and reading societies. So popular a title as "The History of Civilization," and so respectable a publishing-house as that of Messrs. Parker, may entrap many unsuspecting persons to order a volume, which, when procured they will find to be a production only fit for the shop of Mr. Holyoake.

II. Partly with the object, again, of forewarning those of our readers who may belong to Reading Societies, we must name, in the briefest manner, another volume, enjoying a great momentary *éclat*, which is disfigured by a series of exaggerations, such as, in some cases, almost to bring the writer's

honesty into question. We do not find fault with the spirit of the writer, nor blame his principles; except, indeed, that a habit of making careless statements and of exaggeration, in a traveller, is a great moral delinquency at all times.

Monsieur Paul du Chaillu is a French-American, whose father has long traded on the western coast of Africa, in the region lying under the Equator. Having become tolerably acclimatized, Mons. Paul, not unnaturally, begins to think that he should like to know a little of the interior; visit the heads or great men in their native villages, and shoot apes, elephants, and snakes in the woods. He indulges his inclination during the years 1856-1859, in which years he paid several exploring visits to his black friends. During these journeys he killed many wild animals, and formed a little museum of his own, which he has brought to England. Not unnaturally, too, he thinks that he may give the world some brief sketches of his rambles, and some account of his chase of the *gorilla*, the largest of the apes of Western Africa. All this is free from blame; but, unhappily, some one seems to have conceived the idea of raising him to the rank of a second Livingston; and styling him a great discoverer, both in the geographical field, and in that of natural history. This error has been so well exposed by Dr. Gray, the keeper of the Zoological collection at the British Museum, that we need do little more than reprint a paragraph or two from his published letter. Dr. Gray says:—

“I have examined the collection of mammalia with care, and there is not a specimen among them that indicates that the collector had traversed any new region. On the contrary, all the kinds contained in it have been received long ago from the different trading stations on the west coast of Africa, and can easily be procured from them.” . . . “And the whole of the twenty species which are said to be new to science dwindle into thin air. As to ‘Mr., Mrs., and Miss Gorilla,’ one would suppose that the animals were now for the first time brought to Europe; whereas we have been receiving specimens of them for the last fifteen years, until almost every museum in Europe is provided with them.

“Turning from the collection to the book, one must be struck with the improbable stories it contains, and must observe that there is the same exaggeration in the illustrations as there is in the text. These illustrations have evidently been prepared in this country from the notes of the author, and not from sketches made on the spot.

“The young gorilla, and the niare or wild bull, are described as quite untameable. Now we have reliable accounts of young gorillas having been kept in confinement, and shipped for England, and being anything but violent; and as for the niare, it

is the animal known all over West Africa as the bush-cow, and the specimen of it which was for some years in this country, was as mild and inoffensive as our own cattle. And to show how little reliance is to be placed on the illustrations, I may state that the horns of this animal, in each of the three plates in which it is figured, are turned in a wrong direction.

"Mons. du Chaillu's qualifications as a naturalist are of the lowest order; and he has made few, if any, additions to our previous knowledge."

Yet the book is brought out in the same style and at the same price as Dr. Livingston's, as if the author's achievements entitled him to rank with that really great but most unassuming traveller.

The main attraction of the volume will be found to be in the wonderful stories of the gorilla;—an ape whose "roar" M. du Chaillu declares he has heard at a distance of *three miles*; and whose jaws are described as of such strength as to enable him "almost to *flatten* with his teeth" the barrel of a gun. Dr. Gray calls these "improbable stories and exaggerations."

Yet the work is not without merit. It has one great merit at least wanting to Dr. Livingston's. The author tells his adventures with spirit, and carries the reader along with him. We give the story of one of his many gorilla hunting expeditions, and leave the reader to judge of the accuracy of the writer for himself:—

"The next day, 7th, we went on a gorilla hunt. All the olako was busy in the evening of my arrival with preparations; and as meat was scarce, everybody had joyful anticipations of hunger satisfied and plenty in the camp. Little did we guess what frightful death was to befall one of our number before the next sunset.

"I gave powder to the whole party. Six were to go off in one direction for gazelles, and whatever luck might send them; and six others, of whom I was one, were to hunt for gorillas. We set off towards a dark valley, where Gambo, Igoumba's son, said we should find our prey. The gorilla chooses the darkest, gloomiest forests for his home, and is found on the edges of the clearings only when he is in search of plantains, or sugarcane, or pineapple. Often they choose for their peculiar haunt a wood so dark that, even at midday, one can scarce see ten yards. This makes it the more necessary to wait till the monstrous beast approaches near before shooting, in order that the first shot may be fatal. It does not often let the hunter reload.

Our little party separated, as is the custom, to stalk the wood in various directions. Gambo and I kept together. One brave fellow went off alone in a direction where he thought he could find a gorilla. The other three took another course. We had been about an hour separated, when Gambo and I heard a gun fired but a little way from us, and presently another. We were already on our way to the spot where we hoped to see a gorilla slain, when the forest began to resound with the most terrific roars. Gambo seized my arms in great agita-

tion, and we hurried on, both filled with a dreadful and sickening alarm. We had not gone far when our worst fears were realized. The poor brave fellow who had gone off alone was lying on the ground in a pool of his own blood, and I thought at first quite dead. His bowels were protruding through the lacerated abdomen. Beside him lay his gun. The stock was broken, and the barrel was bent and flattened. It bore plainly the marks of the gorilla's teeth.

"We picked him up, and I dressed his wounds, as well as I could, with rags torn from my clothes. When I had given him a little brandy to drink, he came to himself, and was able, but with great difficulty, to speak. He said that he had met the gorilla suddenly and face to face, and that it had not attempted to escape. It was, he said, a huge male, and seemed very savage. It was in a very gloomy part of the wood, and the darkness, I suppose, made him miss. He said he took good aim, and fired when the beast was only about eight yards off. The ball merely wounded it in the side. It at once began beating its breasts and with the greatest rage advanced upon him.

"To run away was impossible. He would have been caught in the jungle before he had gone a dozen steps. He stood his ground, and as quickly as he could reloaded his gun. Just as he raised it to fire the gorilla dashed it out of his hands, the gun going off in the fall; and then in an instant, and with a terrible roar, the animal gave him a tremendous blow with its immense open paw, frightfully lacerating the abdomen, and with this single blow laying bare part of the intestines. As he sank bleeding to the ground, the monster seized the gun, and the poor hunter thought he would have his brains dashed out with it. But the gorilla seems to have looked upon this also as an enemy, and in his rage almost flattened the barrels between his strong jaws.

"When we came upon the ground the gorilla was gone. This is their mode when attacked, to strike one or two blows, and then leave the victim of their rage on the ground and go off into the woods.

"We hunted up our companions and carried our poor fellow to the camp, where all was instantly excitement and sorrow. They entreated me to give him medicine, but I had nothing to suit his case. I saw that his days were numbered; and all I could do was to make him easy by giving him a little brandy or wine at intervals. He had to tell his story over again; and the people declared at once that this was no true gorilla that had attacked him, but a man—a wicked man turned into a gorilla. Such a being no man could escape, they said; and it could not be killed, even by the bravest hunters. This principle of fatalism and of transmigration of souls is brought in by them in all such cases, I think, chiefly to keep up the courage of their hunters, on whom such a mischance exercises a very depressing influence. The hunters are the most valued men in these negro villages. A brave and fortunate one is admired by all the women; loved—almost worshipped—by his wives; and enjoys many privileges among his fellow villagers. But his proudest time is when he has killed an elephant or a gorilla, and filled the village with meat. Then he may do almost what he pleases. The next day we shot a monster gorilla, which I suppose is the same one who killed my poor hunter, for male gorillas are not very plentiful."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Bible Inspiration Vindicated. An Essay on "Essays and Reviews," by John C. Miller, D.D., Honorary Canon of Worcester; Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham. J. H. Parker, Oxford, 1861.—Dr. Miller tells us that it has been his object in these pages to set forth simply and in popular form the true doctrine of inspiration. Few men living are more competent to such a task. Few are capable of producing within the same limits, on a subject so confessedly difficult to ordinary readers, a treatise at once so readable and so complete; neither content with superficial views on the one hand, nor too abstruse on the other. Dr. Miller considers the question of inspiration, what it is; and then passes on to the discussion of the inspiration claimed by the Bible for itself; shows the actual extent of Bible inspiration, both in the Old Testament and in the New, and with the utmost fairness meets the difficulties raised against it. Nothing is taken for granted here. There are plain proofs for every assertion, so made and stated as to be quite within the compass of men of ordinary education; and we have no doubt this treatise will be read with satisfaction, as, indeed, it ought to be, by thousands of the class for whom it seems more specially designed; not but that men of the highest education, who have no time for extensive research, will probably find in it all they need. We cannot regard Dr. Miller's pamphlet at the present crisis as less than a boon for which the church may well be grateful. Dr. Miller disclaims originality; "his pages," he says, "have little pretence to be more than a compilation and digest of what has been urged more fully by the great writers on the subject," still when a writer of high scholastic and theological attainments condescends to a labour of this kind, where little renown is to be gained and the object is simply the good of others, he will lose nothing in the estimation of wise and really learned men.

Night Scenes of the Bible. By the Rev. Charles D. Bell, M.A. Wertheim, 1861.—There is something touching in the thought that events bearing not alone on the fate and fortunes of individuals, but on the destinies of the world, and of the church, are related in the Bible as having taken place during the still and solemn hours of night. Mr. Bell has seized upon many of these events, and made them the subjects of many interesting chapters, in a very profitable and interesting volume. Its very title may commend it to the midnight student, the night watcher, or the sleepless invalid, and each will find in it, if his own heart be in tune with sacred things, something to profit withal. The sleepless night of Ahasuerus, Belshazzar's night of revelry, Daniel's night in the lions' den, will interest some. Then there is the night of weeping for the sorrowful in heart, and the night of the nativity, bringing eternal day in its train. These and many other subjects are treated with much feeling and good taste, and, what is better, with spiritual wisdom and discernment. And the book deserves a place among the very few which we would recommend for the bedroom of a Christian household, as well as for the study.

A Brief Memoir of George Tyrrell, B.A. By Claude S. Bird, B.A. James Nisbet and Co., Berners-street, London. 1861.—

This brief memoir, being written by a school-fellow and college friend of the deceased, possesses a more than ordinary interest; and is, moreover, free from that strain of unqualified praise which, too frequently, pervades writings of a similar description. It is the simple narrative of a humble Christian, whose life was devoid of striking incident, excepting his conversion from infidelity to the faith of Jesus.

To some of our readers a rough sketch of the life of George Tyrrell may not be altogether unprofitable. His character seems to have been of unusual natural beauty—sincere, warm, and affectionate, yet extremely sensitive and gentle; he describes his infancy as being a prey to dreadful imaginations, and his boyhood as infidel and unhappy, and before he was fifteen he had induced a school-fellow to become, and remain, an infidel. While at school at Rugby he distinguished himself for talent and ability. Having left Rugby to prepare for college, a much esteemed relative died: he then prayed, and studied the Scriptures, and says, “I was moved by the Spirit of God to wash away my sins in Christ’s blood by faith, and then I felt like a little child who has returned to his father’s arms. I wept over the sins of my past life, and began to feel what it was to have peace with God. For about a fortnight after this, I had the most heavenly joy and peace, in having at last found out the true God. My emotion, however, at this joyful discovery was so great, that it became too much for me, and I was attacked with a violent brain fever.”

His old school-fellow, meeting with him at Cambridge, thus describes him,—“His petulance had been exchanged for exceeding meekness and forbearance; his pride for self-renunciation; his satire had been subdued into quiet stingless humour—external faults remained, but were rarely visible, least of all in trying times, for then he prayed against them most.”

He appears, from the time of his conversion, to have had but one aim in life. He died when scarcely twenty-five.

Lady Elinor Mordaunt. Edmeston and Co.—Fiction, when properly employed, may serve the highest and noblest ends; of this the Pilgrim’s Progress is an admirable example. But when the purposes of fiction are abused so as to affect an air of religion under the guise of irreverent language, few productions of the pen can be more pernicious. Familiarity in sacred matters is very apt to border upon profanity. Of this evil the work before us furnishes a specimen. If religion is entitled to be treated with decency by its foes, it certainly deserves something approaching to reverence at the hands of those who volunteer to make it the vehicle of romance. These pages, though smartly written, are defaced with expressions such as, to use the mildest phrase, are exceedingly unbecoming. Familiar appeals to the name of Jesus Christ, and invocations to the Almighty, abound throughout the work. Such imprecations are ill suited to the lips of an English lady, much less should they be deliberately committed to paper by the author of a so-called religious novel. Quotations from the Holy Scriptures are introduced with a tone of flippant irreverence, as little to the credit of the taste as of the piety of the author.

The Medical Missionary in China: a narrative of twenty years' experience. By William Lockhart, F.R.C.S. &c. Hurst and Co. 1861.—Most of the recent accounts of our missionaries—and they are many—endorse Mr. Lockhart's statement, that a medical missionary's work in a heathen land has a powerful influence in affecting the minds of the people among whom he may labour, and that such work is very valuable in giving facilities for the more direct preaching of the gospel. Experience has shown to us that medical men have reached places where the clerical missionaries dared not go. In China this is especially the case, for there the inhabitants, though so well educated in most things, are lamentably deficient in the knowledge of medicine and surgery. They receive with courtesy those who can relieve them from their physical infirmities, even where they have in a great measure secluded themselves from others. Our missionaries have as yet had but few opportunities of preaching the gospel in that populous country; but since the termination of the late war, the introduction of Christianity into China has become more feasible. We see that the Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, taking advantage of the recent treaty, has determined upon the establishment of a Christian mission at Peking. The prospect is a promising one, for the people though barbarous, are nevertheless intelligent, and we cannot but think that before long Christianity will have a firm footing in that hitherto inaccessible country, provided always that the whole gospel, and nothing but the gospel, be preached among them.

Apart from missionary subjects, Mr. Lockhart's work is an interesting one. It contains, as its title indicates, a narrative of the experience of a man who, during a twenty years' residence among the Chinese, has observed their manners and customs and mixed with them in social life. It will be more particularly useful in dispelling many of the erroneous notions which are entertained by Europeans concerning that remarkable race.

Messrs. Bagster and Sons have republished, under the title of *The Bible of Every Land*, in a handsome quarto, a history of the Sacred Scriptures in every language and dialect into which translations have been made, illustrated by specimen portions in native characters; a series of alphabets; coloured ethnographical maps, tables, indexes, &c. The interest of such a volume to biblical students, and especially to those who recreate themselves in such studies as the origin, formation, and affinity of languages, we need not point out; but there is one use of such a volume that we must point out, and on which, if our space had not failed us, we could say much. The present state of the platform is discreditable to our great societies. Intelligent Christians are wearied out with dawdling speeches, trifling anecdotes, and fustian eloquence. There is no use in mincing matters, public religious meetings must improve or perish. And in a late number we gave, we think, sufficient reasons why their discontinuance would be a serious calamity. Now if the speakers at a Bible or Missionary meeting will be at the pains to master a chapter of this volume, and then to digest it well, they will have the materials of a most useful and instructive speech. They will communicate real instruction,

and religious meetings will soon become attractive. Neither sermons nor speeches are worth listening to, if there is no food for the understanding.

History of the United Netherlands; from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort; with a full view of the English-Dutch struggle against Spain, and of the origin and destruction of the Spanish Armada. By John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., Member of the Institute, &c. &c. 2 Vols. J. Murray. 1861.—We are at some loss how to deal with these two large octavos. 'To do the slightest justice to them, or to the subjects on which they treat, would require a much larger space than we can possibly afford. They have already passed through several editions, and seem to have received the stamp of very general approbation. A good deal of our own English history is interwoven with the story. And those who have had their blood stirred by Macaulay's verses on the Spanish Armada—the best he ever wrote—will be pleased to find the story admirably told in prose, in the second of these volumes. We say much in saying that this is, in the proper sense of the word, a history, executed with great ability, complete and full. We are sorry, though the fault is but a trifling one, to see the style defaced with some strokes of that sort of vulgar writing which bears the same relation to dignified vivacity of style as pertness to real wit. Let one instance suffice to explain our meaning: "It is astonishing, in that breathless interval of history, that so much time could be found for *quill-driving and oratory*." It is a curious phenomenon in our recent literature, that our best writers relieve themselves from time to time with these vulgarities; as if grace and refinement sat heavily upon them, like good manners on a clown. This, we admit, is but a trifling fault, and the work is one of sterling value.

The Roman Catholic College of Maynooth: its Immoral, Unconstitutional, and Anti-Social Teaching exposed, in the Speeches of Richard Spooner, Esq., M.P., &c. Wertheim and Co. 1861.—The real hero is the Christian. There are, however, circumstances which add to the heroism even of a Christian; the quality of the courage must be tested by the peculiarities of the case.

The man who all his life has been used to the courtesies of good society, and can well appreciate the aristocratic "cold shoulder," but who dares to stand coolly and patiently upon the floor of our House of Commons to be sneered at as "a pious fool;" who, amid all, keeps his temper in good order, and quietly parries and adroitly returns, and that with great effect, the thrusts of his adversary; but who, in all the arduous conflict, upholds divine truth—who stands calmly, but with conscious strength, before a nation's representatives, to charge upon them "a national sin,"—displays a moral courage which sometimes, though rarely, redeems our national council from the too well-merited charge of indifference to the word and will of "the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords."

Such a man has the venerable Member for North Warwickshire proved himself. Men who love the word of God, of whatever denomination, ought to reverence Richard Spooner, who for seven years

never ceased to impeach the infatuated policy of the government and the legislature, in lending the national aid to a popish college.

Well has that venerable octogenarian fought the battle of truth. The grounds of his indictment against Maynooth have been supplied by its own authorized books and teachings, and from the evidence of its professors and apologists. There was no escape from the just conclusion, except by the crooked by-way of "expediency." Justice, consistency, loyalty, and, above all, Christian sincerity, stood over the culprit to condemn, but the voice of expediency, "Let us do evil that good may come," has so far prevailed.

The first assault of Mr. Spooner, in 1852, was signaled by a remarkable providential incident. On the evening prior to his motion, as he was returning to his quarters from the House of Commons, he was thrown down and run over by a cab. He was dreadfully bruised. Surgical aid was quickly at hand, and his ever faithful friend and fellow member, *Mr. Newdegate*, was ready to go on with the motion; Mr. Spooner's medical friend having positively forbidden his attendance at the House. But the courage of Mr. Spooner was not easily to be put aside. He rode down to the House in great pain; every motion of the vehicle was excruciating. With great difficulty he was assisted up the stairs, and supported to his place in the House. But there, on that memorable evening, did the aged and bruised man stand for two hours to make good his charge and vindicate the truth. Ably did he perform his task. And he waited when this was over, to reply!

Even his adversaries were constrained to admire his "pluck," but he had gone to other sources of support: never having engaged in that arduous conflict, until he had first solemnly committed the business in prayer to an Omnipotent guide and mind.

Mr. Spooner's mode of attack was unassailable. "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee," was his motto. His quotations were such as dealt only with social morals, and national interests. Though confining himself to these, he boldly charged upon the church of Rome all her errors of principle; but it was his great point to show that the support of Maynooth, besides being "a national sin," was repugnant to social morality, to religious liberty, and to constitutional safety.

May his successor fight as good a battle and with more success!

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE suspense which has so long overhung Europe now extends itself to America. On the continent we have still to report that war seems everywhere inevitable, yet nowhere breaks out; across the Atlantic, the two republics, into which the United States are now divided, prepare and threaten; and in various places blood has been

shed in tumults and street riots; yet the battle has not been joined, and it seems possible that some weeks, or even months, may pass before war actually begins; for that it will soon begin, and with a dreadful earnestness, seems no longer to admit of a doubt.

The prospect is dark; and the history of republics by no means tends to relieve it. In ancient history, in mediæval ages, and in modern times, republics have ever been short-lived, and, more than any other form of government, liable to sudden outbreaks of popular frenzy. The longest of pure republics with which we are acquainted, was that of ancient Rome. It lasted not quite four hundred years. During this whole period it seldom knew internal repose, its constitution underwent many changes, and it perished at last under a dictator, raised to that dangerous eminence by its own choice. The Italian republics were not more fortunate. That of Venice existed, in name, for a thousand years; but, after it rose to wealth and importance, its government was the worst that can be conceived. It was, in fact, an elective monarchy under a Doge or Dux, and an insolent oligarchy. It was constantly disgraced by faction fights, to be compared only with the wildest Irish outbreaks of the same description. Of forty successive Doges, during a period of four hundred years, twenty had their eyes put out, or fell by a violent death. Later republics in Europe owe their existence to the patronage, or the mutual jealousies, of the great monarchic governments who have found it for their own interest to protect them. America, no doubt, has an element—the English element—in her constitution, which may give her a stability such as no democratic government has hitherto possessed. We hope, rather than expect, that it may be so; for the violence on both sides is such that our alarms prevail above our wishes. We cannot, and do not, believe that the language used even by American statesmen, not to speak of some of their best newspapers, and, what is far more shocking, some of their most popular preachers, is the language of the great body of her educated, respectable citizens. There is a large class of men not only of lofty intelligence but of earnest and enlightened piety, who surely must look on in silent sorrow, and with the feeling, perhaps, that their protest would merely aggravate the passions to which the two nations—the North and South republics—seem to have abandoned themselves without restraint. Why are such men as bishop MacIlvaine silent? Why do we hear no solemn protest from that brotherhood of christian merchants in New York who dared the public scorn so nobly, and closed their counting-houses to attend the mid-day hour of prayer during the late revivals? We receive sermons quite worthy of Hugh Peters from ministers of all denominations, both from the northern and the southern States. Where is the voice that cries, “Sirs, ye are brethren;” or in louder notes announces the great christian axiom, that “the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God?” There were men in England, both in the pulpit and in parliament, who, up to the last moment, protested thus against the madness of both parties when our civil war threatened in the days of Charles I.; and no doubt at the hazard of their lives. America has many such; lineal descendants, too, of those of whom we speak. How is it that

we hear from them no solemn, united, protest at this terrible crisis? What can the North hope to gain by the conquest of the South? What had the South to lose by her connection with the North? She had no real grievance; she had been only too much humoured and caressed at the cost, as the northern republic now feels, both of sound policy and high christian principle. America, above all other nations, is a trading and commercial one. If the prospect of bloodshed does not affright her from this unnatural war, to be waged with suicidal guilt against herself, has she counted the cost in common-place arithmetic? Our own civil war of 1842 cost us, by Lord Clarendon's computation, two hundred millions; and he calculates the waste and damage done at two hundred millions more. We make a moderate statement when we say that these four hundred millions must be doubled if we wish to represent the total destruction of property as it would stand in the national ledger of our own day. And thus we sum up with an expenditure of £800,000,000,—a sum just equal to our enormous national debt! Can America hope to escape on easier terms? And when all was over, what had England gained? As worthless a king, and a parliament more base and servile than she had ever known before. Can America, North or South, expect to reap more solid advantages?

The summer approaches, and as no demonstrations have been made, we may hope that Europe will be spared the miseries of war, at least for the year. Yet the nations are not at rest; it is merely that their preparations are not complete, and that their powers are too nearly balanced; every party is afraid to begin a contest in which all wish to be engaged. The pope remains at Rome. Canon Burgess of Chelsea, in a very interesting pamphlet, chalks out for his holiness a territory, by no means of large extent, within which he proposes that he should quietly retire; and that the papacy should henceforth disport itself with the shows and toys which become its imbecility. But Pharaoh is infatuated. He will not abandon his ill-gotten kingdom; a kingdom, every inch of which was won by treachery or violence; he will not let the people go. A petition signed by ten thousand of the citizens of Rome is said, in spite of his military police and spies, to have reached the Tuileries, imploring the emperor to withdraw his army, and leave them to themselves. Whenever he shall do so, the question of the pope's temporal sovereignty will soon meet with its solution.

France recalls her troops from Syria, but only because England and the other powers insist upon the fulfilment of her promise. Russia, by her minister, protests on behalf of France; and they do not see far into the future who cannot see a French fleet once more, on the first trivial pretext, in the waters of the Orient sea.

Convocation, our readers will remember, stood adjourned to the 15th of May. A few days before, a significant paragraph in the newspapers informed the public that archdeacon Denison and his committee were not quite ready with their report on the seven Essays; and that, in consequence, as well as on account, of the illness of his grace the archbishop, the Convocation would be adjourned. The courtesy of the announcement is remarkable. Archdeacon Denison

and his committee first, the archbishop afterwards. Why the archdeacon was not prepared with his report we cannot say, nor whether he had received a delicate hint not to be in too much haste about it. At present, however, this great synod of England's clergy stands before the public, wringing its hands with a feeble cry, that it was not allowed to meet because, such the promptitude and such the habits of business of its own committee, its day's work was not cut out for it; a plea which will not raise the Convocation in the respect of laymen; who, with reason or without it, are already but too much given to charge the clergy with a sad want of accuracy and promptitude in the despatch of matters of business. The slight illness of the archbishop was—not very courteously—thrown in, evidently as a make-weight, in case the archdeacon's delay should not be thought a sufficient reason for postponing affairs of so much importance. But, however this may be, we have reasons for believing that after the signal proofs of wisdom and moderation which the grave assembly had exhibited during its days of session in February and March, there was an unaccountable reluctance in some quarters to allow it to meet again. It now stands adjourned to the 17th of June. What may then happen we do not venture to predict; perhaps another adjournment, and then another, and so on, till the Greek kalends shall fitly close a series of blunders which the Ides of March began.

Under the high pretensions of the Convocation in England, the Irish church has begun to display a very reasonable jealousy. The diocesan committee of Down and Connor, headed by their bishop, memorialize the lord primate to assemble the Irish Convocation; to whom his grace replies, on behalf of the archbishop of Dublin and himself, that “after the judgment of such able men as Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Sir Hugh Cairns, Mr. A. J. Stephens, and Mr. Jebb,” he “cannot concur in the view put before him in the memorial.” The two archbishops, in fact, consider the decisions of the Canterbury Convocation, even if sanctioned by the crown, inoperative until sanctioned in parliament. Nor do their graces think that, if it were possible, it would be at all desirable, “to convene the whole episcopate and representatives of the clergy of every diocese of the united church,” merely to alter “a regulation relating to the number of godfathers and godmothers at baptism, while matters of greater importance, which urgently claim the deepest consideration, remain unsettled.” A suggestion follows which may soon prove to be of the greatest importance; and, if so, we shall not regret the pains we have taken to draw attention to the doings of our Convocation at Westminster.

“If,” says his grace, “at any time a well-considered plan for a general revision of the canons, and of the rubrics,—or for shortening the accustomed services, and adding new occasional services to those contained in the Book of Common Prayer,—or for amending the laws which regulate the discipline of the church,—should be previously framed by the heads of the church and the state, it would seem to me that a *National Synod of the United Church* is the appropriate body for considering the principle and arranging the details of such a measure, before the introduction into parliament of a bill for giving it legal effect.

"Should an occasion of this kind present itself during the remaining period of my protracted primacy, my best endeavours shall be used to bring about the convening of a National Synod of the United Church. In the resolutions of the Irish parliament preparatory to the Legislative Union, provision was made respecting the meeting of such a synod; but this provision was omitted in the Act of Union, because, as the prime minister stated in the British House of Commons, the sovereign could at any time command the assembling of a 'Convocation of the United Church.'

"I have consulted the archbishop of Dublin on the subject of the memorial; and it is a great satisfaction to me to know that his grace agrees with me in the sentiments which I have thus expressed in answer to it, and that his grace considers my view of this matter to be correct."

In 1588 Martin Marprelate addressed "An Epistle to the terrible Priests of the Convocation House." Martin was not a courteous correspondent; but in his letter he gives some good advice. We venture to repeat it; it may gain attention, not for Martin's sake, but because he himself quotes it from a pamphlet by Aylmer, then bishop of London; and so, as we hope and almost venture to anticipate, we will take our last leave of the no longer terrible priests of the Convocation. "Christ," says Aylmer, "knowing the bounds of his office, would not meddle with external policies. No; when he was desired to be arbiter betwixt two brethren, he asked not how the plea stood, but who made him an officer. Divines, methinks, should by this example not give themselves too much of the bridle, and too large a scope to meddle with matters of policy. If these two offices, I mean ecclesiastical and civil, be so jumbled together as it may be lawful for both parties to meddle in both functions, here can be no quiet, or well-ordered commonwealth."

We were closing these remarks for the month, when bishop Macilvaine's address to his clergy and their congregations appeared. He declares himself satisfied with the policy of president Lincoln; thinks the war lawful, and exhorts his brethren to discharge their duties as citizens and patriots. The remainder of his address breathes just that tender solemn spirit which was to be expected from bishop Macilvaine. Addresses of a similar character from eminent ministers of Christ have reached us by the same post. We feel that it is not for us to dispute the ground which such men have taken up. Yet it is an awful spectacle; a civil war, with the bishop of Ohio on one side, the scarcely less revered bishop Meade of Virginia (for Virginia has at last joined the secession) upon the other. In England, we trust that none of us will "sin against God in ceasing to pray" for both republics; although the mind of England, slowly made up, has at length decided with an unanimity seldom known on great political questions, that both are wrong.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have received several papers in answer to the *Seven Essays*, or to some one or other of them. Of some of these we may, perhaps, avail ourselves; but the number of answers published or announced already, and the difficulty we find in making room for one half the subjects of stirring interest which crowd upon us, forbid our making any promises.

R. B., M. B., and several others, must accept our thanks, as well as our correspondents at Clifton, Colchester, Malvern, &c.

Q., in answer to *Clericus*, argues that the elements form part of the oblation, from the Coronation Service, and from the authority of the late professor Blunt. We cannot defer to either. The Coronation Service is no part of the Book of Common Prayer; and, highly respecting professor Blunt, we differ from him in many points, and on some of considerable importance. Yet we beg the author of the paper in question to accept our thanks.

Some of our readers wish to know whether we intend to reduce the price of the Observer should the duty on paper be repealed. Our answer is, that since the beginning of the year the Observer has been enlarged by the addition of eight pages in each number; though none of our readers seem to have made the discovery, and we do not obtrude such matters on their notice. This enlargement costs us more than the few farthings we shall save by the remission of the paper tax, and we do not profess to run the gauntlet with cheap periodicals.

POSTSCRIPT.—In the “Notes on Dr. Hessey’s Lectures,” an omission occurs which, though not affecting the argument, conveys an erroneous statement. The passage, “Surely he is aware that our practice dates only from the reformation,” should have been, “Surely he is aware that our practice of refusing confirmation to infants dates only from the reformation;” and in the next sentence, “In all former ages,” &c., should have been, “In all the earlier ages,” &c.

The *Second Edition* of our June Number, 1860, containing the article on *Essays and Reviews*, may be had from our publishers and the other booksellers.



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ON THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

THE faculty of speech, by which man is distinguished from the inferior creation, appears to have been exercised before the dispersion from Babel, without the tendency to infinite and perplexing variety. This is so much its present character, that our great English lexicographer apologizes for the imperfection of his performance, by the inconstancy of language itself. "While some words are budding, others are falling away," &c.

The original unity of language appears to us now a greater marvel than the variety consequent on the confusion of tongues. Such, however, is the recorded fact. "The whole earth was of one language (*margin*, lip), and of one speech (words)." But the Lord confounded their language, that they should not understand one another's speech. "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence (Babel) upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city." (Gen. xi. 1, 9.) Much might be said to show that this building and dispersion apply chiefly to the descendants of Ham, who (chap. x. 10) began to build Babel. Dathe favours the idea that the tower, erected on an extensive plain, was intended as a beacon, a centre point of union, the effect of which would have been to counteract the command to replenish the earth, by congregating mankind in one huge mass. The fact, however, is, that while so much similarity may be traced between many of the tongues of the various nations dispersed, as to indicate a common origin, yet such a *practical* difference has all along existed as to fulfil the Divine purpose. Diverse tongues have, like the *Oceanus dissociabilis*, been the means of separating nations for long ages, and of greatly impeding the progress of both truth and error.

This diversity cannot, either in accordance with the sacred
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narrative, or in the view of its practical effects, be considered otherwise than as a *curse*. It does not, like the countless variety of animals and flowers, serve a peculiar purpose in glorifying the Creator and fulfilling His design. Among the blessings which we may, perhaps, under the ultimate condition of God's people, look for, will be the reversal of this sentence. They may yet have a future unity of language, as of pure doctrine and holy worship. In Zephaniah iii. 9, we read, "For then will I turn to the people a pure language (lip), that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent (shoulder)." This may, indeed, refer rather to purity, than identity of language; still the *tendency* is in the direction of "one speech"—the primitive form. And the same may possibly be indicated by St. Paul's expression, (1 Cor. xiii. 8), "Whether there be tongues they shall cease:" the necessity for them shall be done away.

During the happiest period of the early church, when they were all of one heart, at the Pentecostal effusion, a remedy was provided for the obstacle to the progress of the gospel presented by the diversity of tongues. Not a miraculous unity of language or of hearing, but a wondrous and intuitive power of speaking in previously unknown tongues. This gift appears to have continued in the church during the lives of the apostles; at all events, until St. Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians. (1 Cor. xii.—xiv.) It became abused, and was now probably withdrawn in consequence, as well as because it had fulfilled its purpose. The seeds of divine truth had been sown among the nations of the known world by the apostles, and it never became extinct. Care was taken by multiplying translations, and by dispersing them among the churches, in the times consequent upon the oral teaching of the first preachers of the faith, to secure the purity of the gospel; which, before the decease of the apostles, had, in the Pauline phrase, been "preached to every creature under heaven." It has never ceased to exist in some feeble measure in the nations thus first blest.

It would appear that some believers were endued with the power of speaking languages which they could not themselves interpret, such interpretation being a distinct gift; and that the miraculous gifts, being used promiscuously in the public assemblies, were unprofitable. Nevertheless, the consequence of the withdrawal of these gifts by the restraining power of the Spirit soon became felt; and the small progress of the gospel among the barbarian hordes of Europe, middle Asia, and the vast populations of India and China, may be traced to this source. The irruption of the northern barbarians upon the Roman empire, ending in the incorporation of these tribes into its communities, rendered their conversion, humanly

speaking, easier; and in time the Romish hierarchy reared its head over them all. And now that church endeavoured to preserve its supremacy by the token of *one language*—the Latin—in divine worship; and this, being one counterfeit of the true unity, is a most distinctive mark of the beast; corresponding with the most probable solution of the enigma of its mysterious number and name—*Lateinos*. (Rev. xiii. 18.)

The attempt at a *forced unity of language* has, however, signally failed in bringing the nations of the earth, if it were ever sincerely desired, into an intelligent and harmonious union. It has produced among the nations which owned the sway of Rome considerable, though far from perfect, uniformity of worship in the bond of ignorance, but not “the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.” As long as religion is viewed as a kind of magical machinery, and men are supposed to be saved by outward signs of faith, not by the inward work and guidance of the Spirit, this artificial oneness of speech may be convenient. But when men begin to inquire, the diversity of their minds will show itself in spite of outward conformity. Hence, among the learned, even in the Romish church, there has ever been a substantial difference of opinion on a great variety of points on which the human mind is exercised, notwithstanding the visible semblance of unity. The Latin became only, as the language of the learned, the convenient vehicle of their controversies, but it was inaccessible to the vulgar. And thus, through the middle ages, the diversity of tongues in the nations, and the conventional unity of the church, served the purposes of priestcraft in concealing its own weakness, its disbelief of the monstrous legends and dogmas dealt out to the barbarian. It concealed, too, its own bitter internal hostility carried on under the garb of unity, and it helped to perpetuate the power of the clergy over the consciences of men.

Rome still watches with jealous eye all openings of the mines of thought in the vernacular tongue. She still wraps herself in the hood and shroud of Latinity; happily for her less generally understood in the nineteenth than in the sixteenth century.

The rending of this veil, which (like that moral one upon the Jewish mind in reading the Old Testament) hid the word of God from the common people, or left them only such shreds and patches of it as were consistent with the policy of the church, was the first great token of the new era of human intelligence. Bede, Alfred, Wycliffe, Luther, in successive periods, opened portions of the sacred volume to the Saxon race, then in Britain and Germany; and the progress of evangelical truth, in any particular age or country, may be held to be almost identical with the amount of the knowledge of the scriptures in men’s household words, their vernacular tongue,

Herein, however, we must still trace the hand of God, the work of the Spirit, in those learned persons who, born under the spell of Rome's sorcery, were enabled to scale off the film from their eyes, and to look with faith to the Saviour. Jerome's Latin Version was in the libraries of the monasteries, although the Hebrew and Greek originals were almost unknown; and even the portions quoted in the Fathers, and doled out in the Breviary, served to awaken curiosity in some earnest minds. It required another effort, however, to separate the precious from the vile, the inspired from the apocryphal; and this was effected by the same good providence which has all along guarded the sacred text. By the preservation of the Hebrew text, which contains only such portions as bear the marks of indubitable truth, the end has been gained. The study of the original text in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek, was pursued very early in the sixteenth century, with the advantages derived from the art of printing; and the knowledge of those, then unknown, tongues was in this manner generally revived. The work of translation went on with that of the reformation, sometimes preceding, sometimes following after it, in particular countries; and yet both were mysteriously "let" by the crushing power of that predicted apostasy which, having nearly fulfilled its course, has at length, with undiminished hostility to the open Bible, found it needful to conform, in appearance at least, to the claims of the age, by *promising* new versions in the vernacular tongues!

If the sixteenth century was one of intellectual warfare with the great common enemy, Rome, the seventeenth was one of almost equally bitter contest between the emancipated tribes themselves. The century, therefore, passed away with little enlargement of the boundaries of the Christian church, or the circulation of the scriptures. Walton indeed produced his Polyglot; and the Syriac Version was brought to England by Sir Thomas Roe. Mutual persecution had driven men across the Atlantic; and the northern shores of the New Continent became peopled with those who spake a tongue entirely different from its aborigines, and the Southern Continent had been occupied by ruthless Romish adventurers in pursuit of gold. But all were too much intent on their own success to make any effective missionary efforts. But few European translations were made. Bishop Bedell produced the first in the native Irish; no further aggressions upon the domains of the Pope, the Turk or the Pagan, were accomplished. There was at length within our own island a period of religious freedom. The truth established in 1558 by Elizabeth, was asserted with a new principle of toleration in 1688. Good men began to look around them, and to find time and leisure to think of the heathen.

In the year 1694 we find archbishop Tillotson, in his sermon on Whitsunday, on the GIFT OF TONGUES, remarking, "The sixth and last thing which I propose to inquire into is, whether there be any necessity now, and consequent probability of the renewing of this miracle, in order to the conversion of infidels and the gaining over of those many and great nations in the remoter parts of the world, who are still strangers and enemies to the Christian religion. That which would induce a man to hope well in this case is, that without such a miraculous gift, there is little or no probability of the conversion of the infidel nations, unless God should be pleased, by some unexpected means, to bring over to Christianity some powerful prince, of great reputation for his wisdom and virtue, who by the influence of his example, and by his favour and countenance, might give advantages to the planting of it among his subjects. And yet, considering the inveterate and violent prejudices of men against a new religion, such an attempt would, in all human probability, be more likely to end in the ruin of the prince, and the undermining of his government, than in the establishment of a new religion. Of which kind there have been several instances very remarkable in Japan and Ethiopia, and perhaps in places and times nearer to us, and within our own memory."

The whole of the sermon, as well as another on the same subject, is very interesting, as showing the views of good men, standing on an eminence of authority and intelligence, at that important point of time when Protestant missions were unknown, but when the duty of them was beginning to be felt. The archbishop attributes the failure of those of Rome to their doctrine of reserve, and their conformity to idolatrous usages, practised to such a degree by the Jesuits in India as even to call for pontifical rebuke. And he suggests, that their cultivation of the poor and barren countries of the north would be a greater proof of zeal than their labours in the regions of gold and diamonds. Of such self-denying labours the Moravians were the first, of all Protestant churches, to give proof, in Greenland and among the slaves of the West Indies.

Shortly after Tillotson's sermon and decease, the two ancient Incorporated Societies were formed by Dr. Bray, Mr. Boyle, and others; and those institutions laboured on through the whole of the eighteenth century, not without success. And they were the only signs of missionary life which our church exhibited. Bishop Wilson and his successor gave the Bible to the *Manx* in their own tongue. The opposition he met with, and the prejudices he had to encounter from those who thought themselves the representatives of the piety and churchmanship of England, are almost incredible. But there were few English missionaries; they were chiefly Germans. The gift of tongues was not poured out. The labours of eighteen centuries had

only given the sacred scriptures in fifty languages; the total number of copies existing throughout the world was estimated at only four millions at the close of the century; when in 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society was bidden to arise, and grapple with the vast remaining ignorance.

Now a new wave of spiritual light seemed to have emanated from the Sun of Righteousness. The gift of tongues was substantially bestowed; though not in form, as in the apostolic age. Providence had opened India to British enterprise; and the chains of negro slavery were loosed. While infidelity seemed to have made its throne in France on the ruins of society, a spiritual revival had commenced half a century before in Britain, and was now producing a variety of societies and religious institutions, at home and abroad. To carry on these objects, the scriptures were indispensable. "The Sword of the Spirit is the Word of God." At this crisis, therefore, we see a fulfilment of the archbishop's anticipation; just a century after it was delivered. At the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, men arose, not at first, nor principally, out of our universities; although the critical labours of Mill, Kennicott, Lowth, and others, had prepared the way; but from obscure situations; endued with a peculiar power for the acquirement of languages, and with grace to devote their talents to the cause of Christ. Among the first of these we must notice Carey and his companions in the Baptist Mission at Serampore; Morrison, Milne, Gutschaff, and others for China; Buchanan and Martyn in India devoted their great talents to Persia and the Syrian churches; and, labouring at home, in the same great cause, Professor Lee was raised up. He attained a knowledge of twenty languages, and was occupied through life in editing, under the patronage of our great societies, various Oriental versions; and he promoted the revival of Hebrew and the extension of Oriental learning in Cambridge. His last labour, with the aid of a learned native, was a new Arabic version of the Scriptures. In all the Protestant churches, at home and abroad, men have appeared who have contributed to the better understanding of the Old Testament, either by immediate translations—often into languages never before reduced to writing—or else by the appliances of philological research. The languages of India, Africa, and the South Sea Islands, are now mastered by intelligent and often native missionaries. When in 1853 another archbishop of Canterbury celebrated the Jubilee of the Bible Society, one hundred additional versions had been added to the common stock, and fifty millions of copies of the sacred volume, in whole or part, had been distributed by that and various kindred societies which in Europe, Asia, and America are pursuing the same blessed cause.

This is surely God's work. It is no unmeaning jargon. We

see the orderly exercise of extraordinary natural powers, vouchsafed at a particular crisis in the history of the world and the church, just when such powers were needed and could be freely exercised. The gifts were not wasted on mere human objects, however commendable; the possessors were not diverted from their purpose by the temptations of bartering these gifts for money, as critics of heathen classics, or as the mere interpreters and agents of commercial or national enterprise. They were enjoyed and exercised by men of God, dedicated to the high and sacred duty of making the Bible—God's own book—known to his intelligent creatures. They were not infallible; they erred in judgment, in some cases, in their translations; and perhaps in the manner of their formation of languages hitherto unknown to grammar or lexicon: but these are only the accidents of human imperfection—the grand purpose has been served. The Bible is no longer a closed book to the inhabitants of the world. Its leaves are scattered like those of the Sibyl, only it is for the healing of the nations. In some cases, as in that of the North American Indians, it arrived just in time to benefit some vanishing tribes, who have now, with their languages, so perished, that the translations themselves are becoming unintelligible. But many souls have been in the meantime saved, who must have perished for lack of knowledge.

Many, in the present day, are opposed to the cultivation of these indigenous languages—even the Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic—thinking it better that they should perish before those of the more favoured conquerors. But this, though it may be harmless as far as regards the preservation of mere human literature, has been tried with fatal injury for ages with regard to spiritual objects. Such trifling cannot be indulged. Compare the religious state of Wales with that of Ireland. The policy was diametrically opposite. In Wales, the Scriptures and the Common Prayer were given to the people in their own language soon after the reformation; the blessing has been great; though an English-speaking clergy have driven the bible-reading population to the ranks of dissent. In Ireland, preaching and divine service were forbidden by Act of Parliament, except in English; and the majority of the Irish have continued under the dominion of popery, whose service was no more foreign than the English, and its priests were generally natives who could speak Irish. With the exception of a single edition of Bedell's translation, there were no Irish Bibles until the present century, and the greatest progress is still made by Irish-speaking missionaries.

Nor does the communication of truth to the adult generation in their own tongue prevent the growth of English in the country. The natives of every place where our supremacy in power and intelligence is felt, desire that their children should

be taught the language as well as the religion of the prevailing caste. The increase of general intelligence thus produced, is opening the minds of nations and tribes to the greater advantage of the cultivation of the tongues richer in resources and treasures than their own; and, so far from impeding the education of men in the literature of more civilized countries, emancipated intellect is approximating to a community of language and literature. And as the English and German languages now contain the freest and most comprehensive stores of thought and knowledge, all seems tending to the ultimate prevalence of one language—the *Anglo-Saxon* in its modern form—over the civilized and evangelized earth. For, notwithstanding the unsoundness of much German theology, there are no nations which have given so much attention to the word of God written, as those which, in Europe and America, claim a common Teutonic origin. In this respect God is enlarging Japhet, and He dwells in the tents of Shem. The Sun of Righteousness having first appeared in the east, carrying his light westward for two thousand years, has now crossed the western continent, and thence his beams have revisited the eastern shores and central countries of Asia. American and European missionaries are opening the sacred volume to the benighted tribes of Ararat, and once more the ark rests upon its loftiest summits. The sword is, alas! still bathed in blood; thick darkness still covers the people where first divine truth beamed forth. But how different the state of things from that which prevailed in Tillotson's times! How are the great empires of Turkey, India, China, and Japan opened, as well to our religion as our commerce, if we are only faithful to our trust, as depositaries of the oracles of God! Meanwhile, despite of a chilling infidelity at home, and open opposition abroad, the seed of the kingdom is being scattered among all the nations of the earth; and not merely at Jerusalem, but in the remotest corners and most crowded cities of the heathen world, men hear in their own tongues, wherein they were born, the wonderful works of God.

Whether in the millennial state of the world the one language of the earth before the Babylonian dispersion may be restored, is rather a curious than a profitable speculation. It is sufficient for us that, in the maturity of our being, when we shall be with Jesus, and see Him as He is, our knowledge will be perfect, "tongues shall cease." We shall know even as we are known; and, most of all, we shall know Christ, whom to know is life eternal. The song of triumph in substance and harmony will be but *one*. The great, the innumerable multitude out of all nations and kindreds and tongues sing but one song: "Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb!"

C. A. H.

MADAME GUYON: PURE LOVE AND MYSTIC PIETY.

The Life of Madame de la Mothe Guyon, &c. &c. By Thomas C. Upham. Edited by an English Clergyman. London: Sampson Low and Co. 1859.

WE have observed that whenever a revival of religion takes place, the writings of Madame Guyon acquire a sudden reputation. They did so both in England and America, during the first fervours of Methodism in the last century. In America, at the season of revivals, thirty years ago. And now, again, they are read with avidity in America, and again at home. After a time this admiration ceases almost as suddenly as it began; and yet at certain periods Madame Guyon reappears, to charm, and then to disappoint, the ardent convert. It seems likely that this alternation will continue; that she will oscillate between passionate admiration, and an almost contemptuous neglect, as long as the present conditions of the church on earth shall last.

So singular a fate in any writer might well deserve to have its causes explored, were it only for the sake of the advantage to be gained from the investigation of a curious problem in the metaphysics of religion. But we have a higher motive. The favour with which Madame Guyon is regarded by new converts proves at least the fascination of her piety; perhaps, too, its reality, as, to some extent, the work of God upon the soul. The slender tenure by which she holds possession of her disciples, seems to show, further, that as they grow in wisdom and in grace, they detect something which they perceive to be of a pernicious quality; a hinderance, if not a positive injury, to the soul. We believe that they are right; and we think that in the midst of the religious movements which are taking place around us, we may do some little service to the cause of Christ if we point out the peculiarities which, with all her piety, beautiful to the eye, and fervent as no doubt it was, render Madame de la Mothe Guyon an unsafe guide. She ought, we think, especially to be distrusted by those from whom she is likely to receive the highest admiration, the young and ardent converts recently gathered into the fold of Christ.

We do not intend to dwell much upon the life of Madame Guyon, or to relate its incidents, some of them tragical enough. She was a French lady of the seventeenth century, born in 1648, distinguished for birth and beauty, and therefore in her youth flattered by many, and passionately admired, it seems, by some. She sought, if she did not attain, a high degree of holiness, and therefore the world hated her. She thought herself a good Catholic, though good Catholics knew better: they saw in her

the seeds of heresy ; and therefore she made acquaintance with the dungeons of Vincennes and the Bastile. She was a Jansenist ; and as the Editor justly remarks, the only credit which the church of Rome can claim from her Jansenist members, is that of having persecuted them. With equal truth, he adds, their views were essentially antagonistic to Romanism, and Louis XIV. and his abettors were more right in discerning their tendency than those who held them. The church of Rome, or rather perhaps its mimics in the church of England, point to her as an evidence that Roman Catholic piety may be of the purest, loftiest kind. So Jeffreys might have proved his patriotism from the fact that he condemned to the gallows none but his own countrymen ; or his humanity, on the plea that he burned alive none but women.

She was a girl of sixteen, admired in the first salons of Paris, and dazzled by its vanities, when her father, after the custom of the age, though with little regard to her own feelings, provided her with a husband more than twenty years older than herself. She did not see him till within a few days of the marriage, and when she saw him it does not appear she either revered or loved him. Her affections, indeed, as she does not hesitate to inform her readers, were already engaged. He was rich and vulgar, though recently ennobled for services rendered by his father to the state. We need not tell the rest. "No sooner," says the unhappy bride, "was I at the house of my husband than I perceived it would be for me a house of mourning. I was very much surprised at this change, and the more so as the vain dreams of my youth anticipated an increase, rather than a diminution, of the happiness and consideration I had enjoyed."

She had not yet given her heart to God, nor, on the other hand, was she a stranger to religious emotions. She had been brought up religiously, as young ladies in France were then educated, at a Dominican convent. She had found a Bible in her chamber. Who placed it there, she never knew ; but she spent whole days in reading it, charmed, as she might well be, with a book as much superior to all other books in pathos, variety, and whatever interests a young mind bursting into the full consciousness of intellectual power, as in its diviner authorship. Other books lost their interest ; and, having great powers of recollection, she says, "I committed to memory the historical parts entirely ;"—a proof how little of wise direction her biblical studies received from the Dominican sisterhood. Other circumstances impressed her deeply ; and as her superior mind recoiled from the follies which satisfied many, she purchased and read some of the practical and devotional books most highly valued ; such as the *Life of Madame Chantal*, and the works of St. Francis de Sales, the founders of that

Jansenist school of divines known otherwise as the Port Royalists, of whom we gave some account a few months ago. But she was still unhappy; for still, according to her own imperfect views, she was not consistent. She made a vow, in imitation of Madame de Chantal, of aiming at the highest perfection, and of doing the will of God in everything; but her vow brought no peace. She would have entered a convent—she would have become a nun—but her father interfered. She was introduced into the world of fashion, and for a time her serious thoughts vanished. It was in this state of mind she married, and of course was wretched.

We have now before us the causes which explain, to some extent, the peculiarities of Madame Guyon's piety. A noble mind, a beautiful person, a senseless husband, a miserable home, her best affections blighted, and every prospect of earthly joy apparently cut off. In this state religion visited her soul; pure religion, but not undefiled; a flood of light was poured in, but it came through painted glass, coloured with Romish superstitions, and it fell upon a soul morbid with the disease which follows when the tenderest sentiments of the heart must be suppressed as a guilty passion.

Thus several pernicious influences were brought to bear at once upon the excitable temperament of a young and broken-hearted bride. The result appears in the peculiar character which her piety assumed. The asceticism she learned from De Sales broke out in acts of unnatural mortification. The blight in her affections broke out in her doctrine of "pure love." She learned "to hate her own flesh," as though it had been the sinful cause of all her misery. She transferred her passions, as well as her affections, to spiritual objects; and she often merely fed a morbid imagination when she thought she had risen to some hitherto unattained degree of holiness. Her system of religion, so far as it was peculiar, was *unnatural*. Her personal piety, so far as it was untinged with *Guyonism*, was elevated and spiritual. Strangely was the composition blended; and we shall render some service to the cause of spiritual religion if we succeed in displaying before our readers the work of divine grace in her soul, as distinguished from the human, or, rather, though we are reluctant to employ the term, the animal ingredient with which it was so strangely interwoven, and mark the lines which separate the two.

She dates her conversion from a period about two years subsequent to her marriage. The birth of her first child led her, as it has led many a thoughtless mother, to reflect that she wanted a heavenly guardian for her infant as well as for herself. Another year passed, and she vainly sought peace in the attempt to "establish her own righteousness." A humble Franciscan first taught her something of "the righteousness

of God by faith." "Your efforts have been unsuccessful, madame," he said, "because you have sought without what you can only find within. Accustom yourself to seek God in your heart, and you will not fail to find him." The instructions were imperfect, and the conversion which followed was defective. We will give the account of it in her own words:—

"‘Having said these words,’ she says, ‘the Franciscan left me. They were to me like the stroke of a dart which pierced my heart asunder. I felt at this instant deeply wounded with the love of God;—a wound so delightful, that I desired it never might be healed. These words brought into my heart what I had been seeking so many years; or rather they made me discover what was there, which I did not enjoy for want of knowing it. Oh, my Lord! thou wast in my heart, and demanded only the turning of my mind inward, to make me feel thy presence. Oh, infinite Goodness! thou wast so near, and I ran hither and thither seeking thee, and yet found thee not. My life was a burden to me, and my happiness was within myself. I was poor in the midst of riches, and ready to perish with hunger near a table plentifully spread and a continual feast. Oh Beauty, ancient and new! Why have I known thee so late? Alas, I sought thee where thou wast not, and did not seek thee where thou wast! It was for want of understanding these words of thy gospel: ‘The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Lo, here! or lo, there! for behold, the kingdom of God is within you.’ This I now experienced, since thou didst become my King, and my heart thy kingdom, where thou dost reign a Sovereign, and dost all thy will.

"‘I told this good man, that I did not know what he had done to me; that my heart was quite changed; that God was there; for from that moment He had given me an experience of His presence in my soul,—not merely as an object intellectually perceived, but as a thing really possessed after the sweetest manner. I experienced those words in the Canticles: ‘Thy name is as precious ointment poured forth; therefore do the virgins love thee.’ For I felt in my soul an unction, which healed in a moment all my wounds. I slept not all that night, because thy love, O my God! flowed in me like delicious oil, and burned as a fire which was going to destroy all that was left of self in an instant. I was all on a sudden so altered, that I was hardly to be known either by myself or others. I found no more those troublesome faults, or that reluctance to duty, which formerly characterized me. They all disappeared, as being consumed like chaff in a great fire.’" (pp. 36, 37.)

She desired the assistance of a spiritual "director;" an officer in the church of Rome whose business it was not so much to hear confessions as to give spiritual counsel. Her Franciscan friend was a cautious and, no doubt, a good man; and he was unwilling to charge himself with the spiritual care of a young lady of twenty years of age. She overcame his reluctance, having full confidence in his discretion. Yet he unintentionally fanned the flame he should have quenched. He

told her it was revealed to him in prayer that he ought to undertake the task. A voice had said, "Fear not that charge: she is my spouse."

"What!" (said I to myself,) "a frightful monster of iniquity, who have done so much to offend my God, in abusing His favours, and requiting them with ingratitude,—and now, thus to be declared His spouse!" After this he consented to my request.

"Nothing was more easy to me now than to practise prayer. Hours passed away like moments, while I could hardly do anything else but pray. The fervency of my love allowed me no intermission. It was a prayer of rejoicing and of possession, wherein the taste of God was so great, so pure, unblended and uninterrupted, that it drew and absorbed the powers of the soul into a profound recollection, a state of confiding and affectionate rest in God, existing without intellectual effort. For I had now no sight but of Jesus Christ alone. All else was excluded, in order to love with greater purity and energy, without any motives or reasons for loving which were of a selfish nature." (p. 38.)

The exquisite glow of feeling which flushes over this description of her conversion; its simplicity, and its transparent sincerity, must not be allowed to blind us. Here is the doctrine of "pure love," the grand distinction of Madame Guyon's school of piety. We object to it strongly, on the twofold ground that it is neither pure nor scriptural. The director certainly heard no voice from heaven when he was told that Madame Guyon was the spouse of Christ; nor was she herself under the divine teaching of the Holy Spirit when she vainly thought herself capable of loving God "without any motives or reasons for loving which are of a selfish nature." These are two of many great errors which blemish the entire system she taught and practised: a refined sensualism, over which is thrown the veil of a Platonic Christianity. The most glowing passages in Holy Writ, whether in prose or poetry, give no sanction to the practice which became from this time habitual to the school of which Madame Guyon must be considered as the founder. The whole church collectively is no doubt designated the bride of Christ, but never any single member of it. It is a glorious title—the highest which the Son of man bestowed upon the church; "the bride the Lamb's wife;" but no one member of the body may assume the sacred distinction. It belongs only to "the church which is His body;"—The body corporate, of which he is the Head. It is enough for the members individually to be "the friends" of Christ; "the brethren" of Christ; and even these titles, conceded to them by the Lord himself, seem to have been felt by His own disciples as if too exalted for common use. The Master might henceforth, in His amazing condescension, call them friends; they loved Him in return with an adoring love,

a love which language labours to express ; but they never presume to call Him friend. Much less does any one of the holy women of Scripture presume to call herself His spouse.

The wisdom of Holy Scripture is apparent in this reserve. The instance of Madame Guyon is sufficient to bring it out before us in very strong relief. The "grace" whereby "we serve God with reverence and godly fear," is exchanged for a passionate excitement, false while it continues, and when age has cooled the temperament, impossible to be revived. Dejection follows ; the failure of youthful affections is regarded as the sign of a decaying faith, and religion bears through the remainder of life a needless burden, cruelly imposed in youth. Not unfrequently the supposed convert finds that the work has, in fact, to be begun anew. A merely natural affection has been mistaken for the love which the Spirit of God introduces. There has been no real change of heart. It was all along the imagination and the passions. And when the first burst is over and temptation comes in, the soul returns to its former abode, finds it swept and garnished, and sinks down into an apathetic state, or even descends to a lower depth of sin.

We are not carping idly at a few unguarded expressions. Madame Guyon introduced a sensual element, captivating in the highest degree to minds constituted like hers, and perilous in the same degree, wanting in reverence and holy fear, and injurious to that purity, after which, we doubt not, she sincerely longed ; and which, under a gross delusion, she thought she had attained. We are by no means disposed to dwell upon the subject ; but before we leave it, we must be allowed to make two quotations, which will sufficiently substantiate our charge.

The 22nd of July, 1668, was the day on which, she tells us, she first knew the blessedness of believing, and she never permitted it to pass without an especial observance. The special observance, four years afterwards, was "an act or covenant of consecration drawn up," her biographer says, "in accordance with those expressions of Scripture which speak of the church as the bride, or spouse of God ;" he has overlooked the distinction on which we insist. The Scriptures do not sanction private acts of dedication expressed in language such as this :—

"I henceforth take Jesus Christ to be mine. I promise to receive Him as a husband to me. And I give myself to Him, unworthy though I am, to be His spouse. I ask of Him, in this marriage of spirit with spirit, that I may be of the same mind with Him,—meek, pure, nothing in myself, and united in God's will. And, pledged as I am to be His, I accept, as a part of my marriage portion, the temptations and sorrows, the crosses and the contempt which fell to Him."

"Jeanne M. B. de la Mothe Guyon."

"Sealed with her ring."

(p. 95.)

This notion of spiritual marriage had taken full possession of her mind, and it accompanied her through life. Nine years afterwards, namely, July 2nd, 1681, she writes thus :—

“It was there, at the tomb of St. Francis de Sales, that I renewed my spiritual marriage with my Redeemer, *as I did every year on this day.*’ She was refreshed by the recollection of the striking passage in the prophet Hosea, ‘*And I will betroth thee unto me for ever ; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercies. I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulness ; and thou shalt know the Lord.*’ ” (p. 152.)

The reader will have observed that it was at the tomb of St. Francis de Sales that this vow of spiritual marriage was annually repeated. Mystic piety and superstition always go on happily hand in hand. Madame Guyon never freed herself from some of the most galling trammels of the church of Rome. Surrounded by French Protestants, some of them of high rank and great mental cultivation, as well as fervent piety, she seems to have paid little attention to the subject of the reformation ; and, indeed, never to have permitted herself seriously to ask what were the grounds of their secession, or whether the church of Rome was indeed tainted with the impurities they alleged against it. She could not possibly worship images after the fashion which prevailed then, as now, in every parish church in France ; nor could she bow her really spiritual mind, or even her penetrating intellect, to receive in their literal forms many of its coarser dogmas. Yet she could remain at ease in its communion, for she had a ready method of solving difficulties of this description. She spiritualized the dogma which insulted her reason and contradicted Scripture, evaporating its grosser particles by a mental chemistry of which she was a perfect mistress. Thus, though she could not invoke the intercession of St. Francis, she paid her annual visit to his tomb, for “she seemed to feel a special union with him,” and to hold, as she said, “with his departed spirit, the holy intercourse of friend with friend ; united with him in Christ, and with Christ in God, who binds all his people, both the dead and the living, in one immortal tie.” Hard words will not assist us, especially when we comment upon the infirmities of a youthful lady. But truth is truth ; and this mode of reasoning is precisely that by which the wiser Brahmins of our own age, and the philosophers of Greece and Italy in past ages, have always defended the vilest idolatries. The formula is precisely the same : “they behold all things in the Divine union.” This is the last stronghold into which idolatry retires.

“This immersion in God absorbed all things ; that is to say, seemed to place all things in a new position relatively to God. Formerly I had contemplated things as dissociated from God ; but now I beheld

all things in the Divine union. I could no more separate holy creatures from God, regarded as the source of their holiness, than I could consider the sun's rays as existing distinct from the sun itself, and living and shining by virtue of their own power of life. This was true of the greatest saints. I could not see the saints, Peter and Paul, and the Virgin Mary, and others, as separate from God, but as being all that they are, from Him and in Him, in oneness. I could not behold them out of God; but I beheld them all in Him." (p. 44.)

Thus she reconciled herself to the worship of the saints, and particularly of the Virgin Mary. She could not practise it herself; but she defended it in others. Her biographer, who can seldom admit that she was wrong, does in this instance venture to say, that "on what principles she maintained the consistency of her Roman Catholic profession, with her refusal to worship the saints and the Virgin, is not entirely obvious; but undoubtedly," he adds with a simplicity greatly to be admired, "she was able to do it, to her own satisfaction." How she did it, she herself tells us, in the passage we have quoted, as well as in another passage which presents as curious a specimen of self-imposition as we perhaps ever read.

"One day," she says, "considering in my mind why it was that I could not, like others, call upon any of the saints in prayer, though closely united to them in God, the thought occurred to me, that *domestics*, in other words, those in a merely justified state, the beginners in the Christian life, the *servants* rather than the *sons* of God, might possibly have some need of the influence and intercession of the saints; while the *spouse* obtains everything she needs without such helps. God, regarding such a soul as purchased by the blood of Christ, and as brought into union with Himself, and sustained in union by Christ's merits, neither seeks nor accepts any other influence, or any other intercession. Oh! how little known is the holy Author of all Good!"

We need scarcely detain the reader by offering any remarks upon what we cannot term less than the folly of this reasoning. A servant of God, a person in a justified state, may possibly need the intercession of the saints. Why so! Because, (for the argument amounts to this) though justified, their souls are not yet purchased by the blood of Christ, not brought into union with Him, nor sustained in union by His merits; for were this the case, God would not either seek or accept on their behalf of any other influence, or any other intercession, than that of his own dear Son. "Oh, how little known is the holy Author of all Good." Certainly Madame Guyon could have known but little of Him, when she ventured thus to trifle with His commands, and in her ignorance to traduce His character.

And yet she thought she knew a great deal. She had under-

taken to write a commentary on the Bible. "It extends to twelve small octavo volumes on the Old Testament and eight on the New." It ought to be a valuable work, for if its author was not utterly deceived, the commentary, like the Bible itself, is in the proper sense inspired.

"I wrote my commentaries on the Scriptures," she says, "for the most part in the night, in time taken from sleep. *The Lord was so present to me in this work, and kept me so under control, that I both began and left off writing just as He was pleased to order it; writing when He gave me inward light and strength, and stopping when He withheld them. I wrote with very great rapidity, light being diffused within me in such a manner, that I found I had in myself latent treasures of perception and knowledge, of which I had but little previous conception.*"

Of this work we are told, and we can believe it, that "the most remarkable part is that upon the Canticles;" although king David found a commentator in this pious lady, who writes of him in a strain worthy of a spiritual medium, or an American table-talker. "In writing my commentaries on the books of Kings, when I gave attention to those parts which had relation to king David, *I felt a very remarkable communion of spirit with him, as much so almost as if he had been present with me.* Even before I had commenced writing, in my previous and preparatory contemplations I had experienced this union." Is this sheer nonsense or something worse? Would she give us to understand that, with Swedenborg or the American spiritualists, she had the power of communicating with the spirits of the dead; or is it only an inflated method of stating a very ordinary truth, that as she studied the Scripture, the Scripture disclosed new beauties to her mental eye?—that as she dwelt upon the character of David, she perceived that it contained more lessons of heavenly wisdom than she had supposed to lie beneath the surface of the story? The reader must determine the point, and he will be obliged to do so by the greater or less amount of his charity; for other evidence there is none to sway his judgment on either side. The commentary was followed up by another work, which she entitles, *A Short Method of Prayer*. It contains passages of such moral grandeur, so true, so spiritual, that as we read them we are half disposed to throw aside all that we have written, and leave a book in which the good and ill so frequently alternate, to make its own way or sink by its own weight. But this may not be. Wholesale praise, or wholesale blame, are equally acceptable to different classes, even of true Christians; but both are wrong. It is theirs to learn to discern things that differ, and ours to assist them in the toilsome, and often thankless, work. Nothing, for instance, can be more admirable than her appeal to religious pastors and teachers:—

"The cause," she says, "of our being so unsuccessful in reforming mankind, especially the lower class, is our beginning with external matters;—in this way, if we produce any fruit, it is fruit which perishes. We should begin with principles, which reach the interior, and tend to renovate the heart. This is the true and the ready process; to teach men to seek and to know God in the heart—by affections rather than by forms. Thus we lead the soul to the fountain.

"Impressed with the importance of the religion of the heart, I beseech all who have the care of souls, to put them at once into the spiritual way. Preach to them Jesus Christ. He himself, by the precious blood He hath shed for those intrusted to you, conjures you to speak, not to that which is *outward*, but to the *heart* of His Jerusalem. O ye dispensers of His graces, ye preachers of His word, ye ministers of His sacraments, labour to establish Christ's kingdom! As it is the heart alone which can oppose Christ's sovereignty, so it is by the subjection of the heart that His sovereignty is most highly exalted. Employ means, compose catechisms, and whatever other methods may be proper, but aim at the *heart*. Teach the prayer of the heart, and not of the understanding; the prayer of God's Spirit, and not of man's invention." (pp. 244, 245.)

Yet as a whole the treatise is both faulty and dangerous. Pure love lies at the foundation, and the edifice is rotten. She says:—

"No man can be wholly the Lord's, unless he is wholly consecrated to the Lord; and no man can know whether he is thus wholly consecrated, except *by tribulation*. That is the test." No: that is not the test; although Romanists, and all others who seek to be justified by a righteousness of their own, would have it so. "Hereby know we that we dwell in Him and he in us, *because he has given us of his Spirit*." That is the test. St. John mentions several collateral tests; as, that we love the brethren, that we love God, and that we have the faith that worketh by love; but the *legal test*, or that of *tribulation*, on which Madam Guyon insists, he never mentions. Yet she goes on to assure us that it is not only "the test, but the only true test of a true state." The following extract we are disposed to regard as idle and mischievous, somnolent and dreamy. We do not say more, because we cannot satisfy ourselves that we quite understand it; perhaps the reader's penetration may be more acute:—

"13. *Of the soul in the state of pure or unselfish love.*

"When we have given ourselves to God in *abandonment*, and have exercised faith in God that He does *now*, and that He will ever receive us and make us one with Himself, then God becomes central in the soul, and all which is the opposite of God gradually *dissolves itself*, if one may so speak, and passes away.

"SELF is now destroyed. The soul, recognizing God as its centre, is filled with love, which, as it places God first, and everything *else* in the proper relation to Him, may be regarded as *pure*. It is not until we arrive at this state, in the entire destruction and loss of self, that

we acknowledge, in the highest and truest sense, God's supreme existence; still less *do* we, or *can* we, have God *as a life within us*.

"In experimental religion there are two great and important views—perhaps there are none more important—which are expressed by the single terms, the ALL and the NOTHING. We must become *Nothing* in ourselves, before we can receive the *All* or *Fulness* of God." (pp. 241, 242.)

Equally unintelligible to us is the section which follows:—

"14. *Of the practice of the prayer of silence.*

"When the soul has reached this degree of experience, it is disposed to practise the PRAYER OF SILENCE, so called, not merely because it excludes the voice, but because it has so simplified its petitions, that it has hardly anything to say, except to breathe forth, in a desire UNSPOKEN, *Thy will be done*. This prayer, so simple and yet so comprehensive, may be said to embody the whole state of the soul. And believing that this prayer is and must be fulfilled *moment by moment*, the constant fruition crowns the constant request, and it rejoices in what it *has*, as well as in what it *seeks*.

"The soul in this Divine prayer acts more nobly and more extensively than it had ever done before; since God himself is its mover, and it now acts as it is acted upon by the agency of the Holy Ghost. When St. Paul speaks of our being led by the Spirit of God, it is not meant that we should cease from action; but that our action should be in harmony with and in subordination to the Divine action. This is finely represented by the prophet Ezekiel's vision of the wheels, which had a living spirit; and whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went; they ascended and descended as they were moved; for the spirit of life was in them, and they returned not when they went."

Madame Guyon frequently insists on this prayer of silence;—prayer "so simplified that it has hardly anything to say except to breathe forth the UNSPOKEN desire, '*Thy will be done*.'" No doubt this is the highest of all petitions. It indicates a state of mind greatly to be coveted; perhaps the best to which we can attain on earth; but that is not the point in question. What is gained by addressing our petitions to the Majesty on high "*unspoken*?" Our blessed Lord in prayer made use of language as the vehicle of thought; He lifted up His voice; "*He said, O Father, I thank thee*," &c. He prayed again, "*saying the same words*." Are we to be wiser than He? Would Madame Guyon and the mystics raise us to a higher state and to a closer intimacy with the Father, than the Son of man enjoyed? We decline to follow them in their perilous adventure. We have no ambition to be holier than our Lord. We are of opinion that it is enough for the disciple to be as his Master. Indeed this notion of voiceless prayer is altogether a delusion, as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural. Except a few ideas derived from sensation, and therefore almost exclusively of a *sensual*, or (to use a word lately introduced by writers on mental science, as less offensive) of a *sensuous* character, it may be questioned whether the mind is capable of a train of thought

divorced from language. Words are necessary as a vehicle both to introduce the thought and to sustain it in the mind. A train of thought presupposes and demands a train of words. Prayer, thanksgiving, meditation, are mental exercises no less than spiritual ones. Any one can make the experiment for himself; let him try to think, and at the same moment let him, if he can, repel the resolute intrusion of language, and tell us the effect. We will venture to anticipate his communication; it will lie between these two results, of which the first is the more likely. He will tell us that he fell fast asleep, or that he fell into a waking stupor; that state of mental torpor which is a fool's paradise, and a wise man's abhorrence.

Bossuet was at this time the acknowledged leader of the Gallican church. "By his work, entitled, *A History of the Variations of the Doctrines of the Reformed Churches*, in which he had subjected the doctrines of Luther and of the other Protestant reformers to a severe scrutiny, he had not only acquired a splendid reputation, but had placed himself in a position which led him to be regarded by Roman Catholics as emphatically the defender of the faith." He was no doubt annoyed to find not only that a woman was at the head of a large and hostile party, but that she led in her train such men as Fénelon, and others scarcely less distinguished. He was therefore induced to seek for an interview with Madame Guyon, and to attempt her conversion from what he regarded as a heresy to the true Catholic faith. Several conversations followed, which Mr. Upham gives his readers chiefly in her own words. Without impeaching her veracity, we may conclude that she does full justice to her own share in these discussions. To us Protestants nothing can be more amusing than these "wit-combats" between the ablest divine, and the most acute and accomplished lady, in France. Both are in a false position; both are evidently ashamed of the grosser doctrines of the church. Both agree tacitly to set at naught its authority; both profess the most profound veneration for it. Bossuet endeavours to persuade his fair adversary that Romanism, as he held it, was in accordance with the Scriptures. Madame Guyon has a still harder task: she endeavours to persuade her opponent that her system of theology is consistent both with the Bible and with a dutiful allegiance to the church of Rome. He attempts to silence her, by showing that her doctrine is contrary to the Scriptures, and to some of the greatest theologians, to whom alone he thinks it prudent to refer. His opponent shows at least as accurate an acquaintance with the Scriptures as himself. He was an ecclesiastical metaphysician of renown; but her subtleties confound him, while at the same time her wit must have tried his politeness to the utmost; for nothing can exceed the courtesy on both sides. Bossuet has been reminding her of the differences laid down by theological doctors between what he terms *passively active* and co-

operative grace. Madame Guyon, for a moment perplexed, is willing to acknowledge that she is not much acquainted with theological writers. Bossuet sees and seizes his advantage. "Would it not be desirable, Madame, that those who exercise the function of public teachers should have such an acquaintance? As women are not in a situation to go through a course of theological education, it has sometimes seemed to me that it would be well for them to dispense with public missions." Alas for the champion of the church! a woman's bodkin shall thrust him through. "I have no doubt, sir, that your remark is well meant, but God in his great wisdom sometimes makes use of feeble instruments. And I have thought, as He *condescended on one occasion at least to employ a dull animal to utter His truth, He might sometimes make use of a woman for the same purpose.*" Bossuet was too happy to make good his retreat, politely exclaiming, "I merely refer to the subject, without wishing to press it. I should be sorry to say anything which would imply a limitation to the power and providence of God." But Bossuet was not always courteous. Rome's accredited agents may sometimes have a glossy hide, but they all have the tiger's teeth. At a later interview he began to rage against his poor victim as "a heretic." "I hoped," she meekly answers, "to have found in you a father, and I trust I shall not be deceived." Hear the saintly Bossuet in reply:—

"I am a father," said Bossuet; "but I am a *father of the Church*. But, in short, it is not a question of words. It is not a thing to be talked about, but to be done. All I can say is, if you do not sign what I require, I will come with witnesses; and, after having admonished you before them, I will inform the Church of you, and we will cut you off as we are directed in the Gospel."

Need we tell what followed? She was seized by order of the king, and imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes; there she lay two years; from thence she was transferred, after a short interval, to the towers of the Bastille, where she lay four years, daily expecting death. "Fear not," she writes just before her imprisonment (for while in the Bastille she was neither allowed to see her friends nor to write to them); "if they should proceed to extremities and put me to death, *come and see me die*. I will die as Mary Magdalene did, who never left Him that taught her the science of PURE LOVE." But the wrath of her persecutors was restrained. She was banished to Blois, a hundred miles from Paris, and there she died.

Madame Guyon was, beyond a doubt, a holy woman. Admiration for her private character forces itself upon the reader at every page, disturbs the judgment, and implores the censor to lay down his pen. It was her personal character which at first enforced her lessons of piety upon a vapid, sensual, superstitious age. It is this which makes her teaching dangerous now. Few can distinguish between the author and her work;

fewer still will be at the pains to do so ; and hence the mischief done among religious people by such a life as hers. The persecutions she suffered, the insults she bore so meekly, her imprisonments so joyfully undergone, her death so peaceful at the last, all contribute to the charm. For at length she went down to the grave in peace ; and in her last will and testament she expresses with more simplicity and far more force than in her controversial writings the ground of a sinner's confidence : "Thou seest my nakedness and misery without Thee. Thou knowest there is nothing in heaven or in earth that I desire but Thee alone. Within Thy hands, O God, I leave my soul, not relying for my salvation on any good that is in me, but solely on Thy mercies and the merits and sufferings of my Lord Jesus Christ." She lived to the age of sixty-nine, and expired, almost the last of her contemporaries, in 1717.—We know not whether to be more astonished that, living and dying in the communion of the church of Rome, she had so much light ; or that having so much light, she should have lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome.

It is in the church of Christ as in the outer world around us : certain conditions of the atmosphere return, and soon after certain diseases reappear. We have had an outburst of Romish fanaticism ; we now have another of infidel fanaticism ; it seems not improbable we may have a third of mystical fanaticism ; which to spiritual religion would be more injurious than either of the other two, because more deceptive, and in its origin more closely related to true piety. We may discern already the symptoms of its approach.

In our remarks on Madame Guyon's theology, we have confined ourselves to those points in which the system was properly her own. But these are not its only faults. It is mixed up with others which it has in common with the church of Rome. She constantly confounds justification with sanctification ; the work of the Son with the work of the Spirit ; that which is done for us by the great Mediator with that which is carried on within us by the Holy Ghost. She seldom speaks in a manner perfectly satisfactory upon the atonement, the substitution of innocence for guilt, and the pardon consequent upon faith. Faith often appears to mean little more than historical assent ; and she dwells more frequently, and, as it seems to us, with more complacency, upon the believer's love to Christ than upon the "great love wherewith He loved us." In all this there is deadly mischief. It is precisely what we see in the school of which Mr. Maurice is an acknowledged leader. It is no matter of surprise to us that the mystical raptures of Madame Guyon should be welcomed by broad-church theologians. The indistinctness of her spiritual imagery charms them. Like other enthusiasts they mistake haze for distance ;

that which is obscure for that which is profound. They are not yet cured of a lingering fondness for the church of Rome; they love her mysterious gloom; just as they abhor the clear, sharp outlines, the well-defined doctrinal statements, of the reformation. Even the absurd doctrine of pure love is not unwelcome to them. It seems to place man in a noble position. He professes to love God in Christ, and yet he loves Him upon equal terms. It is more the love of admiration than of gratitude; so there is nothing humbling in it. In a very popular hymn-book drawn up for the use of a congregation of this class, we find a hymn which is there ascribed to Xavier. We are not acquainted with it in the original, but it probably owes much to the translator:—

- “1. Thou, O my Jesus, thou didst me
Upon the cross embrace;
For me didst bear the nails and spear,
And manifold disgrace;
2. And griefs and torments numberless
And sweat of agony,
Yes, death itself, and all for one
That was thine enemy.
3. *Then why, O blessed Jesus Christ,
Should I not love Thee well?
Not for the hope of winning heaven,
Nor of escaping hell.*
4. *Not with the hope of gaining aught,
Not seeking a reward;
But as Thyself hast loved me,
O ever loving Lord.*
5. *E'en so I love Thee; and will love,
And in Thy praise will sing,
Solely because Thou art my God
And my eternal King.”*

The hymn appears in a celebrated American collection, but we have heard it admired in England, even amongst evangelical Christians. It expresses, no doubt, a certain kind of admiration for the cross of Christ, and a certain degree of obligation to it; but instead of glorying in it, it glories in the exclusion of it. It tells the worshipper that there are higher grounds of admiration, nobler motives for loving God, than the cross affords. He has gained a sublime height, from which he looks down upon Calvary; he is on the mount of pure love; he loves God for God's own sake, and for the sake of God's own perfections, and not because God so loved him that He gave His Son, His only Son, to die for him. Young converts of ardent natures are always open to such delusions. They know little of themselves, less still of what the Spirit terms “the depths of Satan.” Full of love they delight to soar into what they conceive to be loftier contemplations and purer acts of a still more spiritual

worship. There appears to them to be something wonderfully sublime in the religion which waits in stillness upon God; in the ineffable communion which they are supposed to hold who can worship without distraction, without the intervention of human speech, wrapt and lost in the contemplation of the godhead; and who need not even the motive of a Saviour's love to kindle theirs. Alas! they know not yet how much pride there is in all this, nor what a want of reverence and godly fear. We may love a being like ourselves merely for the qualities of his mind or person, seeking for no return. But we neither can nor may thus affect to love Him who is one with the Eternal Power and Godhead. Our sins, our wants, His holiness, His infinite power and majesty, forbid it. He saves us from death and hell; and if we have indeed learned to love Him without regard to this great salvation, it must be because we have discovered in Him still higher attractions: something still more fitted to engage our affections and claim the homage of our souls. What is this but to do despite to the work of redemption wrought out in the blood of the cross? They who can indulge in such presumptuous extravagance have not yet learned to put the shoes from off their feet, as they approach even the outer precincts of the temple, and then "to draw near with a true penitent heart" as well as "with a lively faith."

Inaccuracy of doctrine, and a want of distinctness in the statement of doctrinal truth even where there is no inaccuracy, are serious evils. They never exist for any length of time without drawing in their train the most lamentable consequences. Madame Guyon's writings abound in these faults; we should even say these faults are characteristic of Madame Guyon's writings. At a period when revivals of religion,—we use the popular phrase, which sufficiently conveys our meaning, without examining its correctness,—are taking place, we need to be especially on our guard against the intrusion of these evils. Young converts, preachers full of zeal, come forward, and their earnestness will gather crowds around them; but they are themselves, however sincere, inexperienced men. They are naturally disposed to disregard what must seem to them the needless accuracy of minds better disciplined though possibly less ardent, less loving, than themselves. They think it sufficient to preach Christ, and so indeed it is; they will know nothing but Christ crucified, and this is all they need to know. But they must bear with us while we tell them that the preaching of Christ crucified includes other doctrines. It includes the doctrine of repentance, for Christ may be so offered to sinners that the faith which justifies may be represented as little more than a belief in the mere fact of his crucifixion. We fear that this is sometimes the case. The preacher, anxious to see conversions there and then, does not sufficiently press upon his hearers the fact, that if Christ promises immediate rest, it is

to the weary and heavy laden : that the gift of repentance must be sought before the gift of pardon can be enjoyed : that the Lord Jesus Christ is exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, that he may give repentance unto Israel as well as remission of sins. It is not more caution in the statement of divine truth, but a fuller statement of it, that we want in some popular revivalists ; not more timidity, but, in point of fact, more courage and a bolder declaration of the whole counsel of God. The influence of writers like Madame Guyon is a spark thrown among dry flax, both to preachers and converts of this description. Real contrition for sin is little dwelt upon. The exceeding sinfulness of sin is very imperfectly understood ; the wound is slightly healed, and after a while the disease breaks out anew. We should be sorry to give utterance to a single word which might seem to disparage what we really believe to be the work of God, but we would see it as far as possible unmixed with human infirmity. In proportion to the grandeur of the work will be the malignity of Satan ; we may expect him to come forth with his hosts to battle in the day of God Almighty. It becomes us, therefore, to take more especial heed at such times to the apostolic warning :—"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

THE FUTURE DESTINY OF ISRAEL.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—I have read the paper of your correspondent "B." on the future destiny of the Jews, in which he says that Nehemiah and Ezra* might be expunged from God's word, for all the notice that is taken of them in many prophetic books ; *i. e.*, by many of the advocates of the future literal restoration of the Jews. I can only say for myself, that every fresh perusal of Nehemiah and Ezra, and, I would also add, Esther, only serves to deepen my conviction that many of the prophetic promises relating to the literal twelve tribes or Israel, to Judah and Ephraim, have *not* yet received their fulfilment. I quote two or three from Isaiah and Jeremiah.

"And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to	† Concerning the Ammonites, thus saith the Lord ; Hath Israel no sons ? hath he no heir ? why
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* Christian Observer, June, p. 468.

† Several years ago, in a paper inserted in this Journal, while touching incidentally on the future restoration of the Jews, the writer appealed to these texts.

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recover the remnant of his people, that shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt . . . and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." (Isaiah xi. 11—13.)

then doth their king inherit Gad (*Gilead*), and his people dwell in his cities? (Jer. xlix. 1.) And I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon mount Ephraim and *Gilead*. In those days, and in that time, saith the Lord, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found." (Jer. l. 19, 20.)

Here we have, not only promise of renewed favour and blessing to the nation, but also to the land; national and territorial promise. Now, we are, perhaps, not altogether surprised at finding in Jer. xxxi. 18, 21, what may be accepted as an historical assertion that cir.* 606 B. C., nearly 120 years after the destruction of Samaria, God yet graciously remembered Ephraim: "my bowels are troubled for him; I will surely have mercy on him, saith the Lord." But we are far more astonished to find in Jer. xlix. 1, that cir. 595 B. C., more than 130 years after the captivity and desolation of Gad by Pul and Tiglath-pileser, what may be regarded as an historical assurance, that not only the tribe, but also the territory of Gad, was still vividly in the remembrance of the God of Israel. Ephraim was the representative of Joseph, elevated to the birthright of the first-born in consequence of Reuben's transgression. (1 Chron. v. 1; Psa. lx. 7.) His territory was on the west of the Jordan, adjoining that of Judah and Benjamin, and the ark of the Lord had remained there from the days of Joshua until the days of David. Gad was the son of Jacob, neither by Leah, nor by Rachel, but by Zilpah the handmaid of the former. His borders were not part of the original grant, on the western side of the Jordan, but were situated on the eastern bank, and chosen in self-will and selfish regard to their own personal interest and convenience, and against the wish of Moses.

Again: the prophet Jeremiah predicted a season of peace and prosperity for Israel (the ten tribes) when "they should feed on Carmel and Bashan, and their soul should be satisfied on mount Ephraim and *Gilead*." Now, Carmel and mount Ephraim were on the western, Bashan and *Gilead* on the eastern, side of the Jordan. And, even if Isaiah had been silent, the promises to Ephraim and his associate tribes would clearly imply similar promises to Judah and Benjamin, both to the people and to their land. And the predicted blessings

* The marginal date of Jer. xxxi. is B.C. 606; and of Jer. xlix., B.C. 595.

amount, at the most modest interpretation, to a degree of moral and religious purity, of civil and social security and prosperity, such as had never been exceeded in the days of David, Solomon, or Hezekiah.

Where are we to find any approximation to this state of things in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah?

I. Instead of there being a universal gathering of the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth, we have reason to infer from the book of Ezra, that a considerable number of Jewish families refused to cross the Euphrates and return to Palestine. There is no mention of Ephraim; and the only allusions (though, doubtless, pregnant ones) to the twelve tribes are such as occur in Ezra vi. 17; viii. 35. The book of Esther also would seem to show that it could have been only an insignificant fraction of the ten tribes which returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua. This may appear to be not unimportant presumptive evidence, that the return to Judea, under the decree of Cyrus, was certainly not that restoration to Palestine of Ephraim and Judah foretold by Isaiah and Jeremiah.

II. Jeremiah (xxxi. 5, 6) says, "O virgin of Israel, *thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria*: the planters shall plant, and eat them as common things. For there shall be a day, that the watchmen upon mount Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion unto the Lord our God." We turn to the fourth of Ezra, which records what happened in Jerusalem and Samaria after the return from Babylon, about the *third year of Cyrus*. Samaria was peopled, not by Ephraim and Manasseh, but by semi-heathen colonists, who are emphatically styled in the sacred record the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin. These persecute successfully the returned Jews, trouble them in their attempts to rebuild the temple, "hiring counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose all the days of Cyrus, king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius, king of Persia." There seems to be good reason for believing that it was the disappointing and distressing tidings of this successful persecution which caused Daniel (x. 1, 2), in the *third year of Cyrus*, to be "mourning three full weeks."

III. The prophets speak, not only of the secure, but triumphant, position of Judah and Ephraim in the days of their universal restoration. Compare these predictions with Ezra's graphic and touching description of his condition near the river of Ahava. "Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance. *For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the*

way : because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him ; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him. So we fasted and besought our God for this : and he was intreated of us." (Ezra viii. 21.)

IV. The prophets speak of the moral and religious purity that should prevail in restored Judah and Ephraim. Read in chap. ix. 1—5, how Ezra, on hearing of the intermarriages of the people of the land, Gentiles and strangers, "rent his garment and mantle, plucked off the hair of his head and beard, and sat down astonished." This occurred cir. B. C. 457, about eighty years after the decree of Cyrus. Read also what Nehemiah wrote, more than a hundred years after the decree of Cyrus, concerning the violation of the sabbath day at Jerusalem and the intermarriages of Jews with women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab, and when "one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite." And if we accept the marginal dates of Malachi's prophecy (B. C. 397), we shall see the deep and gradually increasing corruption and avarice of the priests. And as Judah was still under a covenant with the Most High to this effect, that obedience would be certainly followed by temporal favour and protection, disobedience by temporal visitation and chastisement, the very fact of the sanguinary triumphs, and horrible cruelties and impious desecrations of Antiochus Epiphanes, prove that the moral career of the Jews, from the days of Malachi to cir. B. C. 167, had been more or less a downward career. And we know that about two centuries later, the Jews had become so ignorant of the spiritual meaning of their scriptures, and so destitute of the true spiritual knowledge and fear of the God of their fathers, that they rejected and crucified the Lord Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah. In less than forty years after the crucifixion, Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed by the Romans, and the captive Jews dispersed among the nations, and this is their condition at the present day.

V. We have spoken of the book of Ezra, we now come to that of Nehemiah. The prophets predict the prosperity of Israel, and the splendour of Jerusalem in the days of the great restoration of Judah and Ephraim. What is the description given, cir. 446 B. C., ninety years after the decree of Cyrus, by Nehemiah?—"I asked Hanani concerning the Jews which were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem. And they said unto me, The remnant that are left of the captivity there in the province are in great affliction and reproach : the wall of Jerusalem also is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire. And it came to pass, when I heard these words, that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven."

VI. How did the Levites, in the name and on the behalf of their nation, describe before the Lord what had been the position of the Jews under the kings of Persia from the days of Cyrus to the days of Nehemiah, a period of ninety years? —“Behold, we are servants this day, and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof and the good thereof, behold, *we are servants in it*: and it yieldeth much increase unto *the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins*: also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we are in great distress.” (Neh. ix. 36, 37.)

VII. It is true that the Jews afterwards enjoyed a degree of independence from B. C. 143 to B. C. 63. But their rulers during this period, such as Simon, and his son John Hyrcanus, *were not of the tribe of Judah and the house of David*. At the time of the birth of our Lord, Herod the Great reigned over Judea and Samaria; but he was by descent an Idumean or Edomite.

I have already, perhaps, exceeded the limits permitted to such a communication as the present, and therefore bring it at once to a conclusion.

CLERICUS G.

SOME COMMENTS UPON MR. GOODWIN'S VIEW OF THE COSMOGONY OF MOSES.

IN speaking about revelation in general, we ask this question first of all: Have we any reason, *à priori*, for expecting that it should have been given in any particular manner, or that its truths should have been cast into any particular mould?

The ground of all expectation is, we know, experience; and according to the amount of experience will be the degree of the expectation. This may vary from the barest probability to an almost absolute certainty. In the case of certain natural phenomena, the experience of certain results has been so absolutely uniform, as to lead to an almost absolute certainty that these will always recur in the same order and manner; we say, an *almost* absolute certainty, because unless it be assumed that matter is self-existent and therefore eternal, it must have been put into motion and sustained in it by a power extraneous and superior to itself, and that power may suspend its operations; but whether it will do so or not, evidently cannot be known but by a declaration emanating from the power itself. Hence our expectation, though *almost*, yet does not *quite* amount to an absolute certainty; or what is saying the same thing, we absolutely expect that these natural phenomena will recur to-

morrow as they did yesterday, and as we see them recurring to-day, provided the moving power does not suspend its operation. Hence the law, which we deduce from reiterated experiences and observations of natural phenomena, is nothing else than an expression of the absolute regularity of the movements and counsels of the Supreme Mind.

But there are other things beside natural phenomena which are the subjects of experience, which experience leads to future expectation : not to mention other things, it may be enough to refer to the history of nations ; by that history we perceive that certain combinations of events have generally produced certain results, and so when in any other nation we see a similar combination, we are led to expect similar results ; and in this case the degree of expectation will vary from the lowest amount of probability, not to an almost absolute certainty, but to such a degree of certainty as would render any ruler highly culpable for neglecting the expectation and providing accordingly.

Hence arise laws of policy and government, which though not possessing the degree of certainty which belongs to the laws of nature, are yet binding in their measure upon those charged with the oversight of political institutions.

But in a complication of circumstances, which is utterly without precedent, experience fails as a guide of our expectations, and we are forced to pause and look at things as they come ; and though we may believe, and ought perhaps to believe, that this new and unprecedented arrangement of circumstances is being worked out according to some law, yet we must feel that it is a law beyond our present ken, and one about which it is not possible to reason in the same way as we do about known and established laws.

Granting that the Supreme Being has made a revelation to man, what ground have we from experience to expect that that revelation should take any particular form or be delivered in any particular manner ? Have we any experience of a similar complication of circumstances to those we are called upon to regard, when we contemplate the Supreme Governor of the universe revealing himself to man ? There *may* have been such a complication of circumstances many times before ; there *may* have been other worlds similarly circumstanced to our own, to which revelations have been made ; but where is the record of them ? To what book of history shall we turn to find the account ? Where are the archives of the planets—the written memorials of the inhabited worlds, if such there are, among the shining hosts of heaven ? Had we even one such record, we should have some degree of experience to guide our expectation as to the nature of revelation. Our expectation would in this case be small indeed ; but it would be something real and tangible. Had we the records of some six or seven

worlds, we might reason on our expectation with greater assurance. Or, finally, if the records of all the inhabited worlds in the universe were before us, we might argue on the subject of revelation on assured premises, and arrive at incontrovertible conclusions. We might, perhaps, then be allowed to lay down laws about the nature of revelation; and if any book claiming the title of God's word came to us, contradicting in the manner of its development any one of these laws, we might perhaps be justified in rejecting its claim and repudiating its statements. But we are absolutely without any premises of experience to guide our expectation. The circumstances of revelation are to us unique, and within the range of our knowledge unprecedented. If we repeat the question, "Have we anything to guide our expectation of what a revelation must be?" experience says, "It is not in me;" history answers, "I know it not."

If experience fails to lead us to any expectation about the nature of revelation, it fails equally to lead us to any expectation about the manner of its development.

Had we at hand any records of the mode in which it had pleased the Supreme Being to give His revelation to other worlds, we might with reason have argued that our revelation would have been made in a similar manner.

Had we certain knowledge that other revelations had been given without the authentication of miracles, we should have had a reasonable ground for expecting that ours would have been so given; and we might have been, in consequence, to some degree justified in rejecting as absurd the position that a revelation needs the authentication of miracles.

But here we see that experience altogether fails us.

It is argued, however, that a miracle, as an infringement of law, is a violation of the uniformity of the Divine operation, and therefore involves in its very idea a contradiction of the necessary attributes of Divinity. In answer, we argue that a miraculous operation is no infringement of any law furnished by past experiences of the manner of God's revealing himself to His creatures, for experience furnishes us with no such law.

But if natural laws be infringed by miraculous operations, and this infringement be objected against their very possibility, or at least *probability*, it may be answered that experience furnishes us with no reason for assuming it as utterly unlikely that natural laws should be infringed for the high purpose of instructing and elevating rational and immortal creatures: but, on the contrary, experience is very much in favour of the *probability* of such a thing taking place. It is evident that certain natural phenomena exercise a considerable influence upon men. It is clear from the history of the world, as well as from the observation of particular nations at the present time, that such things as the variations of climate, the nature of the soil, the

face of the country, the frequent occurrence of storms or otherwise, do exercise a very considerable influence upon the human race.

It is impossible to deny that a climate, where all that is necessary for life is easily and without much labour obtained, has an enervating effect upon those subjected to its influence; while a severe climate, and a soil demanding much labour from its cultivators, have their effect in bracing and nerving men to patience, industry, and fortitude. In one word, it is impossible to deny that physical phenomena have had their use in the education of the world. Hence the conclusion is irresistible, that these phenomena are subordinated to the use of man. Nature is for man, and not man for nature. Admit this, and it follows that there must be a suitability between the arrangement of the phenomena of nature and the disposition of the creature to be influenced by them. If this disposition were perfectly uniform, and evidently regulated by fixed laws, we might reject utterly the idea of any infringement of the uniformity of the phenomena. But is it so? Are the acts, the feelings, the habits of man regulated by fixed laws? In the reasoning of the fatalist they are. But fatalism destroys the responsibility of man, and practically denies the power of a Creator to form a creature endowed with a free-will. In the light of such reasoning miracles are an absurdity. But admit his free-agency. Admit his liability to receive impression from external objects (such as those referred to) and the absurdity ceases, and a strong probability in favour of miraculous operations necessarily follows. In fact, the denial of miraculous agency as a means of instruction to man amounts to a denial of man's free-will and responsibility. The possibility of a Creator instructing his creature by extraordinary and abnormal means, is a correlative doctrine with that creature's free-agency. Deny the one and the other falls; admit the one and the other follows rationally.

Any apparent infringement of a lower law of nature by means of which God may convey instruction to a creature, is but a fulfilment of a higher law of benevolence, whereby God regulates the things of nature so as best to meet the needs of the constitution which Himself has given to that creature.

Before leaving this part of our subject, it may be well to notice how the discoveries which geology has opened out to us confirm the position that nature is for man.

At periods long distant the barns of nature were being stored with treasures for man's use. The crust of the earth has been subjected to violent, and as far as we might say, abnormal convulsions, and by means of these, treasures, and blessings, and wealth, and beauty have been either created or brought within reach for the benefit of man.

It is no answer to this reasoning to say, that the miracles which took place years ago are no argument to the man of the present day: for the question is, would the revelation have been formerly received without the authentication of miracles? Clearly it would not. And if the Jew in times past had not been induced by miracles which he saw, to receive and preserve a book of revelation as genuine, there would have been no Scripture now for the professor to speculate upon and the sceptic to mock at.

All the argument here brought forward does not in any degree avail to prove that miracles *have* actually taken place, but it only avails to take away any *à priori* objection to them, and to show the probability of their being wrought for such an important purpose as the information and instruction of man.

But if experience affords no ground of expectation, *à priori*, as to the nature of revelation and the manner of its development, do we learn anything from analogy? Are there any circumstances bearing a likeness to the circumstances of a Creator speaking to his creature? Is there any relationship analogous in any degree to the relationship between God and man?

The relationship existing between parents and children is so. As the Creature is dependent on the Creator, so in a subordinate sense are the children on the parent. To the will of the parent the child must in some degree conform: and to the parental training is the formation of the child's character due. The mode of moral, and it may be added, of intellectual, training which the parent adopts, is analogous to God's training and instruction of men.

Now, from the child the parent claims implicit and trusting obedience. This is a necessity resulting from the weakness of the child. He is incapable of understanding the reasons of his parent's conduct, or the principles on which his commands are based. Experience abundantly shows that where there has been a failure in the establishment of such a habit of implicit obedience, there results disastrous to the well-being of the child have followed. It is only in the course of the child's advance from childhood to manhood that he becomes capable of understanding the reasons of parental commands, and appreciating the wisdom of parental training. In proof of this, how many are there to be found who regret in after life that they thought themselves wiser than their teachers, and so did not fulfil their commands or submit themselves to their instructions! The first step, then, in parental training, is to require of the child only so much knowledge as is necessary to make the command understood and then to demand unquestioning obedience. And as the child advances in life, knowledge and obedience go hand in hand for a time. But the analogy fails us here, for while the authority

of the parent is of necessity temporary, the authority of the Creator must be continuous.

However, from this analogy, as far as it does guide us, we might conclude it probable that the first thing that revelation would require of men would be sufficient knowledge of a simple command to make obedience possible—and then obedience—and that afterwards knowledge and moral training would advance in equal degrees.

And in the matter of intellectual instruction, we have an analogy here. It is plain that the best way of imparting instruction (not to children only, but generally) is by the eye; perhaps it would not be too much to say that the only way of teaching is by the eye. No amount of description, no accuracy of well-arranged language, will ever give half such a correct idea of an object as one picture.

How often do we find persons exclaim on seeing a face, a building, a landscape, which have been fully *described* to them, How different this to what I expected! Perhaps it would be found that those only have formed an expectation something like the actual reality who have seen the like before; but in the case of those who have never witnessed the like, the description will be found to have conveyed to their minds something widely differing from what they are called upon to gaze at. And what is here said about an object of sight, may be true also of what is related about a person's character, his words, his habits, or the conduct of an individual or nation under particular circumstances.

An account in writing, read by two different persons, may convey very different impressions to each of them. One who has *seen* a character like that described, or is familiar with the biography of the man whose words are recorded, or the history of the nations whose conduct is narrated, will receive one impression. Another person, who is unacquainted with these particulars, or their like, will receive another impression.

The saying of a man is repeated in company: one of the company perceives in it a particular meaning; another, in answer says, If you had known and seen him, you would have taken quite a different view.

Hence it appears that language by itself is at best a defective medium of instruction; the eye must be called in to verify the deductions of the ear.

Hence arises the necessity of calling in illustrations, models, pictures, diagrams, in aid of instruction, for without such aids it would be, perhaps, impossible to convey to a learner the exact truth.

Whether this be owing to any defect in language, or to any other cause, is a question beside our present purpose.

What pictures do for us in correcting and verifying our notions which we have derived from verbal descriptions of the things painted, history and details of facts do for us with regard to the sayings, habits, and character of men and nations.

History may be regarded as a series of pictures bringing before us life-like representations of men and nations; and the more dramatically history is written, the more truthful will be the impression; because the nearer will it be to a life-like representation of the action—the man—the nation.

The power either of an author or an orator to interest, in giving any description, will always be proportioned to his power of bringing the subject in living colours before the reader or the listener. To be thoroughly interesting, he must be a complete painter; and the more accurate his drawing, the more natural his colouring, the more instructive will be his description and the more truthful will be the impression which he will produce.

According to this analogy, we might expect revelation to appear primarily to the eye. We might expect its records to be pictorial and historical, a series of scenic paintings and dramatic representations. Is it so? Were the Hebrews taught by the eye? Were the prophets taught by the eye? Are we in these later days taught by the dramatic representation of what these men saw? We answer, So it was; so it is. The prophets frequently refer to what they have seen in vision as the groundwork of what they believe themselves, as well as of their appeals to the people. Moses was instructed by the eye as to the construction of the tabernacle. The pattern showed him in the mount was, we can hardly doubt, a visionary model of the building to be erected.

One of the sublimest and noblest truths about God and God's mode of dealing with his people, was manifested to Elijah by what he saw on the mount of Horeb. The whole system of the Jewish ritual may be looked on as a series of instructions by the eye respecting the great truths of God's holiness and justice, and of man's approaching ruin. Further on, it is by the exhibition of a God incarnate that man is taught to apprehend what a living God is. Hence Christ is to the creature the express image of the Creator's person: and it is seen by that image how the only begotten Son declares *that* God whom no one has seen.

By the living exhibition of Christ's walking about, and with unwearyed and unchanging love ever doing good, man is taught what that word means,—God is love. By the help which men *saw* that Christ was able to afford to the body, they learned that He was the one mighty to deliver the soul. Finally, what was the language which turned the world upside down? No

abstract reasoning or empty speculation about God's nature; but the burning words which the apostles spoke about Him, whom they had looked upon and their hands had handled.

Other illustrations of our position might be brought forward; but this will be enough to show that the teaching of God has been what it might have been expected to be, a teaching by the eye.

With this position in view, let us turn to the task of examining portions of the first chapter in Genesis.

Several theories have been advanced about it, in order to show that the discoveries of science are not at variance with the records of the Bible. By some it has been proposed to consider the six days as representing six periods of immense duration. We must, however, agree with those who maintain that the language of the fourth commandment is full against this theory. If the words of that commandment only mean that God has devoted one portion of time out of seven to the purposes of rest, then it will be difficult to avoid the force of such reasoning as this. If God only designed to devote one part out of seven to rest, then if I give up one month in seven, or one year in seven, to Sabbatical purposes, I shall obey that command as fully as if I were to give up one day out of seven to those purposes; and thus the command would practically leave every man at liberty to do what was right in his own eyes; and apart from other considerations, the use of the day as a benevolent appointment for the benefit of wearied man and beast, would be destroyed, uniformity in the observance of the Sabbath being evidently essential to its very existence as an institution of benefit.

But how is the language of this command to be reconciled with the discoveries of geology? Geology tells us that there have been fixed periods of life—vegetable and animal life, clearly defined and marked out. Geology reads with a great amount of certainty the dates of rocks, of animal and vegetable deposits. But it does not appear that geology can tell us how long it took to place upon the earth any new species of either animal or vegetable life: but it only tells us how long each species existed, or rather that each species did exist upon the earth for a lengthened period. It appears also that geology is silent upon the actual state of the earth at the termination of one creative period and the commencement of another.

Now if we take the theory that the fourth commandment only refers to the epoch when these successive periods had all passed away, and tells us that in six actual days God did finally arrange the earth for man's immediate habitation, and did fill it with those creatures which were destined to be man's contemporaries; then all is plain. And it only remains to inquire, does Moses,

in the first chapter of Genesis, give us an account of what is referred to in the fourth commandment? We believe that he does.

It has been said that this account is only the effort of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton, introduced with all the pomp of oriental literature and eastern assumption. Not now to pause upon some internal difficulties in the account itself, in taking such a view we would ask this simple question, Is there nothing superhuman, nothing divine, nothing beyond the reach of man's imagination or the scope of man's thoughts, in the writings of Moses? If there is not, Moses stands unrivalled among his fellows, a giant among pigmies, a demi-god among men; and the very existence of such a man and such a writer in the early days of the world is itself a greater wonder, a more stupendous miracle, than any wonder which in later days daring and designing writers have attempted to foist upon the weak, the credulous, the superstitious.

But if we grant that there is a something savouring of more than human knowledge, a portion of something divine in his writings, he must have got it from above; his intercourse must have been with Heaven. Are we to believe that a man who had received instruction from God, from the fountain of truth itself, should have imbibed so little of the love of truth, should have drunk so little of the spirit of his teacher, as to have deliberately built up a scheme of his own devising, and then handed it down to his people as a Heaven-taught record.

But let us examine the record itself. We are told that light appeared on the first day, the sun and moon on the fourth day. Are we to suppose that this man Moses—this Hebrew Newton—this impostor, who has palmed upon the world his own imaginings as God's word—had at that period conceived the idea that the world had received light which had emanated not from the sun?

Are we to suppose that a man who could believe that the firmament was a solid dome, through certain holes in which the stars shone like the kitchen fire through the holes in a cullender; or else that the stars were like studs with polished heads hammered into its under surface; are we to suppose that a man who could seriously hold such a ridiculous theory about the firmament, should, by his own unaided understanding, in that dark day of the world's infancy, have arrived at the notion that the earth could have received light from some other source than the sun; or that the sun itself was not a mass of light, but only a place of light; not the flame itself, but the lamp which holds the flame? Or, conversely, can we suppose that a man holding such singular views about light should, at the same time, hold such absurd views about the firmament? It is said that the firmament was to divide the waters from the

waters, and that therefore Moses intended to show that it was a solid dome. If so, why does he not explain to us how the clouds were to be seen through it? Are we to understand that the dome was transparent, so that the clouds could be seen through it? Is it to be supposed that the sublime spectacle of the apparent movement of the stars round the earth should have failed to impress this Hebrew Newton? If he had observed this, why does he not explain how it could have taken place consistently with the idea of the existence of a solid dome resting upon immoveable pillars?

If it be answered that the account of Moses' cosmogony is consistent with the cosmogony of the ancients generally, we answer, it may be so: one tissue of puerilities may be consistent in itself; but it is absurd to suppose a statement of the veriest puerilities to be consistent with the enunciation of such truths as it is inconceivable Moses could have guessed at.

Once more, by what effort of human imagination could this Hebrew Newton have conceived such a sublime thought as that contained in verse 26? "And God said, Let us make man," &c. Why should he have passed out of the simple declaration, God said, Let the thing be, to the more wonderful and mysterious one, "God said, Let us make." Without putting a violence upon the plain meaning of language, we must explain the image of God as referring to the whole man, alike to his body as to his soul? Are we to suppose that the idea brought before us here could have been conceived by a man's imagination? Can we suppose it possible that a *man* could have *imagined* that in the Godhead there should be one Person ordained to be the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of His person, and that in the image of this Person man was formed? If we suppose that he had been favoured with a vision of this Person, we could understand his representing man as formed in His image, but not otherwise. But then, if he had been favoured with such a vision, he must have been taught of God. Without such an hypothesis it is utterly inconceivable that he could have *invented* such a sublime wonder as the formation of man in the likeness of the Creator.

Look at it from what side we will, it is difficult, it is impossible, to conceive that Genesis i. can contain the fine-spun imaginings of a mere man, however wise he might be.

This idea is still more absurd if it can be shown that the order of creation here described corresponds with the order of the various periods of creation as discovered by geological investigations.

Now it has been admitted on all hands that these investigations of modern science *appear* to conflict with the account given by Moses, and certainly do conflict with the formerly received interpretations of that account. In answer, we are

told that the question to be first determined is, whether our interpretation of the account be correct, or whether we have given to the language of Moses a meaning which it does not of necessity convey. This position has been attacked as entirely reprehensible; but is there any really sound reason for thus repudiating it? Are we to suppose it impossible that any writer of the Bible should have given utterance to sentiments of a deeper meaning than he conceived at the time of utterance, and of a higher thought than his cotemporaries could reach to? or are we to suppose that the progress of time, the occurrence of circumstances, and even the discoveries of science, were not intended to throw increasing light upon any portion of revealed truth?

Are there no *dicta* of man's genius to be quoted, which evidently have borne a deeper meaning than the original authors intended? Are there no inventions of man's skill which have been turned to purposes higher and more extended than those the original inventors designed?

And if man's unaided genius has conceived notions and ideas of greater grasp and higher reach than their own conceptions originally aimed at, surely it is not too much to suppose that men taught of Heaven might have uttered truths the full length and breadth of which themselves did not realize at the time of utterance. And why should we fear to allow that God did intend that the progress of time should throw a light upon parts of His word—a light which has, and will have, the effect of showing men a path not divergent from, but convergent towards, the Fountain of truth and life?

Some interpreters of Genesis i. have supposed that the narrative of the creation is an account of what Moses saw in vision. There is certainly much probability in this view.

It has been already argued that there is reason from analogy to expect that revelation would primarily appeal to the eye rather than to the ear.

We are positively told that when God directed Moses to build a tabernacle, he showed him a pattern of the building upon the mount. We find also the Bible concluded with the account of a vision. Agreeable to all this it is to suppose that Moses in Genesis i. gives an account of a vision which God made to him.

In confirmation of this view we have the work of the fourth day. There he speaks of the sun and moon as two greater lights; now, if he speaks of what God *told* him, there is unquestionably a difficulty in his calling that, viz. the moon, a greater light, which we know to be a very small body compared with other celestial bodies. This difficulty, however, is not insurmountable, because the writer may be speaking of these bodies, the sun and moon, not as they are absolutely in their

bulk, but simply as regards the amount of light which they convey to the earth; and of course when compared with the stars as light-giving bodies, they are undoubtedly greater lights. But the difficulty vanishes if we suppose that Moses relates what he saw in vision, for then he necessarily speaks of the sun and moon as in every respect two greater lights; greater in bulk compared with the stars as seen from the earth, as well as greater in respect of the amount of the light which they supply to the earth. But whichever way we interpret the term "greater lights," the expression occurring in the very commencement of the Bible is valuable, because thus is indicated to us the manner in which it was God's design that natural phenomena should be spoken of throughout His word: viz., not as these things are in their abstract state, but as they are relatively to man. The language employed about them is the language of sight. To this agree intimations in Scripture tending to show that it is the design of God to tell us only so much of things and purposes as is needful to lead to practical results, and no more. Of other worlds and their inhabitants, of His future purposes, of the hereafter condition of men, He has revealed so much as is required to lead to action, but nothing to satisfy curiosity. The language descriptive of Himself and His own nature is evidently, in a great degree, such language, addressed to our understanding by appealing to what we see in others and feel in ourselves; and doubtless is the best calculated to enable us to rise up to the high idea of the Godhead.

It must be by no means forgotten that neither geology, nor astronomy, nor chemistry, nor any other science, have as yet exhausted their resources, and unfolded to men all the arcana of nature which they may yet lay bare. Astronomy was once supposed to shake the truth of revelation. Geology *has* been supposed to do the same; possibly some future insight into some new secrets of nature may hereafter be supposed to assail the truth of revelation.

Would it not be for the happiness and comfort of believers in revelation to accept at once this maxim?—That God has spoken of such things as are the objects of scientific investigation, not as they are essentially in themselves, but as they are in their uses and advantages to us. The language which speaks of them is rather relatively than absolutely true.

But while we are yet learners in the school of nature, not having yet opened all her treasures of knowledge, is it time to take the language of arrogant assumption, as though we had read from end to end the book of nature, and there were not a secret there with which we were not fully familiar? If we cannot perfectly see the reconciliation between revelation and science, let modesty, let self-diffidence, let the consciousness itself of a knowledge that is growing and progressive, not

stationary and exhausted, call us to pause and wait before we make our assertions and lay down our conclusions.

But to return to Genesis i.; let us admit that Moses relates a vision. We have referred to the different epochs of creative energy as marked out and defined by geology.

But, as far as we know, geology is silent about the actual state of the earth at the termination of one period and the commencement of another. Is it any forcing of scientific truth to suppose that the vision of Moses brings before us the earth as it was after these successive periods had passed away?

At this time it was wrapped in darkness. There is a difficulty here from this fact. The sun was not made to appear (whatever may be the meaning of the word *set*) above the earth till the fourth day.

Yet the animal remains of pre-Adamite date show the existence of eyes which must have required light as ours do. Many of the animals, too, must have had for their development a far higher temperature than the earth enjoys now. Therefore it is argued the world must have had the benefit of a sun as we have. Grant this; but are we assured, does science prove it necessary, that the light which the pre-Adamite animals enjoyed emanated from the identical sun which we enjoy?

Is it not within the range of possibility that the earth may have passed from the influence of one sun to another, as it is supposed comets have done?

Are we bound to conclude that the law of gravitation, as now enounced and understood, has been at all times the law by which all the movements of the heavenly bodies have been regulated? Is it impossible to conceive that a law not contradictory of, but circumscribing this law, may exist, and may be discovered, which may explain away all the difficulties we feel, either in supposing that the earth may have passed from one system to another; or had appeared to be poised in space for a short season in a state of darkness, being removed from the perceptible influence of any sun?

Is it impossible to suppose that Moses saw in vision the earth thus poised in the midst of space and wrapped in darkness? He would then hear the voice of God proclaiming, "Let there be light." Should the light have shone from one direction and the earth have been possessed of rotatory motion, day and night would have been at once produced.

The second day he sees the waters lifted up and the clouds formed; and between the clouds above and the sea beneath he witnesses the insertion of the ether, the clear expanse of heaven. From this statement about the formation of the firmament, it is clear that there was either no atmosphere, or one too thin and rarified to support the clouds. And as air, as well as light, must have been necessary for animal life before, there must at once have been a withdrawal both of the light and the sur-

rounding atmosphere. How this was effected, science does not teach us. If rain had fallen in past days, there must have been clouds; but by the withdrawal of the atmosphere, these must have collapsed and mingled with the seas. It was the work, therefore, of the second day to separate them again by the reinsertion of the atmosphere. Whether Moses fully understood, or not, all that we understand by an atmosphere, or whether his own notions of celestial phenomena confused his ideas of the vision which he saw, is nothing to us; the only question is, did he relate what he actually saw? On the evening of the fourth day Moses would see the light of the first day for the last time. God might have brought the earth within the range of its present orbit; and as night came on, the eyes of Moses might for the first time have gazed on the magnificent spectacle of the starry hosts and the moon walking in her brightness; and when morning dawned, instead of the light which he had previously seen diffused over the earth, he would behold the splendid spectacle of the sun rising in unclouded majesty.

The foregoing remarks upon the first chapter of Genesis do not pretend to anything more than to offer some suggestions which may tend to remove the difficulties which some thoughtful persons feel on the subject of the reconciliation of science with revelation.

A CLERGYMAN.

IS THE COMMUNION TABLE AN ALTAR?

Cornwood Vicarage, Ivy Bridge, South Devon,
4th June, 1861.

REV. SIR,—Permit me to observe, that the writer of Article VI. in the June Number of the *Christian Observer* has apparently forgotten one place in Holy Scripture which materially affects his argument. In page 472 the writer asks, "Why, then, did our reformers, when they had become better instructed in the *letter* and the *spirit* of the New Testament, carefully and deliberately exclude the word altar from the communion rubrics?" . . . "the piece of church furniture, &c. . . is a table and not an altar."

In Heb. xiii. 10, the Christian apostle says, "We have an altar," &c.

As churchmen, I conceive we have the *letter* of Scripture, and the *spirit* also, in favour of using the term altar. The reformers cannot exclude the use of the term altar, if Holy Scripture sanctions it. St. Paul uses the terms "the Lord's table" and "altar." Why should Christians now not use both terms? I will not enter further into the writer's argument, but refer him to a former bishop of Exeter, bishop Sparrow, who, in his *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, holds

the language and doctrine of the church of England in terms similar to the present bishop of that see; and to the truly Christian temper of Canon vi., 1640, which declares that the holy table "is, and may be called an altar by us, in that sense in which the primitive church called it an altar, and in no other." The rule of charity commanded in the close of the same canon certainly suggests a course of action which leaves churchmen *liberty* at least to use the word "altar" without falling under the condemnation of their brethren. Trusting you will excuse the liberty of these remarks, I am, yours faithfully,

WILLIAM F. GRAY.

P.S.—I refer more especially to the "communion service" in bishop Sparrow's work, and to pp. 303, 304, in Parker's Edition, 1843, beginning, "Now that no man take offence at the word *altar*," &c.

NOTE.—Surely Mr. Gray will not, after consideration, maintain that the passage in Hebrews xiii. 10, refers to the communion table; though it may possibly refer to the great sacrifice made upon the cross, in the benefits of which the Jew, as we are taught in the epistle to the Galatians, had no share while he remained a Jew, or "served the tabernacle." But, with many of the highest authorities, critical and theological, we prefer the more literal meaning, and expound it thus; bearing in mind that the epistle to the Hebrews was written before the temple service had ceased: "We ourselves, being Jews, have an altar whereof even the priests which serve the tabernacle have no right to eat. For in the offering by which our high-priests are consecrated (see Exodus xxix.), though the blood of the victim is brought into the sanctuary, yet the body is not the property of the high-priest; he has a right to eat no part of it, as of other sacrifices; it is to be burned without the camp. And this is typical of Christ our great high-priest; who, that he might sanctify, not the Jews only but the Gentiles also, "the people," with His own blood, suffered without the gate." This makes a meaning consistent with the context, preceding and consequent. The application of the passage to the communion table is harsh and violent, and, besides other objections, is inconsistent with either; though we are aware it is not without its advocates.

With reference to the canons of 1640, they were illegal *ab initio*; and had they not been so, they were repealed by Act of Parliament in 1642, and have never been re-enacted. But, indeed, to refer us to a canon drawn up by archbishop Laud, is to beg the whole question at issue. Bishop Sparrow, though valuable as a theological antiquarian, and collector of rare tracts, is certainly not an authority in the church of England on matters of doctrine.—EDITOR.]

CARTHAGE AND HER REMAINS.

Carthage and her Remains ; being an account of the Excavations and Researches on the site of the Phœnician Metropolis in Africa, and other adjacent places. By Dr. N. Davis, F.R.G.S., &c. London : Bentley. 1861.

THE exhumation of buried cities of celebrity appears to be a part of the vocations of the present day. It is a desirable labour, as throwing a light upon history, a light most timely in its incidence in the case of Nineveh. The very stones of the palaces of that city began to cry out against handing over the records of the Bible to the domain of fable. As to the interest attaching to the operations themselves, and to their story, we have only to recall to mind how our imagination followed the Arab workmen in the employment of Mr. Layard ; how we pictured his pleasure, as discovery after discovery was made ; and with what wonder and delight we looked upon lion and bull, and sculptured tablet, and cuneiform inscription, as they successively stood once more in the light of day, after ages of concealment and undisturbed repose.

Carthage wants the interest of a certain and direct connection with the sacred history, in this respect standing much below Nineveh. But she holds too eminent a position in the history of the human race to be ever regarded with indifference. Famous for her commerce in the earliest times, great as a city of merchants, but also powerful as the metropolis of northern Africa, renowned for military glory, especially in the unrivalled achievements of Hannibal, and afterwards invested with a new interest by her Tertullian and her Cyprian, with other martyrs, Carthage attracts towards herself all eyes, when the mattock and the spade are about to be employed in laying open her ruins. The very denunciation uttered against her, when the Punic wars were in their third and last stage, make us crave to combine a knowledge of her relics, with the written record of her destruction.

A book, therefore, with the title, *Carthage and her Remains*, is sure to be welcomed and read ; and this book unquestionably contains much interesting matter. Spread over its 630 pages, there is enough of information to have filled a paper for the Geographical Society, and to have provided materials for a lecture or two before a Literary Institution. We should not have been surprised to have found them in a modest volume, if only the contents answered the expectations justified by the title-page. But we must say that it is wearisome in the extreme to have again to dig out for ourselves Carthage and her remains from the rubbish of endless stories, and disquisitions too often not worth reading.

We have encountered that toil ; we have delved with as much patience as we could command ; and so far as we have succeeded in the pursuit of knowledge under considerable difficulties, our reader shall have the advantage of our pains. The site of Carthage is about ten miles distant from Tunis. The scenery of the bay is described as of great beauty. The country inland is an extensive plain, bounded by a mountain range, at a distance of about fifteen miles. It is fertile, but its productiveness is ill developed, through the idleness of the Arab villagers. The climate is exceedingly hot, the atmosphere pure and transparent, bringing distant objects into seemingly close proximity to the eye. The population is scanty ; there are two small villages within the ancient borders of Carthage, but the inhabitants are incurious, and know nothing of the great city whose ruins repose beneath them, though they turn the fact to some profit by availing themselves of the mounds as repositories of stones, with which to construct their own miserable buildings. One of these villages, Moalka, consists of habitations formed out of the ancient cisterns, which the great aqueduct supplied with water in the days of the prosperity of Carthage. The other is named Dowar Eshuth, for the most part an irregular mass of hovels, chiefly built of ancient materials, in which granite columns, and fragments of bas-reliefs, and of statues, have been erected indiscriminately with timber and mud, in the construction of the walls. (p. 52.)

Sir Grenville Temple wrote, in the last century, that there were no visible vestiges of the former grandeur of the city, and that, from a hill which commanded a view of the whole surrounding country, he “ beheld nothing more than a few scattered and shapeless masses of masonry,” and found that the very name of the city was unknown to the people dwelling above its ruins. The present author corroborates that testimony. Some remains which he believes to be the ruins of the famous temple of Saturn, portions of ancient sewers, a range of stupendous cisterns, and colossal masses of wall on the beach,—such are the principal visible remains of Carthage.

Judging after the manner of men, the city was worthy of a grander memorial. It was a colony from Tyre, of later date than its neighbour city Utica, but founded probably as early as B.C. 846, about the time of the reign of Joash king of Judah. It soon became great as an emporium of commerce. Phœnicia, Egypt, the shores of the Red Sea, Spain, Mauritania, and Gaul, exchanged their commodities through the medium of the merchants of Corinth. Growing in wealth, she grew also in power, till the whole of that northern portion of Africa became tributary to her, and owned her for their metropolis. Her power in arms, by sea and land, made her terrible to all who provoked her displeasure or excited her cupidity, and her con-

licts with Rome in the Punic wars will be memorable while the world lasts. When those conflicts commenced, the population of the city was no less than 700,000. Defeated, and crushed at length by the power which had been made to succumb before her, she yet immortalized her last hours by the wild patriotism, the keen sense of honour, and fearlessness of death, displayed by the noble wife of the traitor Asdrubal, and by those who shared in her awful end. But the city was doomed to perish. It was first given up to plunder. Then was prosecuted the revengeful labour of levelling her even with the ground. None might attempt to rebuild Carthage. The city perished, and was forsaken. This was in the year B.C. 145.

Scarcely had a generation passed away before a few huts were built on the spot which once gloried in that illustrious name. Centuries followed, and Carthage was again a city. It had its famous schools of learning. Tertullian tells of the country and city being full of Christians. The council of Carthage (in the year 215) was distinguished by the presence of seventy bishops. There Cyprian, the bishop, received his crown of martyrdom. (A.D. 258.) In A.D. 439, the Vandal general, Genseric, after eight years of victorious progress along the northern shores of Africa, took the city by surprise, and found it revelling in magnificence, opulence, and luxury. A century more, and the Roman army, under Belisarius, was again in possession of Carthage (A.D. 534), and Gelimez, the Vandal king, was conducted in triumph through the streets of Constantinople, amidst a gorgeous display of trophies of victory and plunder, the spoils of Carthage, repeatedly pronouncing the words, "Vanity, Vanity, all is Vanity!" In 692 it was besieged, reduced, and pillaged, by the Saracens; then rescued, for a short season, by forces of the Eastern empire sent expressly for its deliverance; and it was again attacked (in 698) by Kassar and his Saracens, who completely defeated the Greeks and Goths, and once more utterly destroyed the city. Its history thenceforward is thus described by Gibbon (chap. li.), who tells the earlier story of Carthage, so far as it comes within the scope of his history, with his usual graphic force. (Chapters xxxiii. xli.)

"Whatever yet remained of Carthage was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido and Cæsar lay desolate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the old circumference was re-peopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the second capitol of the west was represented by a mosque, a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the tents of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards, whom Charles V. had stationed in

the fortress of Galetta. The ruins of Carthage have perished; and the place might be unknown, if some broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footsteps of the inquisitive traveller."

Of this much, at least, it seemed necessary to remind the reader who would understand how it happens that so few objects rewarded the labours of the searcher for curiosities, and how difficult it often proved to assign the dates even of the remains of the buildings.

How striking this example of the perishableness of earthly glory! A city once renowned throughout the world, unknown even by name to those who dwell on its ruins! A city so powerful as to be well-nigh the terror of every land within reach of its fleets and its armies, swept away from the face of the earth! A city that teemed with population, in a country fertile in produce, now almost desolate, with few inhabitants, its lands lying waste! We cannot dissociate this from the remembrance of vice, treachery, cruelty, and the prevalence for centuries of the offering of human sacrifices, and other barbarous rites of its satanic religion. But is it not good, while gazing upon that wilderness, to remember that there is a city whose walls will never be thrown down? So far as the researches of Dr. Davis have reached, the results of turning over these ruins, through a succession of many months, have been few though not unimportant. In a most wonderful degree the pillage the city underwent, (both for the triumphal processions of the conquerors, and for the aggrandizement of the soldiers,) appears to have been so complete, as scarcely to have left behind a vestige of its statuary or porcelain. A few limbs of statues were occasionally found, but no two fragments fitted together, it seems as if everything that could be repaired had been carefully carried away. Besides what the inhabitants removed, while yet the opportunity lasted, and what the victors bore off for their private enrichment, or as public spoil for the great triumphal spectacle, it is probable that, from time to time, the new occupants of the site would search amidst the ruins of the former city for everything of value. The débris would be sifted as carefully as the soil in which the miner is seeking after nuggets of gold. But there have been others also, since the city was forsaken, hunting after hidden treasures. The Arabs, evidently, have their traditions that wealth is yet to be dug out of these ruins of a former city. The traditions thus prevalent must have given activity to many a shovel and mattock in the process of time. The dislodgment of the stones from the original place, for other and perhaps meaner uses in building, must have been attended with some further displacement of soil; and Dr. Davis discovered, before the end of his labours, what the reader may as well know at once, that a writer of the twelfth century states that, from the fall of

Carthage to this day, there have been unceasing excavations amongst its ruins, even penetrating beneath the foundations of the buildings. "Marbles," says the writer who is quoted, "have been discovered there of so many different species, that it would be impossible to describe them. An eye-witness reports that he saw taken out blocks thirty feet high, and sixty-three inches in diameter. Nor," he continues, "have these spoliations been yet discontinued. The marbles are transplanted far away to all countries, and nobody leaves Carthage without carrying off considerable quantities, either by vessels or by other means. It is a notorious fact, sometimes marble columns have been found thirty feet in circumference." (p. 434.)

Thus, what was collected at much cost, and often, perhaps, not without violence and oppression, was once more dispersed so completely as not to have left enough evidence behind, on the spot, to tell of the greatness of Carthage, as the ruins of so many other cities testify of theirs.

The writer of our book, Dr. Davis, followed in the track, or at least acted upon the principle, of those excavators of the middle ages. He says, that when the city was doomed to remain in ruins, it "presented a rich field for Roman adventurers, distressed Carthaginians, and greedy Africans, all of whom, no doubt, ransacked every nook in search of such articles as could readily be converted into money." (p. 432.) His own misfortune was, that he arrived too late to have a successful hand in the scramble. His aim, we must admit, was different, and far more honourable. The money value of his discoveries does not appear to have been in any measure the motive for his prosecuting research. But the thing which he did was precisely the same. He hunted after curiosities, eager to carry them away to a distant land.

Will our readers permit us to express a feeling on this subject?—let them call it, if they like, a sentiment. Of all the places open to the public in this metropolis, there are few which ought to be regarded with greater interest than the British Museum. Even independently of its invaluable literary treasures, its collection of antiquities is an invaluable possession to the nation. But can we be alone in feeling some misgivings when we walk through its well-stored halls and apartments? These treasures have all been carried off, many of them torn away, from the places for which they were deliberately intended. Many, let us admit, had nothing special attaching to them. That sword was turned up by the plough on a battle-field; that lamp *may* have given light to Virgil or Horace; but we do not know that it did not hang in the chamber of an obscure cobbler or tailor. There is no harm in appropriating them. But here are the memorials of affection; here is a record of some great

national achievement : here are the very tombs of departed fellow-men, their stone coffins ! Here are not only wooden coffins, but the very remains of the dead, the skeletons, and the dust into which the flesh has mouldered. What right have we thus, for the gratification of our too-prying curiosity, to rifle the tomb ? What right to carry away what was meant to be the last earthly resting-place of some brother or sister of ours, and to carry it up two pair of stairs, and settle it in a glass case, or plant it on a framework where it may turn on a pivot, that all the world may come and learn by that, and fifty other instances, what it is that people are pleased to call a mummy ? But even apart from these higher and more sacred considerations, surely on other grounds we may question the propriety of sweeping away the records of ancient cities, as found in their ruins and amongst them ; and instead of depositing them in the museum of the nearest city (where perhaps it is right to place them to prevent indiscriminate plunder), to carry them over the seas, and settle one bit in London, another in Paris, another in New York, a fourth at Milan, and a fifth in Calcutta.

Doubtless we all crave to see these things, the reviewer not a whit less than the most impatient of his readers ; but the question still remains, Is it right ? and is there not at least a line where lawful removal ends, and an unjustifiable attack upon things ancient, and in a certain sense sacred, begins ? But antiquarians will search the spots where their treasures are supposed to lie hidden, and nations will bid for the fruits of their labours. Then let us, at least, be careful what we thus acquire, and, at all events, abstain from rifling the grave of its contents, or of the memorials which cover them and were designed for their protection.

Dr. Davis was searching for curiosities. Happily, none of an unlawful kind turned up, and, unhappily, very few of any kind ; but he appears to us to have taken a much lower kind of object for his aim than that to which the ruins of such a city as Carthage invited him. He was avowedly hunting for moveable relics of antiquity, rather than making it his primary object to settle its topography, to fix the site of its principal buildings, especially those of which history makes mention, and to ascertain, if possible, the character of its earliest architecture. These subjects of inquiry, however, necessarily came under his consideration as time advanced ; and before he retired from his labours he had satisfied his mind with regard to the Byrsa, and the other principal localities.

Some years before the commencement of his operations, Dr. Davis had made a two months' tour through the regency of Tunis in company with the present bey, who was then heir-apparent of the throne. After the accession of the latter,

Dr. Davis obtained his permission to make researches amidst the ruins of Carthage, and, hastening to London, secured the countenance of the authorities of the British Museum, and the more important sanction of Lord Clarendon, then foreign secretary, together with the command of ample means for carrying on the enterprise. He returned to the spot full of zeal and hope. At first, he took seven Arabs into his employ, a number which was almost immediately increased to twenty-five. Their labours commenced on the 11th of November, (if the year is stated anywhere, we have failed to notice it,)—but there was no reward for their toil. He added to the strength of his party, and “opened a series of experimental trenches,” one of which brought them upon solid masonry. In a few days, three arched or vaulted chambers were cleared of their contents, but excepting the hand of a marble statue, and a few terra cotta lamps of no beauty, he had found nothing. These chambers appeared to him to have belonged to Roman Carthage.

He changed his ground, and opened trenches in another place, invited by some fragments of masonry above the surface, but nothing was found, excepting a few broken pieces of statuary, some marble and granite columns, and “one very beautiful capital of the Corinthian order.” At this spot the labour was extended over a fortnight, with a view of ascertaining, if possible, the depth of what might be regarded as being Phœnician remains. It appeared to be about twenty feet,—the accumulation of decay and drift in twenty centuries. “After this,” he says, “days and weeks passed on, and the numerous tons of earth we removed still disclosed nothing to recompense our toil.” He resolved to endeavour to construct a ground-plan, guided by ancient authorities, and by the configuration of the ground, and to direct the labours of his party accordingly.

When three months had nearly passed since the commencement of his operations, employing the strength of from forty to fifty men, “without realizing anything worth the labour of a single day,” he resolved to open a number of narrow trenches, and while the work was going on he passed hither and thither over the site of the city, for the purpose of selecting new spots for experimental excavations.

While thus employing himself, he says, “on one occasion I happened to ride alone over the site of the temple of Cœlestis, the Astarte of the Phœnicians, destroyed from antagonistic religious motives, and since then rent and torn into all sorts of forms and shapes by the present barbarous inhabitants, to whom its remains have proved a rich quarry. A piece of a wall attracted my attention, and I dismounted to examine it.” (p. 172.) The result of this was, in the first place, a disappointment, and the loss to himself, and ultimately the destruction, of a beautiful fragment of tessellated pavement; but after one day’s labour, his men had laid open a large portion of a magni-

ficient pavement, which he eventually secured for the British Museum, and which he thus describes :—

“It measured about fifteen feet by nine, and contained, besides the elegant and chaste designs, a colossal female bust, and two priestesses, full length, and robed. The heads of the latter were rather damaged; but there can be but one opinion as to the artistic talent displayed in the execution of this mosaic, whether as regards grace, attitude, or colouring. It is an exquisite specimen of ancient art, to recover which we had to break through two distinct pavements. This undoubtedly proves that those who built upon it, during different periods, were entirely ignorant of its existence.” (p. 176.)

Whether this pavement is Punic or Roman, he discusses at some length, and we think that he has the best of the argument in assigning it to the artists of Carthage, in the early days of her splendour. The pavement was removed by the aid of glue and canvass, and is now to be seen amongst the treasures of our national collection.

The author considers it to have been the pavement of a chapel dedicated to Dido and Anna, Ceres and Proserpine.

His next discoveries were made amongst what he believed to be the remains of the temple of “the dreaded Saturn,—the Moloch and Boal Kammun of the Carthaginians.” (p. 285.) This was a circular edifice, of a very peculiar construction, judging from its foundation, probably composed of three domes one within another, with twelve gradually expanding passages, reaching out from the centre like the spokes of a wheel. Here, by sinking a shaft in the middle, to a considerable depth, the workmen came upon a thick layer of burnt earth, mixed with bones. A little lower was the natural rock. Here, then, may have been the remains of human sacrifices offered to Moloch, by which the religion of Carthage was rendered so horrible. Within the same temple was found a specimen of its mosaic pavement, also the base of a fluted column, embedded in the masonry of the building, and probably belonging to an earlier temple, and quantities of fragments of precious marble.

In his further researches, in various parts of the site of Carthage, he met with masonry, pavements, inscriptions, and broken vessels, with distinctive marks enough to enable him to assign them to the several periods of the history of the place. Thus he opened the foundations of eight chambers of a Punic habitation, in one of which he found a beautiful pavement of green marble; he met with several Roman tombs, and could settle one spot as the site of a Christian church. He found inscriptions of which some belonged to the early years of Carthage. These are now in process of being deciphered. Others were of later date, and are much mutilated. So far, also, as there is a clue to their meaning, they appear to be of

little interest. He searched the extensive catacombs in vain, for the dead had been plundered already of the memorials of affection which had been deposited with them.

Having finished his work at Carthage, a three years' labour (434), he visited Utica and other places, with little other result than that of satisfying himself that there is a mine of interest still awaiting the antiquarian in that once remarkable but now insignificant region of Africa.

He brought away the most beautiful of the pavements which he believed to be certainly a work of Punic art, together with fragments of others, one belonging to the Christian period. But excepting the best of the mosaics, and fragments of columns, he seems to have brought away everything he found that was likely to be of the slightest interest. To a great extent he has ascertained that all which can be expected from further research would be to trace out the streets, and to fix the sites of the principal buildings, and to make, in fact, a ground-plan of the city. It is an object hardly worthy of so great and costly a labour, and we may be content to accept the author's provisional topographical drawing, which he gives to the world with no little confidence, and which is only to be received with hesitation because of the imperfectness of the data which he had for his guidance.

There are the traces of the foundations of one building which has an interest for the Christian—the theatre, in which Perpetua, and a band of believers with her, were thrown amongst the wild beasts, and torn to pieces before the eyes of the savage multitude of heathen.

The engravings in this book, taken from photographs, are of very high interest, showing the general aspect of the country, and the visible remains, such as they are, of what once was Carthage. The drawings of the chief mosaic are also valuable additions to the other illustrations.

We have shown that a work so rambling, and filled with so much surplusage, is a disappointment. We looked for a text answering to the title-page, without the very stupid stories, and with the disquisitions much reduced, and consigned to separate chapters, or, better still, to an appendix. If there was little to tell that was really to the point, that little would have met, nevertheless, with a hearty welcome. To have ascertained that this was indeed the site of Carthage, to have afforded a probable plan of its topography, to have brought to light a few specimens of its ancient art, and to have collected some illustrations of its progressive history, these were no small things to have accomplished.

There is one of the disquisitions (unnecessarily swelled out in its dimensions) of which our readers will like to hear. Where are Tarshish and Ophir? The opinions with respect

to Tarshish have been numerous and dissimilar. Jonah, flying to Tarshish by embarking at Joppa, seems to fix its site in the Mediterranean. Some commentators have held that Carthage is meant, and this is the opinion of Dr. Davis. The difficulty in the way of this interpretation is, that two ships were built at Eziongeber. But his answer is worthy of consideration, and not improbable,—that from (may we call it the dockyard? of) Eziongeber the small vessels of those days might pass through the canal of Sesostriis into the Nile, and so reach the Mediterranean. He also traces the etymology of Carthage and Tarshish to a common root; and he maintains that the commodities which Solomon's fleet brought from Tarshish were all such as might be procured at Carthage.

Ophir has more generally been supposed to be in the far east, but Dr. Davis reminds us that the ships of Tarshish went to Ophir, returned after the same interval, and with the like cargoes; and, by reference to the Hebrew and Arabic, he connects Ophir with Aphrica, which designated a district within the territories of Carthage. These etymological niceties are only of value as corroborative of other and weightier reasons.

The labours, of which we have thus attempted to glean out a summary, were the labours of more than three years, effected by means of workmen who were scarcely companions, apart from civilized society, and by one who was content to live in "rude habitations, and to encounter many privations." His reward was the possession of a mosaic pavement, the discovery of a few others, and some few fragments of things curious beside,—but they were all gained for a national repository, not for himself. That he might be enabled thus to delve, borne harmless as regarded the expense, appeared to him to be a sufficient recompense; though, perhaps, the attainment of some measure of renown may have been within the scope of his expectations, as the reward of an anticipated achievement of great value.

If they who know anything of the worth of an incorruptible crown, and who have the opportunity of seeking the salvation of souls, were all as persevering, self-denying, and devoted as was this seeker of curiosities, missionary societies would have less occasion to complain that the want of suitable men is even greater than the want of pecuniary means. So also, for the metropolis, and for other scenes of deplorable spiritual destitution, men of ardent zeal and of undaunted perseverance, would be more easily found, to dig into the foundations of all that woe, and to labour, in God's strength, for trophies better than mosaics and statues.

THE BIGLOW PAPERS : AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

The Biglow Papers. By James Russell Lowell. With a Preface, by the author of "*Tom Brown's School-days.*" London: Trübner and Co. 1861.

THIS is a work of small size, and, apparently, of merely local and transitory importance. But the "winged words" of the poet and the satirist often exhibit a life and power of which their authors were scarcely conscious. Four lines of William Cowper's—

"Hast thou by statute shoved from its design
The Saviour's feast,—His own blest bread and wine;
And made the symbol of atoning grace
An office-key, a picklock to a place?"—

are believed by many to have produced, by a gradual leavening of the public mind, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. In our own day, we have seen the foolish phrase which had become current in the House of Commons, "I only used the words in a parliamentary sense," swept clean away by a page of well-directed ridicule. But the "Biglow Papers" have had a higher aim. They expressed, in the vivid language of genius, the indignation of a free and educated New Englander at the submission of the Northern States to the predominance of the South; and they have doubtless had a large share in producing that rising up of the North in assertion of its own rights which has ended in a fearful quarrel between the two great divisions of what used to be "the United States."

James Russell Lowell was born at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, in 1819, and, having been educated at Harvard College, he was chosen, in 1855, to succeed Mr. Longfellow in the chair of Modern Literature. "The Biglow Papers" consist of only nine pieces of verse, chiefly satirical, levelled at various follies or crimes which excited the author's indignation about the years 1846 and 1847. They resemble, therefore, in one important respect, the "Letters of Junius;" which, in like manner, were political effusions called forth by the public events of the day, but which have been read by the people of England for four generations, although the occasions which drew them forth have long ceased to excite any interest.

Mr. Lowell is a New Englander, a man of education, refinement, and genius,—a hater of slavery, a hater of war, and full of indignation against "the South," because he found "the South" a maintainer of slavery, and at all times ready for war. His jealousy had also been roused by the constant ascendancy of the South in the politics of the United States; an ascendancy

not resting on superior numbers, wealth, or intelligence, but solely on assumption, and on superior electioneering skill. These three ideas, then—the unlawfulness of *aggressive* war, the immoralities of the slave system, and the submissiveness of the northern states to southern pretensions,—form the main topics of the book. But it is the work of a man of genius: and after having gained an increasing popularity in America, it has now reached Old England itself, and the present edition, of 1861, is stated to be “the third English edition.” This shows that the book is no common one. We are reading with interest in England, in 1861, electioneering rhymes written in Massachusetts fifteen years ago.

And this, too, in spite of one peculiar hindrance. Mr. Lowell, in order to speak to the people in their own language, wrote his verses in “the Yankee dialect.” We are not unaccustomed to things of this kind in England, where, only two or three years ago, a respectable clergyman published two volumes of “Poems in the Dorsetshire Dialect;” Burns’s poems are another instance; but still this harsh and strange outside must prove a hindrance to a general or speedy welcome.

The first of Mr. Lowell’s rhymes is a scornful tirade addressed to the recruiting sergeant, who was enlisting men in Massachusetts for the Mexican war,—a war which Mr. Lowell rightly deemed iniquitous. We copy a few of the stanzas:—

“Taint your eppyletts an’ feathers
 Make the thing a grain more right;
 ’Taint a follering your bell-wethers
 Will excuse ye in His sight;
 Ef you take a sword an’ dror it,
 An’ go stick a feller thru’,
 Guv’ment aint to answer for it,
 God ’ll send the bill to you.

“Wut’s the use o’ meetin’-goin’
 Every Sabbath, wet or dry,
 Ef it’s right to go amowin’
 Feller-men like oats an’ rye?
 I dunno but wut it’s pooty (pretty)
 Trainin’ round in bobtail coats,—
 But it’s curus Christian dooty,
 This e’re cuttin’ folks’s throats.

“They may talk o’ Freedom’s airy (aërie)
 Till they’re pupple in the face,—
 It’s a grand gret cemetary
 Fer the barthrights of our race;
 They jest want this Californy
 So’s to loug new slave-states in,
 To abuse ye, an’ to scorn ye,
 An’ to plunder ye like sin.”

He then apostrophizes the foolish New-Englanders that are enlisting in such a war, exclaiming,—

“ Well, go 'long to help 'em stealin'
 Bigger pens to cram with slaves,
 Help the men thet's ollers dealin'
 Insults on your fathers' graves.
 Help the strong to grind the feeble;
 Help the many 'g'in the few;
 Help the men that call your people
 'Whitewashed slaves,' an' 'peddling crew.' ”

“ Massachusetts, God forgive her!
 She's a kneelin' with the rest,
 She, that ought to ha' clung for ever
 In her grand old eagle-nest;
 She, that ough' to stand so fearless,
 Wile the wracks are round her hurled,
 Holdin' up a beacon peerless
 To the opprest of all the world.

* * * *

“ Let our dear old Bay-State proudly
 Put the trumpet to her mouth,
 Let her ring this messidge loudly
 In the ears of all the South :—

‘ I'll return ye good fer evil
 Much ez we frail mortals can,
 But I wun't go help the Devil,
 Makin' man the cus o' man.
 Call me coward, call me traider,
 Jest ez suits your mean idees,
 Here I stand, a tyrant-hater,
 An' the friend of God an' peace! ’ ”

Next comes an amusing account of the adventures of one of the recruits, “ Birdofredom Sawin,” in the Mexican war, which ought to be read entire. In the fourth piece, the following description of a Caucus or Convention is too faithful to nature to be limited to America. The delegates “ resolve ” :—

“ Thet we're the original friends o' the nation,
 All the rest air a paltry an' base fabrication:
 Thet we highly respect Messrs. A, B, an' C,
 An' as deeply despise Messrs. E, F, an' G.
 In this way they go to the end of the chapter,
 An' then they bust out in a kind of a raptur
 About their own vartoo and folks's stone-blindness,
 To the men that 'ould actilly do 'em a kindness!

* * * *

“ So they march in percessions, an' get up hooraws,
 An' tramp thru the mud fer the good o' the cause,

An' think they're kind o' fulfillin' the prophecies,
 When they're on'y jest changin' the holders of offices :
 Whare A sot before, B is comf'tably seated,
 One humbug's victorious, an' t'other's defeated,
 Each honnable dough-face gits jest wut he axes,
 An' the people,—their annooal soft sawder an' taxes."

In the same piece we find some practical suggestions which we have seen followed in England as well as in America :—

"I'm willin' a man should go tollable strong
 Agin wrong in the *abstract*, fer that kind o' wrong
 Is ollers unpop'lar an' never gits pitied,
 Because it's a crime no one never committed ;
 But he mus'n't be hard on pertickler sins,
 Coz then he'll be kickin the people's own shins."

* * * * *

"We'd assumed with gret skill a commandin' position,
 On this side or that, no one couldn't tell which one,
 We were ready to vote fer whoever wuz eligible,
 If on all pints at issoo he'd stay unintelligible.
 Wal, 'sposin' we hed to gulp down our perfessions,
 We were ready to come out next mornin' with fresh ones ;
 An' ef a man can, when provisions is riz so,
 Eat up his own words, it's a marcy it is so."

* * * * *

"Why, the war is a war thet true paytriots can bear, ef
 It leads to the fat promised land of a tayriff:
 Ef it aint jest the thing that's well-pleasin' to God,
 It makes us thought highly on elsewhere abroad ;
 The Rooschian black eagle looks blue in his eerie,
 An' shakes both his heads when he hears of Monteery :
 While in the Tower Victory sets, all of a fluster,
 An' reads, with closed doors, how we won Cherry Buster."

The fifth piece is a burlesque account of one of John C. Calhoun's speeches in the senate. It is full of wit and humour, but should be read as a whole.

Our readers will have gathered, by this time, that the "Biglow Papers" supply us with one of the most telling and fearless exposures of the vices and weaknesses of the political system of the United States that has ever been given to the world. And its chief value consists in this, that it is not the work of a foreigner, or of an emigrant, but of a born-American; an educated and refined scholar, who is, through all, an attached supporter of his country's honour and of her best interests.

We have no desire to take any unfair advantage of his confessions or admissions. We readily confess that if the political system of America has its weak points, as well as its strong ones, so has our own constitution also. In England we are

perhaps too much governed by a class. Men of ancient families, or at least of hereditary rank, have, for the last hundred years and more, held, and firmly kept, the reins of government; and it seems to be an opinion widely spread among that class, that to *them* the right and duty of carrying on the government, peculiarly, and almost exclusively, belong. If this state of things is attended with some evil results, we find in America an entirely opposite system, and with it we have the opposite evils. Every man in the United States may, if he please, aspire to be the chief ruler of a mighty empire, or to be the prime minister of that ruler; and he may do ~~this~~ without committing any absurdity or provoking any ridicule. All the offices are open to all the citizens. The present President of the United States was, for several years of his early life, very nearly on a level with our own agricultural labourers. With such examples before them on every side, it is not surprising that many thousands of active and ambitious men in the United States should be always *office-seeking*; or that this pursuit of office should lead to political immoralities of every imaginable description. In the "*Biglow Papers*" we have, as we have already said, one of the most graphic sketches of this electioneering, office-seeking life, that ever was given to the public. Here is the creed, or profession of faith, of a newspaper editor, an expectant of office:—

"I du believe in Freedom's cause,
 Ez fur away ez Paris is;
 I love to see her stick her claws
 In them air wicked Pharisees:
 Its wal enough agin a king
 'To dror resolves an' triggers,
 But libbaty's a kind o' thing
 Thet don't agree with niggers.

I du believe the people want
 A tax on teas an' coffees;
 That nothin' aint extravygunt,—
 Purvidin' I'm in office;
 Fer I hev lov'd my country sence
 My eye-teeth fill'd their sockets;
 An' Uncle Sam I reverence,
 Partic'larly his pockets.

* * * * *

I du believe it's wise an' good,
 To sen' out furrin missions,
 That is, on sartin' understood
 An' orthydox conditions;—
 I mean, nine thousand dolls. per ann.,
 Nine thousan' more fer outfit,
 An' me to recommend a man
 The place 'ould jest about fit."

* * * * *

We are strongly inclined to add another extract or two, from "the Candidate's Letter;" but it seems time to stop;—the more especially since we cannot close a volume like that before us, without calling attention to the vast and momentous changes, which have rendered the winter of 1860 memorable in American history; changes, too, which are distinctly foreshadowed in many parts of the "Biglow Papers."

For nearly half a century, the Southern States of the Union have carried on the government of the United States. We say for nearly half a century, because in the earlier years of the republic, the distinction of North and South was not so clearly recognized. This Southern ascendancy has been maintained, not by weight of numbers, but by superior skill, and by an united and consentaneous action, which in the North was unknown. Still, the continued predominance of the South has been felt for ten or twelve years past to be in danger. The northern and north-western states were rapidly outrunning the southern, in population, wealth, and all the other elements of power. For the last twenty years, the political skill and ingenuity of the southern statesmen have been taxed to the utmost, to find counterpoises to the growing strength of the North. With this object Texas was annexed. With the same view, a war was got up with Mexico, and California taken from her, and formed into a slave-state. Following the same line of policy, Cuba has been, for several years, the object of the undisguised cupidity of the southern politicians. Expeditions intended to excite a rebellion in that island, have been prepared in American ports, with the evident connivance of the government. These schemes failing, plans for the purchase of Cuba have been set afloat; and have received the countenance of the cabinet of the late president. The chief object in view, in the acquisition of Cuba, was, to divide the island into three new states, all counting as southern or slave-states, and all sending members to the senate of the United States,—the chief fortress of southern ascendancy.

At last, however, all these schemes came to an end. The continued growth of the free North and North-west could not be stopped, and in the census of last year, it was found that the population of the free and the slave states of the Union stood thus:—

North and North-Western States	18,584,358
Southern, Whites	8,170,070
Slaves	3,947,759

12,117,829.

In the same year, 1860, the election of a new president took place; and North and South, slave-states and free, stood face to face in direct but legitimate encounter. The force of numbers, in the free states, now for the first time united, pre-

vailed, and Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was placed at the head of this great republic. He was not a New Englander, nor a Southern, but the first president selected from "the mighty West."

The indignation of the southern states was deep and general; and it had reference both to the *present* and to the *future*. The vast influence and patronage of the government slipped, at once, from the hands of those who had been accustomed to wield them for two generations past, and were transferred to men whom the South both disliked and dreaded. We cannot tell whether this motive alone would have been sufficient to drive the southern states into secession; but it was aided by a second,—by their fears for the *future*. Under the last six or eight presidents, everything had been done to foster and perpetuate the slave system. The South had wielded the powers of government; had framed the laws; created the judges; made peace or war: and in everything it did, had made slavery its guiding principle. Now, all this was to be suddenly reversed. The "Territories," *i. e.*, the unsettled wildernesses of America, would be formed into new states, from which slavery would be excluded. The very decisions of the Supreme Court, which had riveted the fetters on all the slaves, so as to make freedom nearly unattainable,—even these might now be modified, or perhaps reversed. The leaders of the southern states saw their power irretrievably gone: and they saw, or thought they saw, their "property" in danger. They quickly decided on resistance; and the same week which saw Abraham Lincoln placed in the presidential chair, saw also the most active preparations commenced in the South, for a total separation from the Union.

Our readers will certainly not wish us to carry them, step by step, through the turmoils and troubles of the last six months. Those troubles, as they well know, have at last banded together ten or eleven states of the South, under the title of "the Confederate States;" and have, so far, dissolved the Union.

We view these things from a distance, and may, perhaps, sometimes view them more dispassionately,—at others, more ignorantly and imperfectly,—than if we were ourselves involved in the strife. But we confess, without any hesitation, that our first feeling, on hearing of this separation of the slave-states from the free, was that of unmingled pleasure. And in this, we believed that we were only feeling and thinking in full concurrence and sympathy with Mr. Lowell, who, in his first piece of verse, says,

"Ef I'd *my* way I hed ruther
We should go to work an' part,—
They take one way, we take t'other,—
Guess it wouldn't break my heart ;

Men hed ough' to put asunder
Them thet God has noways jined ;
An' I shouldn't gretly wonder
Ef there's thousands o' my mind."

It is clear, however, that the great mass of the people of New York and New England are of another opinion. They look at the secession of the southern states as a diminution of the power and dignity of the Union ; and are ready, with one voice, to exclaim, that the southern states have no right to secede, and that they *shall not* secede.

This opinion and resolution, on the part of the North, strikes us with some surprise. Those who maintain this view, set up a theory which to us sounds strangely, as advanced by members of a confederation which is itself not yet a century old.

America, in 1776, erected itself into a nation, or sovereign people ; by a *change*, by a *separation*. Yet it is now assumed, that she then so constituted herself, that no change, except by augmentation,—that no separation,—ever could again take place. This is, indeed, a strange idea.

Mutability is one of the plainest laws of human nature. And the boundaries and component parts of states and nations exhibit the law of mutability in perpetual operation. It is not quite half a century since all Europe was settled by the Congress of Vienna ; yet in the course of the forty-six years which have elapsed since that settlement, what changes have taken place ! Holland and Belgium, then united, have separated from each other. Italy, then divided among five or six sovereigns, now owns but one ; France and Austria have each experienced considerable changes. Nor is Europe alone in these mutations. Turkey has lost Greece ; Africa has lost Algiers ; in India, half-a-dozen kingdoms have vanished.

Nor does America—we speak now of the northern states—reject mutation when it means *enlargement*. She has taken by force a good part of the territory of Mexico ; and was purposing, only a year or two since, to take Cuba also, by fair means or by foul. But that she, the United States, should *lose* anything ; that she deems altogether intolerable.

She refers to the original articles of Union, and finds there, she says, no provision made for the withdrawal of any State. *Therefore*, she argues, no State *can* withdraw.

It is not at all surprising that articles of Union, which were doubtless intended to be perpetual, should contain no provisions for separation or disunion. But the right and power of separating or seceding were consecrated, so to speak, by the very act which created "the United States." Those states separated or seceded from Great Britain ; and after a miserable conflict of some years, the king of England, who had been despoiled of one of the brightest jewels of his crown, was obliged

to say, "I grant that you had a right to secede, and I recognize your separation as an accomplished fact."

As lovers of peace, we should have been glad if the northern states could have adopted Mr. Lowell's view,—

"You take one way, we take t'other."

It appears, however, that this is not to be. At the time of our writing, the northern states boast that they have nearly completed an army of 200,000 men, and calculate on spending *one hundred and fifty millions* of dollars, or £30,000,000 sterling, in this present year, 1861, in putting down this "rebellion." We cannot doubt that the 18,000,000 who live in the north are stronger than the 8,000,000 who live in the south; or that the 3,947,759 of slaves possessed by the latter, are more an element of weakness than of strength. Consequently, we are prepared to hear of defeats and humiliations suffered by the southern states, if this fearful contest shall really continue. But we cannot help coinciding in opinion with the *Economist* newspaper, which, in one of its recent numbers, said,—

"The North will beat the South in the end, but when it has done so, we do not see what the government can do, except to leave the South to follow its own devices; *as it might do at this moment.*"

In considering such a question as this, of the impending struggle, it should always be borne in mind that there are two kinds of wars—a war between two independent states, arising out of some petty ground of quarrel; and a war of subjugation, which, if successful, involves the holding the conquered territory by military force. When two kingdoms quarrel about the possession of some island or province, they fight battle till one of them is worsted; the victorious power then obtains the territory about which the dispute arose, and so the contest ends. But a war of subjugation is a very different thing. Edward I. conquered Scotland once or twice; but when he returned to England, Scotland was soon in arms again. Austria now holds the little province of Venetia, which contains 8000 or 9000 square miles, but she holds it by an army of more than 100,000 men. Virginia, which stands in the front of the present battle, has 61,000 square miles; and the whole of the seceded States have above 800,000 square miles. Now, if it were enough to give them a few defeats, and so to bring them to submission, the task might be comparatively easy. But if it be needful to keep them in subjection by a military occupation, as Austria now keeps Venetia, how are the northern states to accomplish this? The single state of Texas is larger than the whole Austrian empire; and the whole of the southern states, collectively, cover more ground than France and Spain, Eng-

land, Belgium, and all Germany;—in fact, than all central Europe. What remains, then, when the northern states have beaten their opponents? What follows? The *Times* correspondent tells us that

“The North thinks that it can coerce the South, and I am not prepared to say they are right or wrong. But I am convinced that the South can only be forced back into the Union by such a conquest as that which laid Poland prostrate at the feet of Russia.”

Yes; but the difference between the two cases is prodigious. Russia was a mighty empire, keeping up an army of 700,000 men, and she coveted Poland, which lay just on her frontier. The northern states of America have, indeed, the main elements of strength; but it is their custom to keep up an army of only 10,000 or 12,000 men. The force which they will need to coerce the South must be drawn, by an effort, from the productive industry of the nation, and kept in the field by a new and unusual outlay. But the chief difficulty of the case arises from the enormous extent of the United States. From New York to Charleston is 762 miles; from New York to Montgomery—the present seat of the Southern Government—is 1066 miles; from New York to New Orleans is nearly 1900 miles. To carry on a war at such a distance,—to convey armies five hundred or a thousand miles at a time, with all the necessary stores and commissariat, seems to us a task which may exhaust even the undoubted wealth of New York and New England. Poland has a population of not quite 5,000,000, and it lies adjacent to the Russian frontier; yet to keep down Poland has always been found an arduous task, even for a government which moves, at will, 200,000 or 300,000 men. The northern states will surely not embody and maintain a standing army of 100,000 men;—yet what could even 100,000 men do, to keep in subjugation a country larger than all England, France, Spain, and Germany? No doubt the North can call for and obtain 200,000 or 300,000 militia; but these are mere volunteers, enlisting for an expedition. To subjugate a country, and to hold it in subjection, a permanent army is needed; and, looking at the force kept by Russia in Poland, and by Austria in Venetia, we should say that a standing army of even 200,000 men would be insufficient to force back the southern states into the Union against their will.

We know, indeed, that many heated and enthusiastic politicians in New York are now saying: “We shall beat them easily; put down the rebellion, punish the leaders, and re-establish the Union.” But assuredly, if peace, cordiality, and a solid union can in this way be established, it will be the first

time that fire and slaughter have been seen to produce such results. Fifteen years ago, in these "Biglow Papers," Mr. Lowell could thus sarcastically write :—

" I du believe wutever trash
'll keep the people in blindness ;—
Thet we the Mexicans can thrash
Right inter brotherly kindness.
That bombshells, grape, an' powder 'n' ball,
Air goodwill's strongest magnets ;
Thet peace, to make it stick at all,
Must be druv in with bag'nets."

But the absurdity is far greater of supposing that an union such as that which has for eighty years existed in America, can be cemented and perpetuated by fighting. The Southerners were defeated by the Northerners in an ordinary and peaceful contest at the poll-booths, and they could not bear it; but rushed into instant secession. Is it to be imagined that they will be taught patience, humility, and quiet submission, by the slaughter of their people and the burning of their towns?

But we must not be tempted into the least semblance of predicting the future. The events of the last two years in Italy ought to warn us not to dream that we can foresee it; we will therefore only indicate three results which may flow from the war which is now opening, but we shall not attempt to say which of these three our readers may confidently anticipate.

First, that may happen which the government at Washington, and most of the people in the North, seem to expect; to wit, the speedy defeat, quiet submission, and future loyalty of the southern states. We will not say that this is impossible; but to us it seems the most unlikely of all the conclusions in which the present quarrel may end. That eight millions of people can be *forced* to remain in an union which was originally based on the popular will, certainly sounds very much like a contradiction in terms.

Another termination of the dispute which seems to us to have more probability, would be one resembling the end of many former wars: namely, that when each party had inflicted great losses and sufferings on the other, exhaustion, loss of hope, and weariness of a seemingly-interminable strife, should gradually operate and force both to consent, unwillingly, to a close of the struggle. This seems to us the most probable ending; but we will not venture to predict it.

A more terrible result is not left to the imagination, for it is loudly threatened. A leading man, in the employment of the Washington government, has openly declared that if forced to it, the North will proclaim the manumission of all the slaves! Now this, however blessed and glorious, if properly and cautiously effected, would be, if an act of war, suddenly

enacted, nothing less than a tremendous earthquake in the body politic. Four millions of human beings, at once set free, in the land where they had long been slaves, would change it from a country of hard and cruel laws into a country of turmoil, confusion, and lawlessness. Greatly as we desire the eradication of slavery from the American soil, we should not dare, if the power could possibly be given to us, to pronounce the words which would confer immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Yet, as we have said, this fearful convulsion is not merely spoken of as possible, it is actually threatened, and may occur before the year has terminated. A vast blessing would thus be realized, a dreadful sin would be cleared away from the national conscience of America; but at what an awful price! The imagination utterly fails when it tries to realize the fact, of four millions of human beings, hitherto slaves, now suddenly set free. The scenes which might be expected to follow, might make the event one of the most calamitous in the history of mankind.

Such, then, is the prospect; such are the various disastrous terminations which may close this fearful war. But there is one part of the subject to which we feel bound especially to advert.

The fault of Mr. Lowell's verses is one into which Mr. Washington Irving, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, and many other American writers have shown a readiness to fall; namely, the mingling of Puritan and sometimes of Scripture phrases with sarcastic and ironical language, in a manner which seems to betoken an irreverent feeling. The merit of the book, on the other hand, lies, as we have said, in its objugation of slavery and of aggressive war. In this sentiment we should have hoped to find, in the author's own state of Massachusetts, and throughout New England and New York, a very general concurrence. But we have been startled and distressed to perceive, by the latest accounts from America, a great aptitude and even avidity for this intestine war, even among professing Christians. Thus, we hear that in Mr. H. W. Beecher's large congregation at Brooklyn, as many as one hundred and twenty-seven volunteers simultaneously offered themselves; and that one leading member of the church presented two hundred rifles, hoping that men would be found to use them. This eagerness to rush into a deadly strife with their brethren and fellow-countrymen fills us with alarm.

War in the United States is much more a personal and individual question than it is with us in England. We are obliged to maintain, for our own safety and the safety of our vast foreign possessions, a standing army of some 200,000 men. Hence, many young men devote themselves to this profession,

and take up war as a calling ; binding themselves to be at their sovereign's command, and to fight their country's battles in India, China, New Zealand, or wherever else they may be ordered. And it is of the essence of this engagement that those who enter into it give up a portion of their personal liberty, and are hardly free to discuss the grounds of quarrel which England may have, in each particular case. They have sworn, at the outset, to enter into any war which the British government may deem it necessary to wage.

But it is far otherwise with the (hitherto) United States. That government possesses no such army, ready to support, with implicit faith, its quarrel, with any or with all men. The president, therefore, is obliged to call for 75,000 or 150,000 *volunteers*, who are to enter into a certain particular war, on grounds then and there stated. And we confess ourselves unable to understand what the grounds are on which hundreds or thousands of professedly Christian men are now rushing forward to arm themselves for war with those whom for many years past they have regarded as brethren. Yet, to have a solid and substantial reason for fighting is very needful in this case ; for nearly every man who is about to engage in this war, does so *voluntarily*, and with an eye to a particular contest then waging ; and hence he ought to be "fully persuaded in his own mind" of the absolute necessity of the war which he is about to assist in carrying on.

Now, if it were a question of *self-defence*, we should be answered at once. The rapid and enthusiastic arming of 150,000 volunteers in England is a thing to be lauded and admired, chiefly because the whole movement is strictly limited to defensive warfare. These young men saw, or supposed that they saw, that their native land was not in a position of safety ; and by quickly embodying and arming themselves, they secured that safety, so far as human precautions could effect such an object. And if it had ever been imagined that Virginia and Carolina were about to attack New York or Philadelphia, we could have understood and appreciated a prompt exhibition of zeal in their defence. But no such idea, so far as we can learn, has ever entered any one's head.* And, indeed, the first step taken by the forces of the North, when assembled, was, to *invade Virginia*—a state which had seceded, and which had as much right to choose its own course as New York or Massachusetts.

It is the North, then, which passes the Rubicon, and causes the war. The northern states have invaded Virginia, and the

* There was a rumoured intention, at one time, of the Southern forces marching upon Washington ; but Washington had been the capital of the United States, and belonged as much to the South as to the North—lying, indeed, between the two

general of the invading army declares, according to the accounts just received, that he will capture and enter Richmond, the chief city of Virginia, before the 15th of July. We are unable to see what right he can have to march into Richmond, except, indeed, "the right of the strongest." If the Virginians were the more powerful of the two, they might, with as much justice, march into, capture, and subjugate Boston or Philadelphia.

But here we are stopped by the broad assumption, that "We, the North, are the *government*; and they, Virginia, Carolina, &c., are merely *rebels*. They are justly and legally subject to a central and governing authority; which authority they have rebelliously thrown off. All, therefore, which we, the volunteers, are doing, is merely to maintain and vindicate the authority of the law; and to suppress disorder and rebellion."

Does not this plea naturally send our minds back to 1776? At that time the British government used the very same language; regarding the Boston people as merely "rebels," and sending troops "to restore order, and to vindicate the authority of the law." It is not, therefore, by mere assumptions of this kind, that the question can be decided. A year ago, Francis II. of Naples termed his subjects "rebels." He is now a dethroned man; the Neapolitans are members of the kingdom of Italy, and England and America readily agree to have it so.

Let us look at the *Declaration of Independence* itself, signed and promulgated in 1776, which has ever been regarded as the corner-stone of American liberty. It opens thus:—

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another; and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them,—a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

Then follows a statement concerning "the rights of man," and the Declaration at once proceeds to argue, that

"To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," and hence, "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, *it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it*, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, *as to them shall seem* most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Surely, "the right of secession" is here very distinctly recognized. "But," say the advocates of coercion, "no provision is made in the Constitution for the secession or separation of states, and therefore we deny that the Constitution deems such a thing to be possible."

In reply to which, the 9th and 10th articles of the "Amendments to the Constitution" may be adduced. The 9th runs thus :

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

And the 10th is in the same tone :

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, *are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.*"

Well, here is a case, and a line of action, not specifically prohibited by the Constitution. Surely, then, the right to choose their own course is here "reserved to the States."

Once more; Judge Story, the ablest lawyer that America has ever produced, in writing on the Constitution, thus treats this matter :—

"It (the Constitution) is an attempt to create a national sovereignty, and yet to preserve the State sovereignties; though it is impossible to assign definite boundaries, in every case, to the powers of each. The influence of the disturbing causes—which, more than once in the Convention, were on the point of breaking up the Union—have since immeasurably increased. * * * * * If, under these circumstances, the Union should once be broken up, it is impossible that a new Constitution should ever be formed embracing the whole territory."*

Here we find their profoundest lawyer gravely treating of "the breaking up of the Union" as an event quite within the bounds of probability. And, taking all these things together, we are inclined to ask, "Is the present cause of war, and its unquestionable justice, so clear, as to warrant a Christian man in taking up his sword or rifle, and in proceeding to slaughter all persons who maintain an opposite opinion?"

Here, however, another plea is introduced, which, although manifestly a weak one, may claim some notice. It is said, that "the United States have certain property—forts, arsenals, &c.—in the southern states, upon which the new Confederation has seized: which, belonging to the United States and its government, must be recovered and repossessed, if needful, even by force." This, for a long time, was the only reason for war put forward by the government;—its alleged ground for calling out the volunteers. But it is clearly an untenable one.

The government of the United States had erected, in various parts of the Union, forts, magazines, and other defences, so as to be not utterly helpless on the breaking out of a war with any foreign power. These forts, which are justly called "national property," are situated in various parts of the Union, north and

* Story's Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, pp. 616, 617.

south. They were, for the most part, raised at the cost of the whole Union, and were kept in order by the government at Washington.

Now, surely it would have been the most natural course in the world, to have said, on a separation, "Let the northern states keep the northern forts, and the south, the southern." The Union becoming two distinct and independent nations, the North could have no use for forts in New Orleans or Pensacola; nor could the South desire to retain any interest in the forts of New York, Boston, or Philadelphia.

Yet this natural and obvious solution has been wholly "ignored." The northern states have boldly said, "Fort Sumpter, Fort Pickens, and the other forts in the South, are *our property*; raised with our money, and we will not be robbed of them." But they have forgotten to add: "and at New York, Boston, &c., we have similar fortifications, which belong as much to the South as to us; for both the southern states and the northern were taxed to build them." They have kept up the dishonest illusion, that "We are the United States, and you are the *rebels*;" instead of calling things by their right names, and saying, "The Union is broken up, and ten or eleven of the southern states have formed a new confederacy."

But this plea is both unjust, and one-sided; and it is also *insufficient*. What can be a more monstrous spectacle than to see thirty millions of civilized men, rushing into a bloody war, merely on a question of a few millions of dollars! In less than a single year, more may be spent upon this wretched contest, than would pay for Fort Pickens and Fort Sumpter *thirty times over*.

We return, then, to the question we first asked, and again inquire, When a Christian man leaves his place in Mr. Beecher's congregation at Brooklyn, or in Dr. Tyng's at New York, and proceeds with his rifle into Virginia, how does he justify the war in which he is about to take a part? He is about to slay, perhaps, his brother, or cousin, or dear friend; for in such intestine strife as this, such lamentable scenes often occur. At all events, if he takes an active part at all, his rifle, at each discharge, may turn some young wife into a wretched widow, and make half-a-dozen children orphans. Are these acts which ought to be done lightly, or on questionable grounds? Will a Christian volunteer quiet his conscience, and drive from his memory the groans of a dying man, slain by his hand, by such a plea as this: "He thought that Carolina had a right to secede, and I thought that she had not, and therefore we fought, and I killed him?"

The churches of America have hitherto gone hand-in-hand with those of England in sending through the earth "the gospel of *peace*." Burmah was subdued to the obedience of Christ by an American,—by Adoniram Judson, one of the greatest of all

missionaries on record since the days of the Apostles. In that land, in Turkey, in Western Africa, and in other arduous posts of duty, the Christians of America have "fought a good fight." But in all these battle-fields they could say with joy, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal." Now, in the fearful strife which seems about to commence, while we have not one feeling in sympathy with the Southern seceders, we yet cannot deny them the right which seems to be theirs by the Constitution, of *judging for themselves* whether it will be for their advantage to remain in the Union or not. That they should be *forced* to continue under a government which they detest, seems to us opposed to the whole spirit and tenor of American institutions. And the compelling them so to remain, by the application of fire and sword, seems to us an undertaking which is altogether unsuited to the habits and temper of a follower of "the Prince of Peace."

"The pomp and circumstance of glorious war" deceives and misguides many. A splendid sight it must have been, on the 18th of June, 1815, to see Napoleon's army of 90,000 men, amidst the music of a hundred bands, move into its position on the heights which looked down upon Waterloo. Their great commander himself describes the scene with a natural enthusiasm; saying, "The spectacle was really magnificent; the earth seemed proud of being trod by such intrepid combatants;" and his secretary writes, "The whole army was superb, and full of ardour."

But when twelve hours had passed over, the rising moon looked down upon a very different picture. The victor, returning from the pursuit, and crossing the field on which 40,000 dead or wounded men were lying, could not restrain his tears. As for the defeated, Napoleon's own secretary says, "We stopped beyond Rocroi to take some refreshment. We were all in a pitiable state; our eyes swelled with tears, our countenances haggard, our clothes covered with dust and blood."

Already, though the strife is but beginning, the Americans are tasting some of its bitterness. While we are writing, intelligence arrives, that, in the darkness of a night movement, two of the Federal regiments fired on each other with fatal effect; and we hear of "fourteen killed and forty-five wounded." Let us suppose these to have been New York troops; and that a body of the members of Mr. Beecher's church fired upon a party from Dr. Tyng's! Estimable citizens of New York are sacrificed; and widows and orphans mourn this fatal strife! Was there a sufficient cause?

Nor is this more than a single feature of the case. The finest New York regiment is the 7th Militia. They were sent forward to meet an expected attack of the Southern forces, which attack was never made. But during a couple of months

of military service, no fewer than twenty members of this regiment are said to have failed, and become bankrupts, from the disorder brought into their affairs by their absence from home!

A third peril and source of suffering will soon follow. Now that the strife has actually commenced, it will not be easy to arrest its progress; yet in the months of July, August, and September no military operations can be carried on without the almost certain sacrifice of one half of the troops by the fevers of the summer season. Such are a few of the perils and miseries into which the people of the northern states are now rushing, merely because they have forgotten, or cast aside, Mr. Lowell's good counsel, given fifteen years ago, in the words which we again repeat:—

“Ef I'd *my* way I had rather
 We should go to work an' part;
 They take one way, we take t'other,—
 Guess it wouldn't break my heart;
 Men hed ough' to put asunder
 Them that God has no ways jined;
 An' I shouldn't gretly wonder
 Ef there's thousands o' my mind.”

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Influence of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament upon the Progress of Christianity. By the Rev. Ralph Churton, B.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Macmillan. 1861.—Perhaps there is no department of Church history which has been less explored than the subject of this Hulsean Prize Essay. We seldom remember that it was the influence of the Greek version of the Old Testament which prepared the Jewish proselyte to become the Christian believer. Amongst the nations mentioned as sending deputies to attend the day of Pentecost, there were at least nine amongst whom the Septuagint was more or less used in public worship. If Cyrus was the instrument employed for rebuilding the Jewish temple, “the heart of Ptolemy was stirred up,” as our Biblical translators express it, to achieve that Alexandrian version, which was the door of the Gentiles (*Ostium Gentilium*) for entering the Christian church.

But the most distinguished privilege of this Version consists in the materials which it furnished for the style and phraseology of the New Testament. It is a plain and undeniable fact that all its doctrinal terms, Faith, Repentance, Conversion, Salvation, Justification, Redemption, Atonement, &c., are used to express the same ideas by the

LXX. translators, and that the great majority of quotations from the Old Testament are presented in their "*ipsissima verba*." Mr. Churton has with great elegance and learning illustrated this important truth. We rejoice to think that it has fallen to a Fellow of King's, who must have been an Etonian scholar, to show, that it is not from classical but Septuagintal authorities, that we must henceforth interpret the language and thoughts of the Evangelists and Apostles.

Such a work is peculiarly valuable at the present theological crisis. Mr. Jowett is a profound Septuagintal scholar, and constantly appeals to the LXX. in his comments on St. Paul's Epistles. But he deserts the LXX. in their illustration of sacrificial terms, and more especially in the light which they throw on the doctrines of the Atonement and of Justification by Faith. That they use the words *ἀγίασμός*, *λύτρωσις*, *δικαίωσις*, &c., in the same radical signification as we find in the New Testament, and in a sense quite unknown to Pagan writers, is a fact which cannot be questioned. Yet here Mr. Jowett deserts them, not that their verbal authority is indecisive, but because he has laid down the maxim, that no authority can establish doctrines which seem contradictory to human reason. He allows that Philo and Josephus use the same language respecting the Jewish sacrifices and the Jewish high-priests; but he will not admit of a vicarious atonement for the sins of the world, because he rejects the theory of vicarious suffering, or of imputed righteousness, though enunciated by Isaiah and the Psalmist in the very same expressions as those of the Evangelists and Apostles. *Habes confitentem reum.*

If our readers would feel the full force of this observation, they must consult the pages of Mr. Churton; they will then see that, without mentioning Mr. Jowett by name, he has driven him into a *cul de sac*. If the authority of the LXX. be sufficient to interpret the language of the New Testament on other doctrinal subjects, it is sufficient to interpret its language on the subject of Atonement or Sacrifice. It becomes therefore not a question of the meaning of Scripture, but of the unwillingness of Mr. Jowett to submit to its authority.

The nature of the *verbal* Inspiration of the New Testament is thus brought to consist in its unceasing accordance with the phraseology of the Greek version, by its employment of "a language combining the phrases of various schools of philosophy with those of the Old Testament, which was suited to become the channel of revealed truth to all the world. *Yet only so far as a language can be said to be the teacher of truths unknown and unrecognized before, which man could never have arrived at without the aid of revelation.* In this sense, the Hellenistic dialect, in which the New Testament was written, was one of the chosen means by which God declares the truths of the gospel to man. (p. 21.) This is, indeed, assigning to verbal Inspiration, "*a local habitation and a name*," and as such we submit it to the serious consideration of our readers. It is remarkable that this same test has been proposed by the Edinburgh Reviewer in the article on The Essays, p. 483, which we reprint as a literary curiosity:—

"Amongst the many proposals which are floating about for Essays and Counter-Essays to vindicate the doctrines supposed to be combated in this volume, let us be allowed to suggest this one: '*The nature of*

Biblical Inspiration, as tested by a careful examination of the Septuagint Version, with special reference to the sanction given to it by the Apostles, and to its variations, by way of addition and omission, from the received text of the Canonical Scriptures. The conclusions of such an investigation would be worth a hundred eager declamations on one side or the other, and would be absolutely decisive of the chief questions at issue."

The Life of Mrs. Cameron : partly an Autobiography, and from her Private Journals, &c. ; author of the "Two Lambs," "Margaret Whyte," &c. Edited by her eldest Son. London : Darton & Co.— Mrs. Cameron was a pious gentlewoman, a clergyman's wife of the old school, which, in many important points, was by no means inferior to the new one. Clerical ladies were then much less useful in the parish, but perhaps more useful in the parsonage-house. There is an excess on both sides ; and we doubt whether many a clergyman does not suffer more in his family from the over-taxed devotion of his wife to schools, and district-visiting societies, and missionary-working parties, and clothing-clubs, and twenty other benevolent objects which are gliding from our pen, than the church will gain by the record of her useful life, and premature, though, no doubt, very happy death ; published in a volume after the most approved style, and set off with a preface by some excellent clergyman, who tells us he knew nothing of the dear deceased, but hopes the book will sell, since he is informed she was an excellent person, and the profits are to be given to an excellent charity.

To speak seriously : the work which an exacting religious public demands, not only from a clergyman, but from his wife too, is a serious evil. It is unscriptural. A clergyman's wife ought to find her most important pursuits at home, and there she ought chiefly to be found ; or else St. Paul gave Timothy and Titus instructions on such matters no longer applicable. We do not mean to argue that all her labours are to be confined within these limits, but we do maintain that this is her world ; and that when she steps beyond it to labour in a wider sphere, it should never be at the expense either of home duties neglected or health sacrificed. In short, we want a division of labour. Laymen and laywomen ought to do the work which is now thrown exclusively upon the overburdened pastor, and his often still more overburdened wife.

Mrs. Cameron lived in the remote days of King George III. She was the sister of Mrs. Sherwood, and we are told that "all Mrs. Sherwood's early books were sent in manuscript to her sister for correction and publication. 'Henry and his Bearer' came, beautifully written, in one letter, and owed much of its divinity to its English correction." It would have been well if Mrs. Sherwood had submitted her later writings also to her wiser sister's revision. They would probably have been free from some of those errors, both of taste and doctrine, which deface them, and make them worse than useless.

We meet with occasional passages in this little volume which show us that for some time after she became an earnest Christian Mrs. Cameron was not free from the bondage of the law. But her light shone more and more unto the perfect day. "I would lay hold," she

says, in one of the last pages of the volume, "of those texts which assure me that Christ will never let His sheep perish without regarding the inferences which some persons draw from them. I have certainly been deterred from doing this by the sad misrepresentations of some who take away all the responsibility of man in his rejection of Christ, and cast it upon God. An awful denial of my Father's name of love!" On the same page we meet with this remark, with which we conclude our notice of a very pleasant book: "On visiting a Tractarian church in Oxford, I confess that the monotonous reading of the Scriptures was not to be endured, because it really rendered the reading of the lessons almost a dead letter. The church was hung about with endless childish vanities, and the impression left on my mind was, that an effort was being made to change the simple character of the New Testament minister into the high priest of the old dispensation—and a very bad imitation, too."

Suggestions on Popular Education. By Nassau W. Senior, one of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Popular Education in England. London: John Murray. 1861.—Our readers, like ourselves, are no doubt by this time heartily weary of "suggestions on popular education." A royal commission has sat; another blue book has been printed; a heavy expense has been incurred; a great number of facts and a great number of opinions, wise and unwise, have been collected; and having said this, we have said all that can be said. The royal commission is allowed to be a failure; its suggestions are, some of them, mischievous, some of them unimportant, some of them contradictory to the positions which the commissioners themselves lay down. If our readers think that we are dealing with the Report in too sweeping a manner, let them lay out a single sixpence on a pamphlet of eleven pages of which the title is this:—"Remarks on some portions of the Report of the Royal Commission on Education. London 1861." It emanates from a Committee appointed April 19th, 1860, "to watch proceedings in parliament in reference to the grants for national education." Of this committee the duke of Marlborough is chairman, and J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., deputy chairman.

Mr. Senior was one of the commissioners; and in this volume he gives us those of his own views in which he differed from his colleagues, as well as several papers which he submitted to them, some of which were adopted and others rejected. Mr. Senior's book appears to us the most valuable result which the public are likely to obtain from the appointment of this commission. Of education, however, we are not about to speak, except that we may quote a single sentence which we do in order to express our perfect concurrence. It is that which recommends that no child should be hired out for service of any kind until it is provided with a certificate from a schoolmaster duly licensed by government that it can both read and write, or that it has been at school for at least one hundred and seventy-four days during the previous year. How much this implies none can tell except those who have given attention to the subject of infant labour. Mr. Senior gives an array of cases of cruelty to children, mere infants, engaged in labour in our various manufactures, which is truly horrible. The recital is

sickening; and yet these are pages which ought to be read. That they may be read is one great reason why we draw attention to the volume :—

“ We look with shame and indignation upon the pictures of American slavery; but I firmly believe that the children on the worst managed plantations are less overworked, less tortured, better fed, and quite as well instructed as the unhappy infants, whose early and long-continued labour occasions the fabulous cheapness of our hardware and our lace, and whose wages feed the intemperance of their parents.....

“ But the class of whom I am now speaking, the population which in infancy and from infancy works every day, and all day long, is necessarily uneducated. Those who were the children of 1843 are the parents of 1860. I will extract from the report of Mr. Horne, one of the assistant commissioners on the Children’s Employment Commission, a portion of his description of the children in Wolverhampton and Willenhall :—

“ Putting together all that I elicited from various witnesses, and all that fell under my own observation, I am obliged to come to the conclusion that the moral virtues of the great majority of the children are as few in number and as feeble in practice as can well be conceived of those who are born in a civilized country, surrounded by religious and educational institutions, and by individuals anxious for the improvement of the condition of the working classes.” (pp. 212, 213.)

And again :—

“ I do not believe that the cruelties, which I have rather alluded to than described, can be repressed by any half measure. It is of no use to forbid undue or unmerited torture. Who is to be the judge, and to whom can the complaint be made? All bodily infliction on a child or a young person must be made a misdemeanor, and the remedy must be summary. Real offences on the part of the child or young person must be punishable by the magistrate.

“ The Poor Law Board require the master to teach the apprentice his trade, and to allow him to attend some place of divine worship, and, if his parents require it, a Sunday-school. But they prescribe no other education, nor do they limit the hours of labour.

“ These are, I think, omissions. In every apprenticeship, and in every hiring, except for the purposes of agricultural labour or mere domestic service, the hours of labour should be limited on the principle of the Factory Acts; so many for children under thirteen, so many for young persons under eighteen.

“ I should like to add a provision that children under thirteen shall attend an inspected school, either every day, or at least for three days in every week. At present few apprentices or children engaged in trades or manufactures not under the Factory or Printworks Acts get any schooling whatever, except, in a few cases, that of the inefficient Sunday school.

“ The 42 Geo. III. c. 73, introduced by one of our most eminent manufacturers, the first sir Robert Peel, contained, as will be recollected, a clause ordering every apprentice in a cotton or woollen factory to be instructed at the expense of his master in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

"It is also ordered that every such apprentice should for one hour at least in every week be instructed and examined in the principles of the Christian religion by some proper person to be provided and paid by his master; that he should be taken once at least in every year to be examined by the rector, vicar, or curate, and at the age of fourteen be duly prepared for confirmation. Sir Robert Peel, therefore, was willing to assume himself, and to throw on all the cotton and woollen factory occupiers, the whole responsibility of providing and enforcing the secular and religious education of their apprentices.

"There may be a difficulty in requiring attendance at school by agricultural children in some parts of the year, but I do not believe that there would be any in requiring such attendance by children employed in trades or manufactures.

"My proposals may appear to be large, but we must recollect the magnitude of the evil to be combated and of the object to be attained. If that evil were merely the misery of some hundreds of thousands of infants, children, and young persons for ten or fifteen years, a misery followed by no further ill consequences, the abating it would still be a glorious object. But the evil to be destroyed and the good to be obtained are immeasurably greater. The misery endured by one generation is not temporary; it reproduces itself in the next. The brutally treated children of 1823 became the brutal parents of 1843. The brutally treated children of 1843 are, I repeat, the brutal parents of 1860.

"The mischief goes on, extending, and diffusing, and perpetuating itself with the increase of our town population and of our hand-work manufacturers. To masters and parents, such as they have been described, we propose to extend the franchise. They already legislate through the trades' unions. If the next generation should encounter difficult times, what will be the political conduct of those whose only experience of power has been as an instrument of evil, who have never been protected or restrained by it, who have passed from a youth of abject slavery to a manhood of unresisted tyranny?

"The Children's Employment Commissioners close their report almost in despair. 'From the whole body of evidence,' they say, 'it appears that there are at present in existence no means adequate to effect any material and general improvement in the physical and moral condition of the children and young persons employed in labour.'

"Are we also to look at the constantly increasing evil and danger in hopeless inactivity? If a remedy is to be applied, what measures short of those which I have suggested will be adequate?" (pp. 240—242.)

But we have no space and no heart to pursue the subject. May God send in His mercy a better mind both to the parents of these poor children, and to those who live upon their toil; for, till then, the case is hopeless.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE proceedings of Parliament have not been without interest during the month past. A Bill has been brought into the house of commons for disposing of the four seats vacant by the disfranchised boroughs. One of them is given to Birkenhead, the great suburb, or rather Southwark, of Liverpool, though Chelsea and Kensington contended for the prize. The decision seems to have given general satisfaction, on the broad ground that the metropolis is sufficiently represented, and that the interests of the greatest commercial seaport in the world require a third member, which Manchester including Salford has long possessed. The three remaining seats will probably be given before these sheets are dry—one to Lancashire, and two to Yorkshire. There is evidently a growing dislike to civic constituencies. Great towns have always boasted of higher civilization; they have been considered as the homes of liberty, the great centres of free thought. How is it that, with a few exceptions, they scarcely ever return a statesman to the house of commons? The fact is notorious, and is not denied either within the walls of the house or beyond them. Is it that town constituencies have too selfish a regard to local interests, and seek their representatives amongst the class of senators who will condescend to be little more than delegates? The subject deserves attention, not only in the house of commons, but in town councils, and from those whose position gives them weight in the borough politics of England.

On a third reading of sir John Trelawney's Bill for the Abolition of Church-rates, a parliamentary phenomenon occurred which does not return more than once or twice in a century. The numbers on each side, in a very full house, were equal—274 voting for, and 274 against, the measure. The speaker gave his casting-vote with the Noes, so that the bill does not go up to the house of lords; where, however, it would certainly have been rejected. An attempt, probably a last attempt, at a compromise had been made by Mr. S. Estcourt. It conceded more than we think it would have been safe to yield—more than we should have been disposed to yield if the principle of a church-rate must be maintained. And we feel no disposition to part with it; now that the leaders of the nonconformists avow their determination to be satisfied with nothing else than their total abolition; while the political dissenters of the Liberation Society, with Mr. Miall for their spokesman, tell us that it is "their sacred mission to shatter the established church, and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven." Deprived of the motive for concession grounded on an earnest desire to conciliate dissenters and to put an end to a vexatious strife, churchmen have really no reason left for consenting to the abolition of church-rates. They are honestly informed that the ditch is to be drained, only in order that the fortress may be more easily assaulted. They may think the ditch not worth contending for; but if fight they must, they may choose their own ground: they may as well fight for the ditch as for the rampart. This argument, it is

clear, has had its weight in the house of commons, and before it the majority of the anti-church-rate party has melted away. On the whole, we are satisfied that the question should remain where it now lies—in the hands of each of the ten thousand parishes of England and Wales. Let them settle the question for themselves; to deprive them of the power of doing so, without even the hope of peace, seems to be a wanton act of mere injustice.

If men were not blinded by the dust of faction they would surely perceive that our parish churches are something more than mere buildings, set apart for divine worship, and appropriated to the church of England. They are national monuments; the most interesting we possess. Most of our public buildings make us ridiculous—our statues make us contemptible, to foreigners. They visit our churches, even the lowliest of them, with veneration. The American who pays his visit to Windsor seldom fails to ask (we were told but lately by an old attendant at the Castle) for the modest parish church of Stoke, where Gray mused, where his mother lies interred beneath a stone inscribed by his melancholy hand, and where, it is said, he wrote his *Elegy*. There is scarcely an ancient church in the kingdom which has not its history, and its pilgrims too, from some of the ends of the earth. Our old churches are national monuments, unsurpassed in Europe for architectural beauty, and all that can charm and elevate the taste. For the purposes of Protestant worship they are not, they never were, wanted. They may have had their origin in superstition, or in national pride, or in the exquisite taste and feeling of past ages; for mere devotion, a shed, a barn, a brick Bethesda, might answer the purpose. If there be dissenters who think they see in this an argument why they should be allowed to fall into decay, we can only pity their barbarism, and express a hope that they may soon come to a better mind, and feel the force as well as sing the words of the fine old hymn of the nonconformist of the last century, whose effigy, we are proud to say, has long adorned the walls of Westminster Abbey:—

“These temples of His grace
How beautiful they stand!
The honours of our native place,
The glory of our land.”

Will our posterity believe that nonconformists were pleading conscience, in this latter half of the nineteenth century, while they denied to churchmen the right to tax themselves (for all parties have consented to give up the taxing of dissenters) in support of these venerable edifices? Not, be it understood, of the worship performed in them, but merely of the material structures!

We deeply regret the attitude which some “moderate” dissenters have assumed. We deplore it for the sake of Christian charity. We cannot refuse to perceive the effect it is already producing upon the Evangelical Alliance. Churchmen feel that, after all, there can be little cordiality in a union where the members are actively opposed to each other on a question of so much importance as the very existence of a national church. We have always thought that a man might be a very good churchman without looking upon every dissenter as a schismatic, and, as such, living in open sin. And we have always been willing to persuade ourselves that it was quite as possible to be

a conscientious dissenter without being bent on the destruction of the national church. On this understanding the Evangelical Alliance has its basis. On this ground it has been defended from time to time; and it has had the hearty goodwill even of those of the evangelical party in the church of England, who, from various motives, have hesitated to join it. If the prospect which cheered the large heart and loving soul of Edward Bickersteth and Haldane Stewart should once more be lost, the fault lies not with their surviving brethren of the church of England. So long as the dissenting leaders of the Evangelical Alliance are found in official connexion with Unitarians, when the object is to oppose the right of churchmen even to tax themselves in support of their own parish churches, we cannot wonder that the Alliance should fall under suspicion; or that so few of the clergy should join its ranks, or that some who have done so should begin with pain to acknowledge the difficulty of their position. They are charged by their own brethren with a want of consistency; by their opponents, with a want of sincerity. After every explanation, the fact remains, that they are banded in a voluntary association for the promotion of true religion with those who have banded themselves in another voluntary association with Socinians, rather than lose the opportunity of assaulting the established church. We can only repeat, that those churchmen who are members of the Evangelical Alliance feel themselves placed in very painful circumstances. They have no wish, and certainly they have no right, to circumscribe the freedom of action claimed by their dissenting brethren; but they have a right to feel themselves both unkindly and unfairly treated when they discover that the compact into which they have entered is construed to mean no more than this!

We have said, in another article, all that is necessary on the American crisis. European affairs are wearisome. There is constant turmoil, and little progress. The Pope is dying. Count Cavour is dead. The emperor of France consents, at length, to recognize the kingdom of Italy, or, rather, the kingship of Victor Emmanuel, for he draws a distinction between the two, in order, no doubt, that he may not be driven by this concession to withdraw his troops from Rome until some equivalent is offered him. Spain, secure in her insignificance, repudiates her debts, violates her treaties, and insults our countrymen. Non-intervention is an admirable policy, but we confess that a few weeks of Cromwell's vigour at the Foreign Office would not disturb us. We would have Spain brought to her senses. Is it to be endured that she should carry on the infamous traffic in human flesh in spite of her own engagements? Her debt to us we can afford to lose; but we cannot submit to the insults she offers to our religion, in the person both of her own subjects and of British residents in Spain. Sir Robert Peel deserves the gratitude of every protestant for the earnestness and eloquence with which he has brought the subject both before parliament and the people of England. His speeches at Liverpool and Manchester, and his address at the National Club, have aroused a feeling of just indignation, which, we hope, will not be speedily allayed. Our consular chapels closed, our dead forbidden Christian burial! Truly the British lion is a patient animal—that is, when religion is concerned.

England is at peace in all her borders. Not even a "little war"

disturbs our profound repose. The Maories have fled from their pahs, and New Zealand is again at rest. The government have wisely sent sir George Grey, the friend of all parties, to resume his post as governor of the island; and governor Brown, his term of office having expired, will receive another appointment. We are too well satisfied with this arrangement to feel disposed to review the unfortunate steps by which we were drawn into collision with the natives. We are disposed to make large allowance for the difficulties of the late governor, and so, on the other hand, are we disposed to extend the same forbearance to the Maories. We have no doubt many prayers were offered to the throne of the Majesty on High by our missionaries on behalf of both. And we have as little doubt those prayers were heard, and have now been answered.

The month closes with a bright sun above us; though a political gloom gathers around us. We have a sudden burst of the most genial weather after a cold, cheerless spring. The harvest will not be late; it may even be abundant. New York shakes her fist in the face of Liverpool, yet trade revives; and, to speak kindly of our friends across the Atlantic, we don't believe they really mean, or even wish, to quarrel with us. Their bark, as the homely Scotch proverb says, is worse than their bite. But, be this as it may, England will not become a party to their cause on either side; and, as umpire, they scorn our assistance. We have other causes for national gratitude not a few in number. Yet the sudden death of the lord chancellor Campbell in the midst of his duties—honourable as they were in the highest degree—and a fire such as London has scarcely known since the "great fire" of Charles II., are national calamities. England has lost a judge of the highest reputation and of rich experience; and the conflagration has laid waste vast stores of merchandise, destroyed two millions of property, and cut short the lives of men honoured by their fellow citizens for their devotion to her service. Thus joy and sorrow chequer this present evil world. "May our hearts securely there be fixed where true joys are to be found, through Jesus our Lord!"

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We do not intentionally print anything in the *Christian Observer* which has not been written expressly for it. Excellent papers which have been read before clerical associations are often sent to us. But unless they have been re-written and cast into a fresh mould, our rule obliges us to decline them. An address or speech prepared for a public meeting disappoints the reader when transferred to a periodical such as ours; and the disappointment is generally in proportion to the excellence of the address, and the expectations formed by those who heard it.

Communications intended for printing must be written out in a clear hand.

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EFFECTS WHICH THE SIGHT OF CHRIST PRODUCES.

"No man hath seen God at any time." He is the invisible God; "without body, parts or passions," "whom no man hath seen or can see;" for while in the body, we have no faculty for the perception of an object which is purely spiritual. Yet there is a sense in which the soul may be said to perceive the presence of God Himself. He was once made manifest in the flesh, and the disciples beheld His glory in the person of His only-begotten Son. He is now manifested unto us by the Spirit, which He hath given us. The Spirit, which takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto us, takes us likewise into the presence chamber of the Eternal, and discloses, from time to time, such views of His power and majesty, that the believer is enabled to say, Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ; for He manifests Himself unto us as He doth not unto the world. And thus we may be said, even while in this world, to have attained to the sight of God, and with the eye of faith to have seen Him that is invisible. When the Lord was upon earth, there were occasions upon which He manifested His Divine power, from time to time, in an extraordinary manner; just as we, who live under the dispensation of the Spirit, receive from time to time indications of God's presence quite beyond the ordinary operations of His grace. The gospel history records, with a minuteness evidently designed to fix our attention, several of these displays of the power of Christ, with the effect they produced, more especially upon one of the disciples, Simon Peter. They seem to have been intended not only to exhibit, beyond all doubt, the Divinity of the Lord Jesus, but to suggest some important lessons upon the effects which the perception of the Divine presence produces on the soul.

1. The first of those to which we shall draw attention is that of the miraculous draught of fishes. Peter was at this time a new convert, he had just become a follower of Christ; his character, always that of an ardent man, impetuous, and of the warmest sensibilities, was still glowing with his first love, and this renders the effect of Christ's sudden manifestation of His power the more surprising. Instead of being delighted with the manifestation of his Lord's power, he was dismayed to find himself all at once in the presence of a being so august. Instead of the feeling, that now at least he could entertain no doubt whatever as to the Divine mission of the Master whom he served, he is alarmed to find in Him the certain signs of a teacher sent from God. He fell at Jesus' knees, exclaiming, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." It was the first, the natural and unpremeditated, burst of feeling; for he was astonished, and they that were with him, with the draught of the fishes which they had taken. But why should his astonishment have taken this direction? why did he not embrace the Saviour's feet, crying out with Thomas, "My Lord and my God?" We cannot doubt the sincerity of his attachment. It would seem reasonable to expect that the more wonderful the proofs which the Master gave of His power and majesty, the higher would rise the confidence and the greater be the delight of the disciple. But, on the contrary, he was alarmed; he was terror-stricken; in an agony of fear he entreated the Master to depart. It was the sense of his own sinfulness suddenly flashing across him which wrought thus upon his soul. Brought into conscious proximity with the Lord of all creation, abject terror, the terror begotten of a consciousness of sin, rushed in upon him as an armed man, and laid him prostrate. There was no particular display of the holiness of Jesus on this occasion; it was merely a display of power. His holiness had diffused itself throughout all His teaching. It had broken forth in every sentence He had uttered. But to His preaching Peter had listened undisturbed. Something of His Divine majesty is shown in His control of the brute creation; there is a slight exertion of His power, and Peter is subdued at once.

And this, we must confess, is in accordance with what we see, and with what we have ourselves no doubt experienced. Men will listen unmoved, and even with complaisance, to the most searching enunciation of God's law in all its spirituality, who fall prostrate in a moment before the exhibition of God's power. The sinner who has turned away with a light heart from the most awful statements of Scripture on the purity of the law and the holiness of God, will tremble in a thunder-storm, or cry out for mercy or swoon away in mental agony at a sudden death. It is Peter's case renewed. The spiritual

faculty has not yet been exercised; it is too dull to appreciate spiritual things; it understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God. Therefore God, in mercy, makes His appeal at first to the coarser passions of our nature. He displays His power to those who cannot yet appreciate His holiness; and brought into the presence of One "who can kill and make alive again," and "hath the keys of death and of hell," the consciousness of sin rushes in at once. Thus there is often a season of apparent penitence under sudden visitations, though it may possibly be nothing more than one of horrible alarm.

Ministers of Christ may learn from hence how to make use of those events in which the power of God is signally manifested in the course of this world. Thus they may arouse the sleeping conscience which has proved insensible under a more spiritual discipline. The man may, perhaps, be appalled by some sudden visitation which brings him into proximity, as it were, with the power of God. He may be taught hereafter that Jehovah is no less fearful in holiness. At present he feels nothing more than his want of a shelter from the wrath to come. The time may be near when he shall discover that he needs no less that sanctification of heart, that robe of righteousness, which shall enable him to stand unterrified in the presence of God; and the one kind of discipline may prepare him for the other.

2. Time passed on; the earthly ministry of our Lord hastened to a close; when He gave a second demonstration, not, as before, of His power as creation's Lord, but now of His spirituality. He would show His disciples a glimpse of the glory He had with the Father before the world was. He would enable them to comprehend something of the splendour of heaven itself. He would take them for a while within the veil, and they should behold His glory as the glory of the only-begotten of the Father. He was transfigured before them, and they were eye-witnesses of His majesty; as they heard the Father's voice from the excellent glory when they were with Him in the holy mount.* Peter was again present; but now he is not at all dismayed. The transcendent grandeur of the scene chastened, and yet charmed and allured his soul. He is now in no haste to retire, though the invisible God was present, and he "heard His words, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." How shall we account for this? Strange was the change which must have been wrought in Peter's mind since the time when he was affrighted to see Jesus walking on the sea, or when he prayed Him to depart because the fishes of the deep were submissive to His power! How is it that he now desires to linger in the very presence of

* 2 Peter i. 18.

the Holy One? Even Moses upon the mount was compelled to say, "I exceedingly fear and quake;" and Isaiah, when the door-posts trembled, and the Most High entered into His temple, cried out, "Woe is me, for I am undone; for I am a man of unclean lips." But Peter is very bold; he saith, "Lord, let us build here three tabernacles;" and he would himself, with James and John, have tarried in the society of Jesus glorified, and of the spirits of just men made perfect for evermore. Peter, then, must surely have grown in grace and wisdom; for here is something of the "perfect love which casteth out fear;" the love which adores with reverence, and which is the child of the Spirit of adoption. Or was this only the language of ignorance and presumption? If so, would not the Lord have signified His displeasure? Yet, on the contrary, He rather marks His approbation. He makes His reply an occasion of a still further communication. A new revelation is imparted: "See thou tell no man till the Son of man be risen from the dead." No "Get thee behind me, Satan," but rather an expression of cordiality and confidence, such as friends make use of to each other, when some great secret has been divulged, and they talk in confidence of the influence it shall have upon their future lives.

Thus it is with the Christian. As he goes onward, he who was once appalled by the power, is not alarmed even by the holiness, of God. Peter was now much better instructed in the things of the kingdom of God than when he first became a disciple. His knowledge of himself, imperfect as it still was, was far greater; his perception of the evil of sin was much more acute and penetrating. His spiritual discernment, though feeble in comparison to what he afterwards attained, must have greatly increased, and with it, as a necessary consequence, his knowledge of his own infirmity. Yet he is ravished with the glories of the mount. Peter has no misgivings; he seems rather to expect that he himself should be "changed from glory to glory into the same image," and that if suffered to remain upon the mount, he should be transformed himself, so that he and his two companions should be no unmeet society for Moses and Elias glorified, and for the Son of man arrayed in the garments of immortality.

There is nothing stranger than this in the whole Christian life. With an ever-deepening sense of his own vileness there is an ever-deepening sense of the joy of God's presence. The sight of Christ fills the saint with a loathing sense of the hatefulness of sin; the hatefulness of sin fills him with admiration for the cross of Christ. The two work together in perfect harmony; and the result is, on the one hand, holy watchfulness; on the other, an abiding joy.

The timidity which keeps the young Christian from the full

enjoyment of his Saviour's presence, is the result of unbelief. Less love would be more easily comprehended. The love of Calvary transcends all his natural powers of comprehension. There is in it a length, and breadth, and depth, and height that passeth knowledge. Well does Charles Wesley sing, "God only knows the love of God."

But from time to time He reveals something of it to those who wait upon Him, and, in proportion as they become acquainted with it, they are filled with that peace of God which passeth understanding. The secret of passing through the world comparatively unmoved by its distractions, and of walking unhurt through the furnace of temptation, lies here. We must live on the mount of transfiguration; we must keep close to the Saviour; and, that we may do so, we must, in the first place, learn to account all things but loss in comparison with him. And this is a hard lesson or an easy task, just as we go to learn it in the school of mortification, or in the school of Christ. The skull and crucifix may help to frighten, but never to eradicate, sin. The monster retires into his den irritated, though cowed; and he will spring out again on the slightest encouragement. Love plants the fatal bolt in his vitals. He may now writhe and roar, for he is long in dying, but die he must; for it is written, "that sin shall not have dominion over us," for "we are not under the law but under grace." And where grace reigns, sin cannot reign too.

3. A few weeks more pass away, and Peter and the disciples are admitted to see the Lord under circumstances altogether new, altogether awful; such as shall never again be witnessed in time or through eternity. Not only the chosen three, but all the disciples, with one exception, are present now. The scene is upon another mount, the mount of Olives, and the Prince of Life is no longer radiant with His glory as upon Tabor; for the last awful conflict has begun with the prince of darkness, whose hour it is. And now he tries the Son of God himself, and seems for a moment almost on the point to triumph. It seems as if he would be allowed to exhaust and crush the strength, though he cannot pollute the soul, of the great Sin-Offering. And what is the effect now upon the disciples? now that they knew their Master so well, now that they revered Him so deeply, now that they loved Him so much? It seems unaccountable; they have no sympathy whatever in His sorrows. Their eyes are heavy and they fall asleep. They slept while the Son of man was in His agony; they slept while the angels of God appeared to comfort Him; they slept while He prayed that if it were possible the cup might pass from Him. There is one explanation of their conduct, and only one. The Son of man could not share amongst others any portion of that bitter cup. He could not, even as man, receive the solace of their

sympathy. He must tread the winepress alone. He looked, and there was no man; he wondered, but there was no intercessor. His own arm must bring salvation unto Himself, and to the world He was to save. The disciples could have no part in a sorrow like this. Aroused from the stupor, Peter might draw his sword; but that was not a time for demonstrations of violence, he did but add another sorrow to the load his Master bore. It was the atoning work of Christ they witnessed. He was now exceeding sorrowful even unto death. As at the cross they all forsook Him and fled, so now in the garden they all slumbered and slept. It was not merely the greatness of the sufferings they witnessed, it was their peculiarity that repelled them. Stephen's death was horrible, but they stood by him to the last. No circumstances of peculiar atrocity, no unexpected bloodshed or other cruelty, appalled them in the garden. It was quiet, silent, unearthly suffering: but they had no sympathy with the sufferer. Man cannot sympathize in the work of redemption. It is his glory, his boast. It must be his song of triumph in time and in eternity. It was not that their hearts were hardened, though their eyes were heavy. They must needs behold the sufferer in the brief intervals when He woke them from their sleep, that they might testify of His agony; but all His suffering was for them, and "for us men and our salvation;" and neither they nor we are able to commiserate the Man of sorrows. His anguish is our joy. For "the chastisement of our peace was upon Him; and by His stripes we are healed."

4. There remains yet to be mentioned another appearance of our Lord; namely, that after He was risen from the dead. Once more He revealed Himself under a new character, and again the effect upon His disciples, and especially on Peter, was different from anything we have yet observed. On the part of all the disciples who saw Him on the morning when "He stood on the shore," we remark a deeper reverence than they had ever yet felt, and on the part of Jesus a tenderness He had never quite expressed so fully. Now, for the first time, He calls them "children." Now, for the first time, "none of them durst ask Him, Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord." The miracle of the miraculous draught of fishes is repeated, and Peter again draws the net. He at least must have been reminded of that other miracle of the same kind, when under a deep and sudden sense of sin he entreated the Lord to depart from him. And was he not a greater sinner now? It was not the first interview he had with Jesus since he denied Him with oaths and curses at the house of the high priest; but it was the first time that the Lord appears to have directed His conversation to him especially. And yet he does not seem to be afraid. He sits down with his Master to that wonderful repast which Jesus had

provided ; and when the Lord appeals to him and would know from his own confession, not whether he loved Him, but whether he loved Him much, he does not hesitate a moment. There are no misgivings now. "Yea, Lord," he exclaims, and he makes his appeal to one whom he knew to be God incarnate, "thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee."

Thus we trace the Spirit of adoption working in the family of God. But not until by faith they are brought into the presence of a risen Saviour. He died for our sins, He rose again for our justification. The Holy Spirit, in His miraculous operations, was not yet bestowed ; but still it is evident that as the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father, He was even now present in Peter's soul, and in the souls, no doubt, of all that happy company. Peter must have keenly felt,—never, perhaps, more keenly than at that moment of his life,—the baseness of his conduct, with all its aggravations. Yet no trace of servile fear is visible. Three times he repeats, and each time, it would seem, with increasing confidence, the declaration of his love to Christ. Why, indeed, should He doubt it? Why should any penitent sinner doubt at all if the Master has condescended to address him as one of the "children," and bid him to the feast? Why, reader, should you doubt His love, even though you had sinned against Him after the likeness of Peter's transgression? Is it because you want the assurance of His presence in your soul? That assurance you may have. It is true that all the children of Christ are not in possession of it, for in many faith at present sheds but a feeble ray. The great family for which the Lord Jesus was contented to be slain, includes the babe in Christ as well as the young men and fathers ;* but even to the "little children" the beloved John could write, "because" he says, "your sins are forgiven you for His name's sake." If so, the peace of a tranquil hope should be yours, if not yet the joy of a full assurance. But even this it is no presumption to expect. It is to be found, where Peter met with it at last, in the presence of a risen Saviour. True, He has now ascended up on high ; true, He is known no more after the flesh ; but still He giveth gifts to men, even to the rebellious. And of these the most precious of all is that whereby we are enabled to draw nigh by faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience. Therefore let us earnestly covet the best gifts ; and seek the grace which will enable us ever to say, "I know in whom I have believed," and am persuaded that as He is able to "keep that which I have committed unto Him." So He will present me faultless "before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy."

V. M. D.

* 1 John ii. 12, 13.

HYMNS, HYMN-WRITERS, AND HYMN-BOOKS.

Many Crowns : a Selection of Scripture Texts and Appropriate Hymns ; illustrative of the Names and Titles of the Lord Jesus. With a Preface by the Rev. W. W. Champneys, Canon of St. Paul's, &c. London : Seeley and Co. 1860.

The Unsearchable Riches of Christ ; illustrated by appropriate texts and hymns. With a Preface by the Rev. J. Stevenson, D.D., author of "Christ on the Cross." London : Seeleys. 1861.

Hymns for the Church of God. In two Parts. Leicester : Browne. 1859.

THE first two of these three little works are twins. They are evidently by the same compiler, and formed on the same plan. They are groups of flowers from the garden so often alluded to in the book of Canticles. One page gives an idea, in the words of Scripture, and the opposite page presents a hymn, in which the thought is expanded and placed in various lights, in the language of poetry. A single specimen may suffice. At page 74 of the second collection the subject is,—

"OUR KEEPER.

"The Lord is thy keeper: the Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand. (Psa. cxxi. 5.)

"He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? and shall not He render to every man according to his works? (Prov. xxiv. 12.)

"Now unto Him that is able to keep you from falling,—to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power. (Jude 24, 25.)

"You, who are kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation. (1 Pet. i. 5.)

"The Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from evil. (2 Thess. iii. 3.)

"I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. (Rev. iii. 10.)"

On the opposite page stands this hymn:—

"Near me, O my Saviour, stand,
In every trying hour;
Guard me with Thine outstretched hand,
And hold me by Thy power;
Mindful of Thy faithful word,
All-sufficient grace bestow;
Keep me, keep me, blessed Lord!
And never let me go.

"Give me, Lord, a holy fear,
And fix it in my heart ;
That I may from evil near
With speedy steps depart ;
Still Thy timely help afford,
All Thy loving-kindness show ;
Keep me, keep me, blessed Lord,
And never let me go.

"Never let me go till I,
Upborne on wings of love,
Reach the blessed shore on high,
And take my seat above :
Thou hast passed Thy gracious word,
Safely, Lord, to bring me through,
Thou wilt, therefore, keep me, Lord,
And never let me go."

In this way are illustrated, in the first volume, all the Names and Titles of the Lord Jesus ; and in the second, the particulars of "The Unsearchable Riches of Christ." Each topic is exhibited, first in Scripture language, and then, as depicted in the glowing pages of our best Christian poets. Few pocket volumes contain more valuable or more interesting matter than do these two little books.

The third work on our list is also a collection of verses on Scripture subjects, and it has two peculiar features. First, it seems to us to have a flavour of "Plymouth Brethrenism." It is described as being a book "for the church of God ;" and, undoubtedly, few will be able to sympathize with the feelings of the compiler, except those who enjoy the blessing of full assurance in a very high degree. Take, for instance, the following beautiful hymn :—

"I have a heritage of joy,
That yet I must not see ;
The hand that bled to make it mine
Is keeping it for me.

"I have a certainty of love
That sets my heart at rest ;
A calm assurance for to-day,
That to be thus is best :—

"A prayer reposing on His truth,
Who hath made all things mine,
That draws my captive will to Him,
And makes it one with Thine.

"My heart is resting, O my God,
My heart is in Thy care ;
I hear the voice of joy and health
Resounding everywhere :

“Thou art my portion, saith my soul;
 Amen! sweet voices say;
 The music of that glad Amen
 Will never die away.”

But our chief reason for taking notice of this hymn-book is, that it seems to betoken the presence of another Toplady among us. And this is no light matter. A writer who can leave behind him, as his parting legacy, such hymns as “What though my frail eyelids refuse,” and “When languor and disease invade,” is no trifling gift to the church; and to know that we have one such still amongst us, is a fact of great and abiding interest. We do not speak with decision. We cannot pretend to know every hymn that has ever been given to the church; but we do find, in this collection of “Hymns for the Church of God,” some pieces of real value, of which we had previously no knowledge. We will cite two or three of these, as pieces which have met *our* eyes, at least, first in this unpretending little volume.

Here is one on Hebrews xi. 16:—“But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city”:—

“Hope of the coming glory
 Is balm to the distress;
 Is medicine in sickness,
 Is love, and life, and rest.
 To that bright, blessed country,
 Our eyes with longing turn;
 At mention of its blessings
 Our hearts within us burn.

“Oh one abiding city!
 O kingdom full of joy!
 Where tears are ever banished,
 And sorrows can't alloy;—
 Thou hast no need of moonbeam,
 Nor e'en of sunshine bright:
 God is Himself thy glory,
 The Lamb Himself thy light.

“Beside thy living waters,
 That pure and crystal river,
 The tree of life doth flourish,
 Which yields her fruit for ever:
 There all our yearnings centre,
 There we shall surely come;
 There see God's face for ever,
 And serve Him in our home.”

Here is another, on Malachi iii. 6:—“I am the Lord, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed”:—

“Change is our portion here!
Soon fades the summer sky;
The landscape droops in autumn sere,
And spring-flowers bloom to die:
But faithful is Jehovah's word,
'I will be with thee,' saith the Lord.

“Change is our portion here!
E'en on the heavenly road;
In faith, and hope, and holy fear,
In love towards our God.
How often we distrust that word,
'I will be with thee,' saith the Lord.

“Change is our portion here!
Yet midst our changing lot,
Midst withering flowers and tempests drear
There is that changes not:
Unchangeable Jehovah's word,
'I will be with thee,' saith the Lord.

“Changeless the way of peace;
Changeless Emmanuel's name;
Changeless the covenant of grace,
Eternally the same;
'I change not,' is our Father's word;
'Thou art my portion,' holy Lord.”

A third takes its subject from Psalm cxii. 7:—“He will not be afraid of any evil tidings; for his heart standeth fast, and believeth in the Lord”:—

“My heart is fixed, O God my strength,
My heart is strong to bear:
I will be joyful in Thy love,
And peaceful in Thy care;
Deal with me, for my Saviour's sake,
According to His prayer;

“But go not far from me, my Strength,
Whom all my times obey:
Take from me anything Thou wilt,
But go not Thou away;
And let the storm that doth Thy work,
Deal with me as it may.

“There is no death for me to fear,
For Christ, my Lord, hath died;
There is no curse in this my pain,
For He was crucified;
And it is fellowship with Him
That keeps me near His side.

“Happy are they that learn in Thee,
Though patient suffering teach,

The secret of enduring strength,
And praise too deep for speech ;
Praise that no pressure from without,
No strife within can reach."

We might give several more specimens of this kind, did our space permit. Concerning their authorship we may be mistaken, and some of our readers may have known, long since, verses which never met our eye ; but if these hymns be indeed new ones, we may congratulate the church on possessing a writer who combines rich spiritual experience with a high talent for versification.

Yet this little collection of hymns, chiefly old, but having some which appear to us to be new, raises a question which has been often discussed but never decided ; and on which the verdict of the Plymouth Brethren would doubtless differ greatly from that of most other denominations in Christ's church. The question to which we allude is this, Whether it is fitting or desirable to place before an ordinary congregation, in Pancras church or in Surrey chapel, hymns on Christian experience ? The opinion of the compiler of these "Hymns for the Church of God" is perhaps not expressed on this point ; inasmuch as he would reply that his book was not offered to, or intended for, our ordinary congregations. Still, he cannot altogether escape from the question, for he would doubtless reckon within "the church of God," "babes in Christ," "who had need of milk, and not of strong meat:" and, obviously, it must be difficult for a babe in Christ to use such language as we find in many of his pages. As, for instance, at p. 328:—

"So nigh, so very nigh to God ;
I cannot nearer be ;
For in the person of His Son
I am as near as He.

"So dear, so very dear to God,
More dear I cannot be,
The love wherewith He loves the Son,
Such is His love to me."

Thus, shift our ground as we may, so long as hymns treating of the different phases of Christian experience form any large proportion of a collection, so long will a doubt remain of its fitness for general or extensive use.

We can well remember being forcibly impressed with this doubt or difficulty several years ago, when attending, for a considerable period, St. John's chapel in Bedford Row, then under the charge of Mr. Baptist Noel. Mr. Noel had compiled for his congregation a new hymn-book ; and we were frequently perplexed by the hymns prescribed to be sung. Thus, in a

congregation containing a more than ordinary proportion of established Christians, we have heard the clerk give out,—

“O that I could repent!
“With all my idols part!

* * *

With patient pity look
On one obdurate grown;
And, with Thy love's resistless stroke,
O break this heart of stone!”

Yet, perhaps in the very same service, the same congregation would be led to sing,

“The Lord has promised good to me,
His word my hope secures;
He will my shield and portion be,
As long as life endures.

“And when this flesh and heart shall fail,
And mortal life shall cease;
I shall possess within the vail,
A life of joy and peace.”

So again, at one moment the whole congregation would be desired to sing,

“I hear, but seem to hear in vain,
Insensible as steel;
If aught is felt, 'tis only pain,
To find I cannot feel.”

And, soon after, to join in this :—

“My God, the covenant of Thy love
Abides for ever sure;
And in thy sovereign grace I feel
My happiness secure.”

How was it possible to help forming a strong opinion, that descriptions of the different phases of religious experience could not, with propriety or truth, be put into the mouths of a thousand hearers at one time, among whom there would assuredly be five or six descriptions of character,—from the trembling and almost despairing penitent, to the obdurate and yet self-satisfied professor?

Another thought often occurred; and which abides with us to this day. St. Paul says, “I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.” Yet we have a strong impression, that there is much singing in our churches and chapels with which the understanding has very little to do. Men and women stand up, the organ plays, and words are uttered, but nine-tenths of the congregation, if they were

asked the meaning of the words which they are using, must frankly confess that they have not the smallest idea.

Many instances might be given, but one or two may suffice.

1. A hymn is often sung in our congregations, which begins thus:—

“Awake, and sing the song
Of Moses and the Lamb.”

Yet we fully believe that if a congregation were severally interrogated, as to what they meant by “the song of Moses and the Lamb,” not one in an hundred could explain their meaning.

“The song of Moses” is a song of triumph, celebrating God’s vengeance. “He will avenge the blood of His servants, and will render vengeance to His adversaries.” (Deut. xxxii. 43.) “Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name?—for thy judgments are made manifest.—And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels seven golden vials, full of the wrath of God.” (Rev. xv. 4—7.) Such is the meaning, in Scripture, of “the song of Moses and of the Lamb.” But the mere phrase has been caught up, and inserted in a hymn, and men now sing it, Sunday by Sunday, without the least understanding of what they are doing!

2. Another hymn, which is a great favourite, always seems to us to have more sound than sense, and to be commonly sung “without understanding.” When worshippers stand up and sing,

“All hail the power of Jesu’s name,”

do they attach any definite and intelligible meaning to the words? Or when they exhort the martyrs to

“Extol the stem of Jesse’s rod,”

could they explain the meaning of these rather unintelligible phrases?

This piece of verse always appears to us to have been written by one who was ambitious of the distinction of having written a hymn; but who had no fervid or glowing thoughts in his mind, breaking forth in appropriate verse. When we read such hymns as

“God moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform;”

or as

“How sweet the name of Jesus sounds;”—

we know that we have the real outpourings of a soul which is filled with its subject. But, in the hymn of which we are speaking, we have the poorest and lowest title given to the Lord Jesus in the whole Bible, seized upon, and repeated *verse* by verse, apparently only because it was easy to find rhymes

to it. "Fall," "call," "gall," "small," and "ball," are successively pressed into the service, and in many cases we have, indeed, "rhyme without reason." But our chief quarrel is with the leading thought, which seems to us irreverent.

We all know that among men the act and function of crowning is generally deemed to belong to a *superior*, or, rather, to some representative of God. At the present moment we know that the French emperor has waited long, being unwilling to receive the imperial crown at the hands of any meaner person than the pope—the supposed vicegerent of God. In England we always have recourse to the first prelate of the church, there being no higher person in the kingdom. And, with this idea, all Scripture coincides. Jesus "receives from God the Father honour and glory," (2 Pet. i. 17,) having himself declared "I receive not honour from men." (John v. 41.) When He is "crowned with glory and honour," it is by God's own hand. (Heb. ii. 7, 9.) All that His people are represented as doing in this matter is, "to cast their own crowns before His throne." But in the coronation of God the Son, they are not represented as bearing any part. Yet, in the hymn we are now considering, saints and sinners, Jews and gentiles, are all called upon to take part in the great act of "crowning Him Lord of all." We repeat, that this thought is not scriptural, and that it is not reverent.

We might go on to object to a verse of one of Dr. Watts's most popular hymns:—

"Forbid it, Lord, that I should boast,
Save in the cross of Christ my God:
All the vain things that charm me most
I *sacrifice them to His blood*,"

but we must not dwell longer on this part of the subject, for a third remark must here be made. It is usual to say

"Let us sing to the praise and glory of God;"

and yet the singing which follows often consists of nothing more than good advice to one another. Such as:

"Hasten, sinner, to be wise,
Stay not for to-morrow's sun."

Or,

"Let party names no more
The Christian world o'erspread."

Or,

"Mistaken souls! that dream of heaven
And boast of joys within."

Or,

"Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
Uttered or unexpressed."

It will be observed that both under this, and under the first head, we are objecting to some of the best hymns in the language. We do so without hesitation, and without questioning their excellence. We only plead that "in the great congregation" they are out of place. Take a beautiful hymn of Newton's:

"I asked the Lord that I might grow,
In faith, and love, and every grace:"

If a whole congregation is called upon to sing it, will not about ninety out of every hundred be uttering words which, in their case, are *not true*? And equally unfit is another hymn of the same author's—an argumentative one—which is found in most of our collections:—

"What think you of Christ?—is the test
To try both your state and your scheme."

The plain truth is, that more than half of our best hymns were not intended by their authors for congregational use; but the compilers of hymn-books insert them because they are fond of them; and those who direct our parochial psalmody order them to be sung for the same reason. We believe that, however displeasing such a decision might appear, it would be better if this whole class of hymns could be excluded from our collections for congregational use, or printed only in an appendix, for private study and social meetings.

We have thus confessed, then, that we do not think the present state of our parochial psalmody to be at all satisfactory. But we must not, on that account, be classed with those who have recently exhibited a desire to set Convocation to work on this question, and who would have an "authorized selection of hymns" promulgated by episcopal authority. We would sincerely and earnestly recommend all the advocates of such a scheme to take a calm survey of the difficulties which lie before them; believing that a single hour's serious consideration of these would lead them to abandon what is assuredly one of the most impracticable of all conceivable projects.

The opposition which exists between men's tastes in this matter is something quite remarkable. Christians who differ from each other on scarcely any other subject, are irreconcilable in their notions as to hymns. One remarkable instance of this will occur to the recollections of many readers.

There never was a more solid or sincere friendship than that which existed between two of the most useful men of the last generation,—between Josiah Pratt and Edward Bickersteth. For more than twelve years they laboured together, like an elder and a younger brother, in the conduct of the Church Missionary Society. And when this constant personal intercourse came to an end, its termination weakened in no degree

that settled and enduring attachment which was based on a mutual recognition of "the image of Christ." Nor was it a friendship calling for frequent forbearance, or resting chiefly on two or three leading traits. There was a real oneness of soul which, with a single exception, showed itself in a constant harmony of thought and feeling, pervading their whole course of life. And this was the more remarkable, inasmuch as two men of more individuality, or more independent character, never lived upon earth. Yet, however strange it may appear, one of these great and good men could not make a hymn-book so as to please and satisfy the other. Mr. Pratt having formed and published his collection, Mr. Bickersteth, in a few years after, gave himself to the work of making another. And, in truth, the two books differ widely.

This instance is not a strange or very uncommon one. It has naturally gained great publicity; but if any one had searched out similar facts for himself, he would soon have found that this variety of tastes is of very common occurrence. More than once or twice, two brothers of the same household have printed distinct hymn-books for their churches, neither being satisfied with the collection made by the other.

It follows, therefore, that if there ever should be any apprehension of a final and compulsory decision in favour of any particular hymn-book, that apprehension would lead to a most calamitous and determined strife. If men are at present quiet and seemingly indifferent to the subject, it is because they feel assured that no practical result is to be apprehended.

And we believe that they rightly judge. Committees may sit, and attempts may be made, to form some new collection; but it is as certain as anything of the kind can be, that no general and amicable consent to such a collection will ever be obtained. If carried at all, it would be carried only by a majority; and how shall the minority be coerced into the surrender of their own personal rights?

In truth, the promoters of this scheme are overlooking obstacles which they will find altogether insuperable. Where is the body, at the present moment, which has either the right or the power to impose anything whatever upon the church? Assuredly, convocation is no such body. The connection of the parochial clergy with that assembly is too slight to allow of its attempting the least infringement on their present liberty. If the church is ever to be governed by a representative assembly, let us, in the first instance, actually realize such an assembly, or be furnished with some rational plan for its formation. At the present moment, no such body, in any just or feasible proportions, can be said to exist. And long will the interim be, we opine, before we have advanced so far as to see even an outline, even an honest attempt, to constitute such

a body. If we wait to see its reality, its living and moving existence, before any authorized hymn-book is produced, we may hand over the hope to the next generation.

As to the body now called "Convocation," it is little else than a phantom. So long as it attempts nothing more than general discussion, so long it may be endured; but the moment it begins to press with a positive weight on any one, it will assuredly be reminded of its faulty, its utterly unendurable constitution. As to its pretending to effect a real, extensive, and important change in the services of the church, the idea is altogether too absurd to be seriously dealt with.

There is, there can be, under the church's present constitution, no coercion in this matter. Even if we supposed the possibility of an agreement, in the so-called "Convocation," for the promulgation of "an authorized hymn-book," the utmost semblance of power which that body could venture to assume, would extend to nothing more than a recommendation. An "injunction" would be altogether beyond its power; and no one, we believe, would venture to propose such a step. Yet a mere recommendation, which would, practically, leave every clergyman to follow his own inclination, would be little more than an empty form; *vox, et præterea nihil*.

The whole question, therefore, must remain where it does, until some happier state of the church; when she may, possibly, be found worthy of some kind of self-government. At the present instant, every clergyman uses in his church any hymn-book that he prefers; and may thus teach either the highest Calvinism or the lowest Pelagianism, as he feels a preference for either. We say not that this ought so to be, but that so it is; and, we believe, so it must at present remain. Hence, in this, as in many other matters, the Press is, after all, our real convocation; for by means of the Press every question may be fully, fairly, and dispassionately argued, and a silent verdict obtained. All we can attempt, however, or desiderate, is an improvement in some particulars; a few points of which we have, very inadequately, endeavoured to describe in the former part of the present article. We wish, as we have there remarked, that our congregational singing was, more generally, what it professes to be, "to the praise and glory of God." It is not long since we heard, in the course of two Sunday services, five hymns sung, *every one* of which consisted chiefly of good advice given to the congregation!

We wish, also, that there was a careful exclusion, as far as possible, of words without meaning; scriptural phraseology which, in certain positions, conveys no distinct ideas.

And lastly, that there might be a cautious and sparing use, in congregational singing, of hymns on Christian experience. There are probably more good hymns of this class than of the

kind which are suited to the great congregation ; and hence, tempted by their beauty and intrinsic value, many clergymen include them in their collections ; and many others, finding them there, bring them into common use, to the positive injury of most of those who sing them. Mr. Pratt, excluding them almost entirely from his church hymn-book, published a second volume, of equal size with the first, containing "seven hundred and fifty hymns, private, family, and social ;" and this collection is by far the the most interesting of the two.

THE LATE PROFESSOR LEE, OF CAMBRIDGE: ORIENTAL STUDIES.

IN our paper on the "Gift of Tongues," in the *Christian Observer* for July, we have observed that the early part of the present century was marked by the labours in the field of biblical learning of many eminent scholars, who possessed, in an extraordinary, though not miraculous, degree, the facility of acquiring languages ; and we instanced the late eminent professor Lee as foremost among those who had cultivated the Hebrew and Oriental tongues in the university of Cambridge. His example and labours for nearly forty years (from 1813 to 1852) tended to revive the study of the Old Testament in the original text at home, while they furnished the soldiers of the cross with armour in the mission-field abroad. The result was, that about a quarter of a century ago it had well-nigh become an established principle that divines were no longer to trust implicitly to the Septuagint for their knowledge of the Old Testament, any more than to the English authorized translation for their knowledge of the New.

Some bishops were making a knowledge of the Hebrew language a *sine quâ non* for admission to priests' orders. But about the year 1836 the tide began to turn in favour of patristic learning ; and controversy on church matters drew off attention from the critical investigation of the sacred text, to questions of ecclesiastical discipline and dogmatical theology. Old Romish heresies were exhumed ; and the Missal and the Breviary were taken down from the shelf to give interpretation and authority to the Common Prayer.

It may be some token of a better era having returned, that Dr. Pusey himself has now commenced a Commentary on the Old Testament, of which portions of the minor Prophets have already appeared ; and that he avows it his intention to devote the remainder of his life to this sacred study. Dr. Mill, and other divines, have given a prominence to Rabbinical learning which professor Lee did not deem advisable ; and it may be

feared that the spirit of Jewish *tradition* has co-operated, with the introduction of German criticism, to corrupt the sources of biblical study, and thus favour the lamentable disposition to trifle with the sacred Scriptures, and deny their proper inspiration, which has found its culminating point in the notorious "Essays and Reviews."

It may be of some service to the good cause of biblical learning, to recal the wonderful philological genius and vast acquirements of Dr. Samuel Lee, and to revive attention to his works, some of which are becoming scarce. It may be hardly needful to remind the general reader of the early struggles of this eminent and truly great man. They are to be found in most accounts of "self-help," "self-made men," and so forth, of whom so much is now written and spoken as almost to make their imitators too self-confident, and almost to flatter the uneducated and self-trained that they possess an advantage over the regularly-disciplined scholar. The opposite of this would have been the verdict of Lee. Unaided and unprompted, he began his philological studies, between the intervals of a mechanical employment, at the age of seventeen; and with small assistance from the learned, and without any patronage of the great, he acquired eighteen languages. Yet he was ever the first to recommend a regular and systematic course of study, and the diligent use of all the legitimate aids. It is not to be overlooked that Dr. Lee's early acquirements were successive and certain. To this his circumstances contributed. He could seldom afford to buy a second book before he had mastered the former one. Hence he gained, not a smattering of many tongues at the same time, but an adequate knowledge of each in succession. He gradually mastered the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, and Arabic; and composed in most of these languages before his acquirements became known even to his daily associates.

When, at length, his remarkable talents were discovered by the venerable archdeacon Corbett, of Salop, and he was introduced to Dr. Jonathan Scott, then resident at Shrewsbury, Mr. Lee had made translations into Arabic of the Vision of Mirza, and other portions of the Spectator and Rambler, which were "wonderfully well done." Arabic continued to be his favourite study, and was, indeed, his last labour. Archdeacon Corbett first procured for Mr. Lee the appointment of master of the Blue-coat School at Shrewsbury, where he pursued his studies, until he was introduced to the Church Missionary Society, who undertook the expense of his education at Cambridge, where he commenced residence in 1813. There, without neglecting the usual studies of the place, he extended his acquaintance with ancient and modern languages, and became engaged in the editing of versions of the Scripture in Syriac,



Malay, Ethiopic, and Persian. He successively compiled a Brief History of the Church of Abyssinia, and also of the Syrian Churches in the South of Judea, for the Church Missionary Society. Notwithstanding his retiring character, his fame as a scholar had become so distinguished, that he was elected professor of Arabic in 1819, when only B.A. ; and it was upon the petition of the Senate that a royal mandate was obtained to enable him to take the degree of M.A., which was an indispensable qualification. His election to this office was the more honourable, as he was preferred to several distinguished Oriental scholars ; and it gave him at once a degree of influence which he enjoyed until his resignation of the Hebrew professorship, and retirement to the rectory of Barley, in 1848.

Honours crowded upon him from foreign universities, and his reputation as an Oriental scholar in a few years became, not only European, but world-wide. His patron, archdeacon Corbett, in a speech at the Shropshire Bible Meeting, compared him to the Admirable Crichton, whom he surpassed in the number of languages he had acquired. The works of his eminent predecessors in the field of Eastern literature found in him a well-qualified editor. He published in 1824 a translation of "Controversial Tracts" on Christianity and Mohammedanism, containing the substance of disputations between Henry Martyn and some of the most eminent writers of Persia ; new editions of Sir William Jones's Persian Grammar, and of Martyn's Persian and Hindostanee Testament ; also a Hindostanee Prayer Book, and Morning and Evening Prayers in Persian.

It would be difficult to enumerate all his labours of this kind ; but his last effort was towards the completion of a new Arabic version of the Bible, with the aid of a native scholar. On this he was engaged when the hand of sickness finally closed his career of ever-vigorous and indefatigable toil. In 1821 he published an edition of the *Sylloge Librorum Orientalium* of Jahn, in Latin, and afterwards *Prolegomena*, in the same language, to Bagster's Polyglot Bible. Nor did he confine himself to these philological studies, to the neglect of the proper duties of his office as a clergyman of the church of England. In 1827 and 1828 he preached six sermons before the university, "On the Study of the Holy Scriptures : their nature, interpretation, and some of their most important doctrines." These were published in an octavo volume, and contain much sound and instructive matter. In these he gave his doctrinal views, which may be styled Arminian-evangelical. Scriptural election he viewed as national ; whilst on the doctrine of the Atonement, and other fundamental truths, he took the most decidedly protestant views, in opposition to the rationalists of Germany. To these sermons were appended Two Dissertations on the Book of Revelation, afterwards developed in his large work on Prophecy, published

in 1849, after that of Mr. Elliott, to which he was opposed, had appeared. He maintained that all the prophetic portions of Scripture were fulfilled, and had been since the time of Constantine; and that under the extension of the gospel dispensation through the world, we are enjoying the new heavens and new earth! Professor Lee, however, rendered less doubtful service to the cause of truth by his Hebrew Grammar, which, in 1827, gave the substance of his Lectures: with such copious illustrations from cognate dialects as to throw a flood of light on the subject to those students who were able to appreciate them.

But his grammatical system was burdened with too much of this erudite incumbrance for the mere learner. Hence it became necessary to "mark" it for the guidance of the young student. In this work the Professor gave the result of his general knowledge of language as applied to the particular cases of the sacred tongue, in some of which he differed from former grammarians. The chief peculiarity was, that he entirely rejected the *vox conversive*, the convenient instrument whereby ancient writers solved all difficulties; he found in the language *two tenses*, the past and present, instead of the past and future, as in all former grammars.

This arrangement appeared to give great simplicity to the reading of Scripture. A mark of time being first given, the narrative, or prophetic description, proceeds in the present tense, as if the scene were vividly before the mind's eye. Thus, "In the beginning God *created* (past) the heavens and the earth: and the earth *was* (past) without form, and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. So, God *says* (present), Let there be light, and light *is*. So God *divides*, &c. Here is a simple principle, and agreeable to the habits of Oriental thought in narration. In like manner, when describing the future: once fix the period of time, you then carry on the idea as though present. This, being in a natural style, is familiar to all poets. Thus in the Messiah:—

"Rapt into future times the seer begun,
'A virgin shall conceive, a virgin bear a Son;
From Jesse's root behold a branch *arise*,
Whose sacred flowers with fragrance *fills* the skies.'"

In the syllabication according to the system of the points (which he esteemed to be the most ancient commentary on the text) the Professor's arrangement of the Hebrew vowels reduced this most complex subject to comparative simplicity. These appear to the writer to be the fruits of the peculiar genius of professor Lee, and in their order they are as remarkable as some of the most eminent scientific discoveries.

While Dr. Lee did not deem it safe or scholarlike to trust entirely to the Septuagint, he had a high opinion of some parts

of that version, especially the Pentateuch and the Proverbs, which he said were the most ancient portions. The other parts appeared to have been added by different hands; the book of Job by some one acquainted with the Greek plays. That they were all, however, more ancient and reliable than any of the Jewish commentaries, which, except the Targum of Onkelos, he did not much value. The Septuagint contains a version of several texts, bearing on the coming of the Messiah, which are nearer to the New Testament than the existing Hebrew text. The Greek version is therefore a very precious document; an independent witness, to which the philosophers of Greece and Alexandria were probably much indebted for those fragments of moral and religious truth which are scattered through their writings, and which renders the study of the work of the Seventy-two Interpreters a valuable adjunct to that of the original Hebrew and Chaldee.

The Masoretic system of points is also confirmed by the Greek, so far as it goes; and the spoken Hebrew, which was lost except in the synagogue service, preserved in the spelling of names, which is as near as the difference between Oriental and Occidental pronunciation would allow. Thus the Greek tends to fix the language and interpretation of the sacred text, equally in opposition to the school of Hutchinson and Parkhurst, who, rejecting the points, left everything uncertain and indefinite, and the Rabbinical school, which finds mystical and fanciful meanings even in the points, and thus "darkens counsel without knowledge." The principal points were, he thought, probably as old as Ezra. Using therefore the Hebrew as a basis, and the points, not as of divine authority, but as the most ancient interpretation of the original characters, the student was taught to look to the Samaritan, the Greek, and the Syriac, rather than the Targums or the Talmud, for the true sense of Scripture.

It is the characteristic of a master mind to simplify any subject with which it is familiar; to seize the grand principles, and strip them of everything extraneous or merely accidental. And such appears to have been his faculty; he grasped the general principles of language and was able thus to analyze any particular tongue, to mark its peculiarity of structure, and then pick up the *copia verborum* at leisure. By an inverse operation a new language, such as the New Zealand, was framed from the materials furnished by the first missionaries and converse with two native youths, for the first time, into grammar and lexicon. Lee's grammar of the New Zealand language was the synthetical application of his powers. It was a severe task; and he bore on his countenance the permanent marks of the intense labour spent on its construction. At a later period he gave Mr. Schön and Mr. Crowther valuable

assistance and general rules for fixing the Hausa and Yoruba languages, and other dialects of West Africa.

The value of professor Lee's labours as a resident in Cambridge cannot, however, be estimated by his published works alone. He was ever at hand to give help and encouragement to the young and ardent student; to answer questions; to revise the plans and productions of others, as well as to originate fresh efforts of his own. It has been sometimes questioned whether he might not have been even more useful had his original destination as a missionary carried him to India, there to inaugurate a vernacular Christian literature, still felt to be so great a want. His presence in England appeared to the heads of the great societies at the time almost indispensable for the publication of those numerous biblical works of which we have given only a very imperfect sketch; and it is perhaps rather his own permanent fame than the interests of the church which has suffered by such a general diffusion of his labours at home, instead of their concentration upon some one great and manifest work, or by their employment in a foreign field. Like his contemporary professor Scholefield, he led a busy life, of which the public traces are comparatively few, but the loss of their untiring devotedness is even still felt; and there are none left to represent them fully in their respective spheres of usefulness.

In the year 1833 professor Lee published his sermon on the Christian Sabbath, in which, while maintaining its divine obligation, he showed, from traces in the Persian and other Oriental nations, that our Sunday falls on the day once celebrated as the Patriarchal sabbath. In the year 1838 his voice was equally clear against the dogma of transubstantiation, attributed by Dr. Wiseman to the Syrian churches, and against tradition and other Romish doctrines which had been revived by the Tractarian writers. This he did in his visitation sermon at Bishop-Stortford, and his arguments were sustained by a vast body of Syriac and other notes. In 1837 he gave to the world his most valuable Translation and Commentary on the book of Job, dedicated to the duke of Sussex, in which he vindicates the evangelical character of the book, and maintains its proper historical nature; with a mass of notes from the Arabic and cognate dialects. In 1840 he published his discovery of the Theophania of Eusebius; a work lost in the Greek, but found in a Syriac manuscript; also illustrated with copious notes. He was assailed at different times by Dr. Henderson and others on his critical views; and had a controversy, in 1849, with Mr. Fry, of Bristol, on Tithes. He published also a valuable tract on the Trinity. In 1844 his Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English, appeared, in which are explanations of many obscure phrases and passages. In all these various

works will be found mines of research for the benefit of future scholars, rather than a digest for immediate use; and especially with regard to his grammar, it may be regretted that he did not publish an abridgment. To this kind of work he had a great repugnance; but was willing that some one else should undertake it, if so disposed. Decidedly opposed to the Rabbinical system of interpretation, he always maintained that to learn Hebrew from an unconverted Jew was only to put on the same veil of prejudice and delusion. Unequivocally Protestant in his views, he was equally opposed to Romish and to Jewish tradition. Hence the principles of his grammar have, since his decease, been much assailed by those who have pursued Rabbinical literature, especially by the pupils of Mr. Bernard. But Dr. Lee's successor in the Hebrew, as formerly in the Arabic professorship, Dr. Jarrett, still maintains the same biblical standard; referring rather to cognate Oriental dialects than to Jewish comments, and following Dr. Lee in his general principles.

Notwithstanding the labours of these great and good men, it is, however, still to be regretted that *some* acquaintance with the Hebrew scriptures is not more prevalent among the candidates for holy orders. The Cambridge Theological Examination has no doubt a beneficial effect; but it has not been yet *required* that the student who passes it should have any acquaintance with Hebrew. This is reserved, with obscure parts of the works of the fathers, for the *honorary* examination. The questions have sometimes seemed to turn more on *châsubles* and *stoiles* than on the *very words of God*, as they emanated from inspired lips and pens. The knowledge of the Greek Testament must be rather extensive and accurate to satisfy the examiners, while no acquaintance with the Hebrew text is necessary; and consequently the candidates who approach the very moderate requirement of the honorary Hebrew examination are few indeed.

Much general improvement has, nevertheless, taken place in the culture of theological learning during the last thirty years. Except some college prizes, which were almost obsolete, the Tyrwhell Hebrew Scholarship, and the Prize Essays, were the only premiums to merit in this department of study, open to the members of the university *in statu pupillari*. At the commencement of 1830, Dr. Adams, of Sidney College, preached and published a sermon before the university, in which he urged the importance of theological study, and added a plan of examination. In 1833, the Crosse Theological Scholarship, established at the suggestion of archdeacon Musgrave, by the executors of the late vicar of Bradford, was the next prize held out for competition among the commencing bachelors, and opened a wide field of study. The Scholefield and Carus prizes have since followed, and tend, in some good measure, to stimu-

late the younger students to devote some portion of their time to the *direct* study of the sacred text. The influence of such men in the university as were thus commemorated was well represented by those premiums. They succeeded the older generation of Simeon, Milner, and Farish, and many distinguished names, from which it would seem partial to make a selection, who were all warm promoters of scriptural study. None, however, had the vast stores of information, because they had not the marvellous facility of opening the treasures of ancient and Oriental illustrations which were at the command of Lee. But his standard became, in consequence, too high for the general attainments of his age; some of his works labour under the defect of requiring learning almost equal to his own fully to comprehend them. His examination papers afforded scope for more learning than could be expected from the actual condition of the university, but they never failed to suggest men's own deficiencies, and the diligent few found the reward of their labours in his ready acknowledgment of their proficiency.

Let our Christian students but cultivate the same humble piety which lay at the foundation of the usefulness, as well as eminence, of Lee; the same indefatigable industry, the same loyal devotedness to the sacred text; and though they may not attain to his profound and comprehensive learning, they will have a deep insight into "the mind of the Spirit." They will not trust to other men's eyes, or to imperfect translations, for their knowledge of Divine truth. They will be able to appreciate the learning of others, and to digest those criticisms on the Old as well as New Testament, which otherwise must have been passed over, or received with implicit, almost unintelligent, assent.

On the part of the learned in our universities we hope there may ever be the same free and cordial manner to the young, which was so encouraging in the subject of this article; the same patience in the explanation of difficulties; the same readiness to lend a helping hand to any good society, or wise plan for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom upon earth, as well as to foster individual zeal and industry. Nowhere do these qualities produce more lasting benefits than in the university; where youth, warm from a happy home, or the free intercourse of a public school, are soon chilled by repulsive reserve.

Dr. Lee was a man of strong common sense, as well as wonderful memory. He was gentle, courteous, and remarkably self-possessed in his manners: so as to be at ease in any society. His habits were domestic, and he would occasionally unbend from his daily mental efforts, and delight his friends by joining in singing Handel's music. The realities of life had been early pressed upon him; he knew the "uses of adversity:" and hence how to sympathize with every rank and gradation of society. He was for many years chaplain of the

Cambridge County Gaol; and both at Banwell and Barley, of which he was successively rector, he became a useful parochial minister. In his pulpit ministrations, he was peculiarly simple and spiritual. It was thus that his true greatness appeared. All his talents were consecrated to the service of his Redeemer, and all his hopes rested upon His merits and mediation. He lived on kind terms with all his parishioners, both churchmen and dissenters; and he died generally lamented. He continued his unwearied biblical labours until the spring of 1852, when he was obliged to desist; not from any decay of mental vigour, but from extreme pain: and this was perhaps the most trying part of his illness. But neither pain nor deprivation of his wonted employments wrung from him the faintest murmur: he bore all with the most exemplary Christian fortitude and patience, as he had borne all his honours with the most remarkable humility and meekness, and with constant thankfulness for the many mercies with which he was surrounded; and which, as he said, had followed him through his eventful life. He died, December 16, 1852, aged 69 years. In the language of Isaac Walton (*Life of Hooker*), "Bless, O Lord, bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with ardent desires and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation; for these are praiseworthy; these bring peace at the last! And let the labours of his life, his most excellent writings, be blessed with what he designed when he undertook them; which was glory to Thee, O God on high, peace in thy church and goodwill to mankind!"

C. A. H.

STANLEY'S EASTERN CHURCH.

Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ's Church. Murray, London; Parker, Oxford.

CHURCH HISTORY might be briefly denominated the dark side of Christianity. It is the region of cloud and storm; but behind it, in the far distance, seen only at broken intervals, shines the sun in its eternal radiance, and there also, lost in the light by which it is surrounded, shines many and many a bright star, invisible to the world's eye. The world, it has been truly said, never knows its greatest men; and the same thing may be said of the church. It is not those thought to be its greater luminaries, because of the space they fill in the heavens, that are always its truest representatives: these are often at

once as ambiguous and as portentous as comets : but it is those who shine with a quiet light in the retired parts of the spiritual firmament. How few of the twelve Apostles have secured a place in history ! By far the greater part of them lived, and laboured, and died, alike to honour and to fame unknown. More notice is given in the Scripture history itself to *Simon Magus*, or to *Diotrephes*, who "loved to have the pre-eminence," than even to some of the *Twelve*. There is not, perhaps, anything that sends a colder chill into Christian faith than Church History ; there is not, perhaps, anything that more revives and rekindles it, than Christian Biography. And it is an inviting feature in the work which we are now to review, that it combines the biographical with the historical, giving us a view of persons as well as of facts and occurrences. The author has herein followed the best of all examples ; for the distinguishing feature and glory of the New Testament is, that it gives us history in the form of *life*.

The *life* of history, and not its slough, is what we want to see ; for this, to living men, is the only part of it that really possesses an educating power. Ecclesiastical, or Church History, as it has been usually understood, has come to mean all that is external and secular in the Church ; but this, it must be remembered, is only the *casing* of Christianity—it is not Christianity itself ; that is nowhere to be found but in the lives of individuals of unobtrusive piety and holiness, self-sacrifice and devotedness, indifference to the world and faithfulness to Christ. Most true is that observation of our author, that "good men are the salt, not only of the world, but also of the church." (Introduction, p. lxiii.) The history of the Church, viewed externally, has tended, as in the instance of Gibbon, to generate infidelity ; it is only when we look at it internally, in the silent working of its moral influence, in its rescuing of men out of "abominable idolatries," in its softening of the most ferocious characters, in its power over degrading human passions, in the general amelioration which it effects in the condition of mankind, that we see its genuine quality, and become convinced that it embodies a power that could have emanated from none but God. "God in History" is, indeed, only another name for God in His Church.

In making Ecclesiastical History to commence with Abraham, the Chosen of God, the Father of the Faithful, Professor Stanley truly goes to the beginning of the beginning, and not to the beginning of the end, for his starting point. This is, beyond question, the *origo*—the fountain-head—of that silvery stream of waters which has gone on, from age to age, widening in our world, till at length it has become a great river, spreading out through many lands, and making glad the inhabitants of the earth. For ages and generations, indeed, that river flowed where it was unseen by the greater part of mankind ;—through the narrow

ravines and mountain-girt valleys of Judea;—still it kept its onward way towards the wide plain of our common Humanity, where, overflowing like the Nile, it made the most barren places to rejoice and blossom as the rose. All men can now drink of it, because it now covers the earth as the waters cover the sea. The Christian Church has come to be included in, as it is co-extensive with, Christendom.

While professor Stanley thus traces Church History back to Abraham, it is only one segment of Church History he goes over in this volume—the Eastern branch of the Church Universal. He could not have chosen a more fruitful, or a more interesting, region of the Church's life. The Eastern church is almost as much unknown to us English people as the other side of the moon. Shut off from it by distance, and difference of nation, tongue, and habit of thought; isolated in a great measure in our island home from the rest of Christendom; deriving our own form of Christianity from the Western or Latin church, we have come practically to forget, that there is another great branch of the community Christian. Because ours is the side of light, we imagine that the other must all be darkness. It is well to correct our own views by a comparison with the views of others. And if the reading of this history should have no other effect than to rectify some of our misapprehensions, and should enable us to appreciate what is good in the Greek church without being made the less sensible of what is evil, it will have been neither written in vain nor read in vain.

It was not always the case that the Greek church was overlooked and practically lost sight of by English divines. Though our reformed theology was derived chiefly from Augustine and the Latin church, not from Chrysostom and the Greek, yet there are not wanting proofs in our Prayer Book, and in their own published works, that our Reformers were acquainted with the principal writers of the latter. In the works of bishop Jewell, there are frequent references to the Greek fathers. But it was not till the revival of attention to Greek literature, which followed the Reformation, that any marked impression of the Greek church upon our own became visible. Quotations from the Greek fathers of the fourth century are found in great abundance in the writings of Jeremy Taylor especially; and Chrysostom, no doubt, it was, who helped to invest his thoughts in those gorgeous splendours for which they are distinguished. Andrews, Cosins, and Laud drank still more deeply into the spirit of the Greek theologians. Through the influence of their school a change of tone took place in Church of England theology, which has influenced it, more or less, from their time to the present. At the Restoration, the High Churchmen of the day imported as much as they could of it into the revised Liturgy of 1662. Being less dogmatic and more catholic than that of the Latin church, without being at all

less hierarchical, it fell in better with their spirit, and enabled them to appear to be anti-papal without being really any the more opposed to the *principle* of Popedom. It was only Alexandria as against Rome, or Constantinople as against Christendom.

A somewhat kindred spirit to that which influenced them is bringing the Eastern Church into favour in our own day. The sympathies of a certain class of divines are evidently inclining them towards the broader and more liberal theology of Basil and Chrysostom, and to those principles of larger toleration which Constantine desired to inaugurate, rather than to the more rigid and precise dogmatic system of Athanasius, of Augustine, and of our own Reformers. They have an end of their own in view in this. Toleration is always a favourite plea with those who are conscious that they hold opinions which will hardly be tolerated. While they speak of Nicene or Athanasian theology with respect, they plainly intimate that it is a thing not to be imitated. It is a thing of a bygone age, well fitted and very proper for its own day, but out of date in ours. It is fast becoming the fashion, indeed, to regard Nicene theology, the subsequent picture worship of the Greek church, Romanism, and our own Reformation, as only so many phases of the same common Christianity—like the phases of the moon, different and yet the same—not as, the one corruptions, and the other restorations, of *the truth*. The consequence of this is, that error and truth run imminent danger of being so confounded, as not to be distinguished; the object of it appears to be to prepare the world for some new development of the same religion. That the Christian religion has hidden resources of strength to meet the energies of any new form of error, we cannot doubt; but that it is to undergo any new development, or to become even complexionally different from what it has ever been, may well be doubted. Its truths are dogmatic; its doctrines rest on facts; and facts never change. Christians may have much to unlearn, as well as much yet to learn, especially in regard to the spirit in which they ought to act; and so far they may have a “new leaf to turn over in their Bibles” (Introduction, p. lxxxi.), but still it is a leaf of the Bible, and it is the Bible still. There can be nothing, strictly speaking, new, in a completed Revelation; and if anything new arises, it must be error. Error is various; truth is one. A tree cannot be developed beyond itself; up to a certain stage of its growth it admits of development; but when once it has attained its full growth, it takes its unchanging type. Our Lord has taught us in one of his most instructive parables that the kingdom of God, or the growth of religion in the world, is like that of seed in the earth: it obeys this law of vegetable nature, “first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.” There is no new order of things; the kind, as at the creation, remains the same; there

is development up to a certain point, and then it stops. This of itself furnishes a decisive argument against any such thing now as a "Neology."

The tendency of Dr. Stanley's mind is very clearly indicated in several passages of his "Introduction," in which he treats of the "province," the "study," and the "advantages of Ecclesiastical History." Thus at p. lxxii. he writes :—

"The ingenious essays in which Archbishop Whately traces 'the errors of Romanism,' to the general fallacies latent in every creed and every church, might be extended to all kinds of the theological division. The celebrated treatise of Bossuet on 'the Variations of Protestantism,' might be overlaid by an instructive work on a larger basis, in a more generous spirit, and with a nobler object, 'the Variations of the Catholic Church', showing how wide a range of diversities even the most ancient and exclusive communities have embraced; how many opposing principles, practices, and feelings, like the creeks or valleys of some narrow territory, overlap, traverse, infold, and run parallel with each other into the very heart of the intervening country, where we should least expect to find them. Reformers, before the Reformation, Popes, in chairs not of St. Peter; 'new presbyter but old priest writ large;' 'old foes with new faces;' heresy under the garb of orthodoxy, orthodoxy under the garb of heresy; they who hold, according to the ancient saying, *τὰ αἱρετικά καθολικῶς*,—and they also who hold, *τὰ καθολικά αἱρετικῶς*;—strange companions will be thus brought together from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South. Pelagius lurks under the mitre of Chrysostom, or the cowl of Jerome; Loyola will find himself by the side of Wesley; John Knox will recognize a fellow labourer in Hildebrand; the austerities of Benedict, the intolerance of Dominic, will find their counterpart at Geneva and in Massachusetts; the missionary zeal of the Arian Ulfilas, of the Jesuit Xavier, and of the Protestant Schwarz, will be seen to flow from the same source. The judgment of history will thus far be able to anticipate the judgment of Heaven, and to supersede with no doubtful hand the superficial concords and the superficial discords which belong to things temporal, by the true separation and the true union which belong to things eternal."

The *intent* of such a passage as this is not at all doubtful: there is no mistaking the conclusion which the learned author would have us draw from it. If there could be any doubt, it would be swept away by a very significant sentence on the next page (p. lxxiv.) "To find Christ or Antichrist exclusively in any one community is against charity and against humility, but, above all, against the plain facts of history." We will only remark that to find Antichrist everywhere is to find him nowhere, and to find him nowhere, is widely different from finding him somewhere.

Nothing is easier than to let charity slide into indifference; for charity and indifference are separated by a very narrow boundary, like the sublime and the ridiculous, and easily run into each other. And as good archbishop Leighton remarks,

"Toleration is a herb of spontaneous growth in the soil of indifference; and the weed has none of the virtues of the medicinal plant, reared by humility in the garden of zeal." Our author is evidently anticipating the era of extinct controversies, when all dogmatic disputes will be laid at rest, and churches as well as individuals will live most delightfully in the silent harmony of indifference to all religious doctrines, resolving the whole of their religion into respect for the person of Christ, and into his moral teaching. What but this can be the meaning of such passages as the following?—

"Look at the Bible on the one hand, and History on the other; see what are the points on which the Scriptures lay most emphatic stress; think how much of the life and sap of Christendom has run to leaf and not to fruit; remember how constant is the protest of Scripture, and, we may add, of the best spirits of the universal Church, against preferring any cause of opinion or ceremony, to justice, holiness, truth, and love; observe how constantly and steadily all these same intimations point to one Divine Object, and *One* only, as the centre and essence of Christianity:—we cannot, with these experiences, hesitate to say, that, if the Christian Church be drawing to its end, with no other objects than those which it has hitherto sought, it will end with its acknowledged resources confessedly undeveloped, its finest hopes of usefulness almost untried and unattempted. (Introduction, p. lxxix.)

It is to the *person* of Christ, and not to the *religion* of Christ, men of the school to which Dr. Stanley beyond doubt belongs, would lead us, because in this they think they have found the true centre of unity. They would supersede all positive doctrinal belief by riveting our regards upon the character of the Saviour, as delineated in the Four Gospels, because this they imagine would obviate all differences of opinion and all disputes. Hence advice like this:—

"Take any of the chapters of the Old or New Testament to which Prophets and Apostles appeal as containing, in their judgment, the sum and substance of their message; take, above all, the summary of all Evangelical and Apostolical truth in the Four Gospels." (p. lxxxi.)

This is a very incorrect representation of the fact, but it shows the *animus* of the writer; it proves, beyond question, that he would practically discard, and would have others discard, the doctrinal epistles of St. Paul, as having reference only to a temporary condition of things; as not applicable to the Church of our own age; as containing arguments and principles that died with the occasion; and would thus shut us up to that *historical* Christ, which, as we know from Christ's own statement, left imperfectly revealed that *saving* Christ, which He was to become, when the mysteries of His own sacrifice were made plain by the events of His death and resurrection, and the fuller revelations of the Spirit. This is the new view of things that is

being urged in every shape and form, and on all occasions, by such writers as Jowett and our author; but it is not a view which we can adopt, till we have first shut our eyes against the far greater part of our Bible, and altogether forgotten our own sinful condition. We want *Redemption*, and redemption cannot be given us by *History*.

The work before us, with which Dr. Stanley has graced his professorial chair, is one which may be read with great advantage, if read with the proper *cautions*, and a heart well established in the faith. It requires to be approached with a mind that is proof against plausible novelties of sentiment, and that will not be led away by unreal hopes of some wondrous future which is to throw into shade all the past. Whether it is right for a Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History to avail himself of his office to insinuate his own private religious sentiments, and to endeavour to prepare his youthful hearers to take part in a future which exists nowhere but in his own imagination, we will not stay to inquire.

Professor Stanley looks at everything with the eye of a poet. His imagination invests whatever it touches in glowing life-like colours. Nothing can be more graphic than many of his sketches, both of character and of scenes. But he has given us a series of brilliant historical pictures rather than a continuous historical narrative. There is, too, a want of philosophic depth in his observations, and of sober reflection. He catches at what is external, showy, and exciting. It is with persons and events, rather than with forms of thought and great principles, he deals. The history of Christianity is the history of the human mind in its struggles against the power of Heaven-defined truth, and in its endeavours to accommodate it to its own earthly condition. Civilization took its type from it; but civilization, even in its higher form, is not vital Christianity. The Christian philosopher looks at the deeper principle which underlies all these outward manifestations of the power of the religion in which he believes. He seeks to arrive at *the law* of what is called "human progress." Dr. Stanley is content with its delusive appearances. Whatever is most picturesque he gives us, touched with the hand of a painter. There is a striking difference between the style in which he writes history, and the style of the late Professor Stephens of Cambridge. Professor Stephens wrote always as if he felt his robes of office about him, stiff with dignity, and inlaid with silver and gold. He moves with a sort of stately grandeur, invested in a solemn pomp of words. Professor Stanley, on the contrary, writes as if he had thrown off his cap and gown, with a sort of careless ease, as though he were a traveller describing scenery, rather than a historian. There is a charm in this. You feel as if you were with a boon com-

panion rather than a stiff Professor. He carries you along with him, beguiled and delighted with his chattiness. His style of writing has, no doubt, this advantage, that it will tend to make ecclesiastical history popular, as Macaulay has made our own civil history; but instead of making men think, it will help to save them from the trouble of thinking, by carrying them delightfully over the broken billows that mark the wake of the church.

Ecclesiastical History, as our author remarks in his Introduction (p. xxxi.), has come to receive a much too restricted meaning. "It has come to signify, not the religious, not the moral, not even the social or political interests of the Christian community, but often the very opposite of these—its merely accidental, outward, ceremonial machinery." This is very true. The fact has been lost sight of that it is the laity who constitute the church; that its true definition is, "the whole congregation of faithful men dispersed throughout the world;" whereas it has been made to appear as if it consisted only of the clergy and their contentions. This separation of the clergy from the laity—this putting of a part of the church for the whole—has been the origin of many mischievous mistakes. The Christian religion is not an order of men; neither is it a sect; neither is it a set of opinions merely; but it is a mighty principle, that acts with the force and steadiness of a law upon the whole mass of society, at the same time that it acts with its saving power upon individuals. It begins with persons and ends with nations. Christianity worked its way, for a long while, underground in the Roman empire, but all the while it was permeating the elements of Humanity preparatory to its developing those forms of religious life which, ever since, have been the outward signs of what is understood by Christian society.* The remnants of ancient Liturgies which remain are the fossilized relics of early piety, with many earthy accretions, gathered by contact with human superstitions. Still, under the loaded shell is found the kernel. The Eastern church has no more escaped than the Western from the corrupt grovelling tendencies of the ever half-heathen human mind. Human ambition, hiding itself under the meek exterior of Christian humility, has there, as elsewhere, wrought out in silence, not only the pedestal of its own elevation, but also the chains of spiritual despotism which were to hold others down. No Eastern reformation has, as yet, wrenched away these rusted iron bars; nor has it swept away the cockatrice webs of superstition. It is these things that make Ecclesiastical History a perplexing thing. But the human history of the Church, like the divine, may justly be expected to exhibit all that wild order—all that variety in unity and

* Gibbon's "*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*" is, in reality, the rise and culmination of the Christian church.

unity in variety, which distinguishes Nature. It is the analogy of Nature, indeed, that is the great safeguard against a superficial scepticism, such as Ecclesiastical History might tend to generate.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century brought back a part of the Western church from the religion of the Fathers to the religion of Christ. But that there is to be yet another Reformation, which is to evolve "the Church of the future," is an anticipation little likely to be realized, except it be by the subversion of all that is distinctively Christian. It is not by negatives, but by positives, great and extensive changes for good are effected. Ancient Christianity, we know, was succeeded by Byzantine Christianity; Byzantine Christianity by Roman Christianity; and Roman Christianity by Protestant Christianity, which, so far from being negative, is as positive as truth itself. How we can go beyond the New Testament in our Christianity, it is not easy to see; but it is easy enough to recede by taking one part of the New Testament to the rejection of all the rest. This, probably, is the sort of advance which some anticipate—an advance backwards!

In his Introduction, treating of the "Province," the "Study," and the "Advantages of Ecclesiastical History," Dr. Stanley lays down some principles to which we can hardly subscribe. To wit, he says, (p. xlviii.,) "the proper material for ecclesiastical history is, after all, not institutions or opinions, but events and persons." Philosophically considered, it is "institutions and opinions," because these, and not "events and persons," are the permanent elements of human society. Events pass, persons die; but institutions and opinions remain. The rites of religion, the dogmas of Councils, form the osteology, so to speak, of the living system; and the controversies that have sprung out of them are the struggles—the spasmodic struggles, in some cases—of the human with the divine, the perishable with the immortal. So long as the Bible has one true doctrine, so long must Christianity be unchangeable. What some men are looking after is, evidently, not a further development only of Christianity, but a transmigration of it out of one thing into another. There may be such a thing as a transmigration of souls—there can be no such thing as the transmigration of truth. If, according to our author, the use of the study of Ecclesiastical History is, to convince us that there is very little difference between one system and another, and that men may be equally good Christians under all, it would be better for us never to study it; for though bigotry is a great evil, indifference is a yet greater. The "pitched battles of Ecclesiastical History," as Dr. Stanley calls the "General Councils of the Church," have not been fought in vain.

Passing from the "Introduction" to the History itself of the

Eastern Church, as given in these Lectures, we may observe that there is very much that is intensely interesting brought into prominence by the author, and invested in attractive colours. The East was the warm nursery of Christianity. There it sprang up; there it first took root; there for a time it flourished without a touch of blight. It was the region, too, first visited by the thunder clouds of controversy. The very word "theology" (*θεολογία*) arose from the peculiar questions agitated in the East. There the first Councils were held. Western theology cannot be well understood without some reference to the Eastern. The great line of distinction between the Eastern and the Western Church is, the speculative tendency of the one and the practical tendency of the other. This naturally finds feature and expression in the theology of the two Churches. Whilst the Western prides itself in the title of "Catholic," the Eastern claims the title of "Orthodox." "The East," dean Milman truly remarks, "exacted creeds, the West discipline." This, which was the effect in the first instance, became the cause, both of a difference of spirit, and a difference of form, in the two systems. The points of difference between the two churches are very many, and very instructive, though circumstantial only. One of them is so remarkable that we give it in the words of the writer:—

"A single instance illustrates the Eastern tendency to a high theological view of the doctrine of the Trinity, combined with an absence of any precision of statement in regard to mediation or redemption. In the Western liturgies direct addresses to Christ are the exceptions. In the East they are the rule. In the West, even in Unitarian liturgies, it is deemed almost essential that every prayer should be closed 'through Jesus Christ.' In the East, such a close is rarely, if ever, found. One vestige of this Oriental practice is retained by the English Prayer Book in the Collect attributed to St. Chrysostom." (p. 28.)

The circumstantial differences between the Eastern and the Western churches are noted at large by our author. Some of them are so curious that they come upon us with all the freshness of novelty. "The primitive posture of standing in prayer still retains its ground in the East." "Organs and musical instruments have never penetrated into its worship." The Eastern church still rigidly adheres to baptism by immersion, and "absolutely repudiates and ignores any other mode of administration as essentially invalid." "Confirmation is, with them, simultaneous with the act of baptismal immersion." "The Oriental churches, in conformity with ancient usages, still administer the eucharist to infants." "Art, as such, has no place in the worship, or in the edifices," of the Eastern church. And yet there is no absence in it of pomp, and solemn ceremonial. The use of pictures, as aids to worship, in the Eastern

church is well known. "The clergy, as such, though they cannot marry after their ordination, must always be married before they enter on that office." The bishops, being selected from the monasteries, alone are single. "An Eastern priest can divest himself of his orders and become a layman." "Although confession to a priest is deemed necessary for all, yet it has never descended into those details of casuistry which have in the Latin church made it so formidable an organ both for good and evil." "The slanders, the influence, the terrors of the Confessional are alike unknown in the East." (*Lect. i.*)

When we consider how large a portion of the world is occupied by the Oriental church, it becomes important to observe in what respects it differs from that other large division of the Church with which we are most familiar. Should the often agitated question of a reform of the English Prayer Book be brought to an issue, the model of the Eastern church, where Christianity first became crystallized, may be useful. The words in the ordination service, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost for the work and office of a priest in the church of God ...Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained," &c....are occupied in the Eastern church by a simple prayer for the Divine blessing. "The priestly expression of absolution, which in the Western church was, in the thirteenth century, changed into the positive form "I absolve thee," in the Eastern church is still, as it always was, "May the Lord absolve thee." (p. 44.)

The Eastern church embraces three main groups of churches. First, there are the "Chaldean" or "Nestorian Christians;" next, the "Armenian churches," spread over a vast extent of country; then the "Syrian churches." These, together, form one of the three groups. They cover, besides Syria, Egypt and Abyssinia, and are found also in other places. The second group is the Orthodox Imperial, or Greek church. This "includes the wide-spread race which speaks the Greek language, from its southernmost outpost in the desert of mount Sinai, through all the islands and coasts of the Levant and the Archipelago; having its centre in Greece and in Constantinople." The third group of the Eastern church consists of the barbarian tribes of the north,—the people living "on the banks of the Lower Danube; the Slavonic Bulgaria and Servia in the south; the Latin or Romaic Wallachia and Moldavia in the north." Add to these, there is the wide-spreading church of the great extended Russian Empire. In geographical extent, then, the Eastern church is not less imposing than the Western, while it has some characteristics which render it even more interesting.

What appears to commend the Eastern church specially in the eyes of the Oxford Professor of Ecclesiastical History, is its

exemption from what he calls "the curse of proselytism," and "the still darker curse of persecution." It is its mild (might it not be *apathetic*?) temper, its Asiatic immobility, its freedom from all systematizing, its large toleration of differences, that win from him admiration. How significant is the following passage:—

"A respectful reverence for every manifestation of religious feeling has withheld them" (the Eastern Christians) "from violent attacks on the rights of conscience, and led them to extend a kindly patronage to forms of faith most removed from their own. The gentle spirit of the Greek Fathers has granted to the heroes and sages of heathen antiquity a place in the Divine favour, which was long denied in the West. Along the porticoes of Eastern churches, both in Greece and Russia, are to be seen portrayed on the walls the figures of Homer, Thucydides, Pythagoras, and Plato, as pioneers preparing the way for Christianity. In the vast painting of the Last Judgment, which covers the west end of the chief cathedral of Moscow, Paradise is represented as divided and subdivided into many departments or chambers, thus keeping before the mind, even of the humblest, the great doctrine of the Gospel, which has often been tacitly dropped out of Western religion,—'In my Father's house are many mansions.'" (pp. 40, 41.)

We might have imagined here, that we were reading one of the notorious "Essays," of which Dr. Stanley is reported to have put himself forward as the defender in a late article in the pages of the "Edinburgh Review."

There is some truth, no doubt, in the observation, "The ecclesiastical history of the West is full of our own passions, our own preconceived ideas and prejudices." (p. 19.) And again: "It is useful to find that churches and sects are not exactly squared according to our notions of what our own logic or rhetoric would lead us to expect." (p. 51.) One hundred millions of souls professing a different form of the Christian faith from our own, is instructive, and ought to make us pause before we condemn any for non-essential differences. But it ought not, for this reason, to make us indifferent to fundamentals. Either the Greek church has departed from the purity of the faith, or it has not: if it has not, we ought to be in communion with it; if it has, our duty is to seek to enlighten and reform it. Those who can see no ground of objection to a distant church, generally regarded as corrupt, can isolate themselves in their own, and play Simon Stylites upon the pointless pinnacle of a temple of their own rearing, realizing the description, "Some characters are self-poised and independent. Loneliness and singularity in the present, the hopes of a remote and ideal future, are to them the notes of a true Church." (p. 51.)

The history of the Eastern church with which Professor

Stanley has furnished us, embraces only three periods—the Nicene period, the rise of Mahometanism, and the growth of the Russian church as a branch of the Eastern. His description of the characters who figured in the Nicene council is graphic in the extreme, and may be considered as his masterpiece. This Council and its creed stereotyped the true doctrine of the Trinity for all ages. It is here, properly speaking, the outer history of the Christian church begins. This great Council of Christian bishops, gathered under the presidency of the emperor Constantine, marks the transition of the Church and the Empire from an inchoate Christianity to one which assumed a positive, and, in one respect, a defined form. The Creed on which they agreed arose out of the necessities of the age, in the increasingly wide spread of the Arian heresy. Its history furnishes us with the most striking example on record of the triumph of one resolute will over the vacillation and indecisiveness of feebler minds. Athanasius had a great soul in a little body. (He was extremely small of stature.) He succeeded in overruling even the emperor Constantine. Contention resulted, as it often does, in the close of controversy.

As a specimen of Professor Stanley's word portrait-painting, take the following. It is his description of Constantine coming into the council at Nicæa:—

"The whole assembly rose, and stood on their feet; and then, for the first time, set their admiring gaze on Constantine, the Conqueror, the August, the Great. He entered. His towering stature, his strong-built frame, his broad shoulders, his handsome features, were worthy of his magnificent position. There was a brightness in his look, and a mingled expression of fierceness and gentleness in his lion-like eye, which well became one who, as Augustus before him, had fancied, and, perhaps, still fancied, himself to be the favourite of the sun-god Apollo. The Bishops were further struck by the dazzling, perhaps barbaric, magnificence of his dress. Always careful of his appearance, he was so on this occasion in an eminent degree. His long hair, false or real, was crowned with the imperial diadem of pearls. His purple or scarlet robe blazed with precious stones and gold embroidery. He was shod, no doubt, in the scarlet shoes then confined to the Emperors, now perpetuated in the Pope and Cardinals. Many of the Bishops had probably never seen any greater functionary than a remote provincial magistrate; and, gazing at his splendid figure as he passed up the hall between their ranks, remembering, too, what he had done for the faith of their church,—we may well believe that the simple and the worldly both looked upon him, as we are told they did, as though he were an angel of God descended straight from heaven. The colour rushed to the Emperor's cheeks. . . . It was the genuine expression of Constantine's excitement and emotion. As he advanced up the hall he cast his eyes down, his steps faltered; and when he reached the throne allotted to him, he stood motionless till the Bishops beckoned to him to be seated. He then sat down, and they followed the example." (p. 141, 142.)

Dr. Stanley has worked out the two principal characters of the age—Athanasius and Constantine—with such admirable vividness, that we seem to see them standing yet before us. We have seen Constantine, now let us look at Athanasius:—

“Close beside the Pope Alexander” (this was Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, who bore the title of “Pope” long before that title was known at Rome) “is a small, insignificant young man, of hardly twenty-five years of age, of lively manners and speech, and of bright serene countenance. Though he is but the Deacon, the chief Deacon or Archdeacon of Alexandria, he has closely riveted the attention of the assembly by the vehemence of his arguments. He is already taking the words out of the Bishop’s mouth, and briefly acting in reality the part he had before, as a child, acted in name, and that, in a few months, he will be called to act both in name and in reality. His humble rank as a Deacon does not allow of his appearance in the conventional pictures of the Council. But his activity and prominence behind the scenes made enemies for him there, who will never leave him through life. Any one who has read his passionate invectives afterwards may form some notion of what he was in the thick of his youthful battles. That small, insignificant Deacon is the great Athanasius.” (p. 114, 115.)

Here we see an example of what often occurs unknown in our own day, that the greatest of works which astonish the world are usually wrought by those who are least seen; while others in more public positions go off with the honours. There cannot be a doubt of the masterful character possessed by Athanasius. He had all those kingly attributes of soul which *command* into obedience and submission the souls of other men. It is such inherently great souls who stamp their own character on the age in which they live.

The doctrine received and established by the Council of Nicæa, under the guidance of St. Athanasius, was probably the means of preserving the Christian world, then only half-enlightened in theology, from falling back into Polytheism. It was at the basis Unitarian, in so far as it maintained the unity of the Divine nature; while the Homoïisian doctrine, which it was endeavoured to substitute in its place, admitted of a division, or, rather, of a different nature in the Father and in the Son, and so divided between them, though it did not deny the godhead, in an inferior sense, of Christ. He was of *like* nature and essence with the Father, but not Homoïisian, or of the *same* nature. The former best fell in with the notions of Heathenism, and so found ready currency among half-enlightened, half-converted converts in the early days of the Church, till it was at length effectually stayed by the sounder views propounded by Athanasius.

One great use of reading such a full and particular account, as Dr. Stanley has given us, of the Nicene council, and its chief

theological point of dispute is, that we learn hereby the true significance of our own creeds—how far-spread Arianism had become, and with what difficulty it was suppressed. This first General Council was the Thermopylæ of Theology—the Waterloo of the Church. There, was settled for coming, if not for all ages, the first fundamental point of a Christian's belief. There, also, Representative government found its first precedent and principle; there, the Royal authority in things spiritual was first practically recognized, and the decisive sanction of the Church was given to the doctrine, that free discussion, in a numerous assembly, is the surest channel for arriving at Christian truth.

It has been asserted that sects arise out of creeds, and from this it has been concluded, that when we have no creeds we shall have no sects. This inference is no doubt correct; but then, what does the principle involve?—that we shall have *no doctrines*. This is the state of things, the approach of which we have to fear in our own day. Darkness admits of no distinctions—it is the light that brings out things in their distinctions. The spirit of the age is quite in favour of merging all differences, from the weak desire for peace at any price. Creeds, doctrines, definitions, must all go, and we are to be content with the general name of Christian, while we part with the very essence of Christianity. Our fathers gave us Christianity in synthesis; their sons would give us Christianity in solution. This is just the difference.

There is too much reason to fear that Professor Stanley is one of those who would gladly abandon many of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel—being no doctrines of the Gospel at all in his view—for the sake of what he thinks to be a broader and more liberal Christianity. The great blemish in his work is, that he cannot keep out of history his slights and disparagements of certain received doctrines of his own Church—such as “Predestination,” “Original Sin,” “Prevenient Grace,” “Atonement.” (p. 158.) It is pretty evident that he regards these as mere theological terms and phrases, party words, and not as the true representatives of doctrinal facts. Even the word “Satisfaction,” though used in the most solemn part of our own Liturgy, he mentions only to disparage. To those who are familiar with the Neologian system, such a passage as the following will be darkly but deeply significant:—

“In Scripture and theology, no less than in philosophy and conscience, there is a marked repugnance to the forced oppositions between the justice of the Father and the mercy of the Son, which run through so many modern systems of Redemption. Amongst the various figures (?) which Athanasius uses to express his view, one is that of ‘Satisfaction.’ But this is introduced incidentally, and in entire subordination to the primary truth, that the Redemption flowed from

the Indivisible Love of the Father and the Son alike, and that its object was the restoration of man to union with God." (p. 294.)

There is a passage in Archbishop Tillotson, distinguished by his usual good sense, touching the objection of the Socinians (for in his day it was only the Socinians that raised it) to the doctrine of the Atonement, grounded on the notion of its being unjust that the innocent should be appointed to suffer in the room of the guilty to satisfy the justice of God. This passage, as it meets the question here raised by Professor Stanley, it may be worth while to quote:—

"If the matter were searched to the bottom, all this perverse contention about our Saviour's suffering for our benefit, but not in our stead, will signify just nothing. For if Christ died for our benefit, so as, some way or other, *by virtue of his death and sufferings*, to save us from the wrath of God, and to procure our escape from eternal death; this, for aught I know, is all that anybody means by his dying in our stead. For he that dies with the intention to do that benefit for another, or *to save him from death*, doth certainly, to all intents and purposes, die in his place and stead. And if they will grant this to be their meaning, the controversy is at an end, and both sides are agreed in the thing, and do only differ in the phrase and manner of expression; which is, to seek a quarrel and an occasion of difference, when there is no real ground for it—a thing which ought to be very far from reasonable and peaceable minds."

These are just observations upon the supposition stated—"if they will grant this to be their meaning;" but the new school of Negative Theology will hear of no such expressions as "to save us from the wrath of God," which implies His justice. With them, the Divine nature is made to consist of one property or attribute alone—*Love*. Pretending to exalt the beneficence of the Deity, they would resolve his moral perfection into one blind infinitude of mercy, which *must* result ultimately in the restoration of all mankind, so that Justice shall have no place in the universe, and Mercy and Love alone shall reign for ever and ever. This view, we need hardly observe, destroys the *necessity* for Christ's death, while it derogates from the moral dignity of his sufferings, as "dying the just for the unjust to bring us to God." It arises, beyond doubt, from feeble apprehensions of the infinite evil of sin, and false conceptions of what constitutes the moral perfection of the Deity; in other words, of what enters into the very essence of "Love."

The thing which, above all others, seems to move the hate of Professor Stanley is the rigid spirit of Protestantism, and the narrowness of modern theology. He calls "Mahometanism," "the extreme Protestantism or Puritanism of the East" (p. 324.);—speaks of the "hard and narrow standard of modern times," (p. 293); and never loses an opportunity of sneering at the "so-called enlightenment and the so-called religious sects, and

parties, and journals of our own age." (Introduction, p. lxxxi.) His ill-concealed chagrin and disappointment at the fate which has attended the "Essays and Reviews," with his yet cherished hope of a brighter future, comes out strongly in one place. Quoting the proverb, *Athanasius contra mundum*, he remarks:—

"It is a proverb which, though few are worthy to claim for themselves, yet all may well take to heart as a warning against confounding popularity with truth, or isolation with heresy, or temporary depression with lasting defeat." (p. 279.)

There is one statement of Dr. Stanley's which is so often repeated, and yet so false in fact, and so subversive in its tendency, that it demands more than a passing notice. He is continually striving to exalt the Gospels above all other parts of Scripture, as if the whole of Christianity were comprehended in them.

"This is not the place" (he says, p. 214) "to discuss so grave a question as the proportion of the doctrines of religion, 'the analogy of faith.' First, and above all, stand those great moral doctrines of the Gospel to which the highest place has been assigned, beyond dispute, in the Gospel itself. But next after these, ecclesiastical history teaches us that the most vital, the most comprehensive, the most fruitful has been, and is still—not the supremacy of the Bible, or the authority of its several books, not the power of the Pope or of the Church, not the Sacraments, not Original Sin, not Predestination, not Justification, but the doctrine of Incarnation."

Again:—

"The importance ascribed by Athanasius to the doctrine of the Incarnation, almost requires 'the incommunicable pre-eminence' which the most philosophical theologians, as well as the simplest believers, have always assigned to the Four Gospels above all other portions of the sacred volume. This pre-eminence has often been disputed by the sectarian or the half-informed polemics of modern times." (p. 296.)

At the risk of being set down among the "half informed polemics of modern times" we must dispute altogether the correctness of the view here given of the comparative importance of the different portions of the New Testament. It is to contradict the Divine Teacher himself, to represent that the Gospels contain a fuller and clearer revelation of the means and the method of salvation than the Epistles, or that the principles laid down in them are of more vital and essential import than those evangelical doctrines which are so strongly insisted upon by the Apostles after their Lord's death and resurrection. The church of Rome may consistently enough give a pre-eminent prominence to the doctrine of the Incarnation, because it is the foundation of some of the peculiar errors of her system; but no sound Protestant can view the Incarnation as other than a means to an end, much higher than itself. It is thus it is always represented in the New Testament. (Phil. ii. 7—9; Heb. ii.

14—17, *et passim*.) The Death of Christ, and not his *Incarnation*, it is, that is everywhere exalted in Scripture, as the great culminating point of his mission, the very end for which he took human nature, and as the fountain and source of all that virtue which is efficacious for the salvation of mankind. But this brings in the doctrine of justification by faith in the merits of another, and not by anything wrought in ourselves, nor by any mere relation of nature; and to exclude this doctrine, so repugnant to human pride, the Incarnation is exalted into a final end, instead of a means to an end. Both the Tractarian school of divines, and their seed-cast successors, the Neologians, make salvation to depend upon what they term an "inward life," by virtue of union with Christ, and trace this rather to his participation with them of a common nature than to faith in the merit and efficacy of his death. From this also the latter derive their doctrine of universal salvation. It is necessary to know this in order to understand the reason why they insist so much, and so constantly, upon the *Incarnation*, as the very essence and end of Christianity. St. Athanasius contended for a right view of the Incarnation for a different purpose. With one of those intuitions that are granted only to genius, he saw that a true view of this was the only cure for Arianism, which was but another form of Polytheism. His object was not to determine the direct and immediate cause of man's salvation, but only that unity of nature between the Father and the Son, whereby the acts of the one became the acts of the other, so that, as Hooker expresses it; the righteousness of Christ was the very righteousness of God. Dr. Stanley admits that he uses sometimes, to express his views, the term "Satisfaction;" and this yields the very point for which we contend, but which Dr. Stanley would fain make void. It was upon the doctrine of the "Incarnation" Robert Isaac Wilberforce split and foundered; and others had need be careful, that they do not strike upon the same rock, by a misapplication of that wondrous fact.

It will now be understood why Dr. Stanley exalts the Four Gospels above all other portions of the sacred volume. Statements to this effect, so repeatedly foisted into lectures on church history, justly call for comment. He may not intend to lead his readers to the full negative results of his theory; but if we would know to what results any principles lead, it is to the disciples, and not to the teachers, we must look. Fortunately we have before us, in a pamphlet just published, an ominous proof to what Christ-denying consequences the principle leads, of limiting our religion to the Four Gospels alone. A writer who avows himself an admiring follower of the authors of "Essays and Reviews," has boldly avowed his belief that Christianity is only a corrupt graft upon what he calls "Genuine Jesusism;" and the ground upon which he takes his stand is the personal teach-

ing of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, only discarding from these all that relates to his miraculous birth, as the after-invention of Superstition arising out of the veneration, generated by his teaching, for his person. He denies him the title of "Christ," because his followers were not called "Christians" till years after his death, first at Antioch. This he makes to be the fountain-head of Christianity, as distinguished from "Genuine Jesusism," and ascribes its origin to some wandering Jews, of whom St. Paul was one! One quotation from his pages will suffice to exhibit his full-blown "negative" theology:—

"In an early chapter of the Acts of the Apostles," he says, "we read of the uprise of that Christianity, whose spirit was even then, perhaps, almost as alien to that of Jesus's own teaching as the appellation was novel to the disciples Himself taught. This Christianity is said to have originated at Antioch, from the preaching of certain scatterlings from the first persecution in Judea, of whom some would appear to have been unknown to the writer of the Acts, while some are mentioned to have been Cyprians and Cyrenians, and all to have been of strong Judaic, or non-Gentilic tendencies. 'Barnabas and Simeon who was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul,' with Agabus, being the only teachers named in connection with the movement, that led to the designation of its votaries by the new title of Christians."

Having made this extraordinary statement, he goes on to say:—

"Whether the divarication of this Antiochian Christianity from original Jesusism were specially in the direction of Gnostic and transcendental additions to the simply rational and moral teachings of the latter, is not directly explained in the Acts, or elsewhere in Scripture beyond what is implied, firstly, in the novel title of Christian, which, as I should judge, can have had nothing to do with the repentance, good works, or charity of original Jesusism, but only with the Persian and Dytheistic doctrines of a Messiah and Redeemer."

This writer would have the Scriptures read "rationally, like any other similarly religious book;" and, according to him, "the true light" is the Logos, or natural reason, which God has appointed Mediator between Himself and man." "Can the outraging of reason, in respect of religious opinions," he asks, "and the enslaving of one's soul to the most visionary and avowedly ever-incomprehensible hallucinations, really be a token of the true follower of the Logos, or Consummate Reason, who is 'the way, the truth, and the life?'" He wishes religion to take its "place among human sciences," and to be treated simply as a "science;" for then, he says, "it will progress with the general vitality of the race."

One more passage from this "*advanced*" Neologian it may be worth while to give, just to show the backward progress of "development":—

"The religion preached by Jesus, like that preached by Shaky, by Confucius, and by the second Zoroaster before him, had, for reasons sufficiently perceptible in the histories of the elder nations, studiously avoided all approach to anything like the 'theology' of Christianity. Even to this hour the model prayer, and, indeed, the whole model sermon, remain virtually untinged by it, while several of the most genuinely early fragments imbedded in the Gospels not only ignore, but resist the idea of Jesus Himself having ever so much as countenanced any such teaching; nay, including all the detritus with which those early fragments were finally diluviated, still the canon of the New Testament, in its fullest development, never did, and does not now, contain the 'theology' of Christianity; nor could this be taken out of it; and, accordingly, before this could anyhow come into definite existence, it had to be outright 'created' in independent symbols and creeds: the lesser and greater antagonism of spirit between the simply internal and moral teachings of the Lord's Prayer, or the Sermon on the Mount, and the mainly transcendental Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, or the Thirty-nine Articles, being so many gauges of the antagonism subsisting between genuine Jesusism and the various developments of that Christianity by which true Jesusism has been subverted and overwhelmed."

It shows the confidence of this writer in the "Church of the future," when he proclaims himself to be "potentially" an "heir of the Broad and Solid Church;" and he acknowledges with befitting gratitude his obligations to the authors of "Essays and Reviews," in endeavouring to do away with (the purely visionary) distinction between "divine grace" or "the Spirit," and "natural reason" or the Logos,—and in attempting to assert the total independence of Jesuian "holiness of life upon Christian doctrine," in the following words:—

"I really hardly thought to have lived to hear so sound, so sensible, and so Jesuian a set of 'leading principles' so much as propounded by any fragment of the present ultra-Christian church: and, regretting my previous superficial judgment, am now delighted to hail the 'Essays and Reviews' as a renewal, *valcant quantum*, of the grand old controversy of Buddhist against Vedist, of Jesus against Scribe, of the directly God-given Logos, or reason of every individual man against the indirectly God-given dead letter of some particular men's compositions or scriptures, and of the affirmation as against the denegation of the ancient landmark—*Τῆς δὲ Θεοπνευστος σφίλις λόγος ἐστὶν ἀριστος*."

Well may this *rational* gentleman gently censure the "Essayists" for only "playing at ducks and drakes" with Infidelity; and Dr. Stanley may see, *if he will*, from the quotations we have given from Mr. John Bues Humperley's pamphlet, whither his principle of exalting the Gospels above the Epistles and other parts of Scripture "*rationality*" leads. *Verum non est desperandum, fortasse non canimus surdis.*

Professor Stanley, we are free to admit, has written a most

interesting book on Church History, but he has blotched and disfigured it with many strong touches of party spirit, and, which is much to be regretted, made it the vehicle for propagating a set of new opinions. This, we cannot help thinking, is an abuse of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History. So far as he confines himself to facts, and to persons who made a figure in the Eastern church in ancient days, well and good; but when, leaving the past, he seeks to prepare us for a Church of the future of his own imagining, he is exceeding, we think, the functions of his office. We quite agree with him that the West can only be understood from the East. We would condemn, as strongly as he does, any want of charity towards others; but then we should differ from him as to the proper direction of charity. Charity has respect to *persons*, not to *doctrines*.

The lecture on the relations of Mahometanism to the Eastern Church is discriminating and instructive, though here, we may observe, Professor Stanley treats Mahomet and his religion with much greater tenderness than he treats some Christians. His observations might almost lead us to the conclusion that all errors are only different forms of the one truth.

Respecting the Russian church, as the third great historical manifestation of the Eastern, he has given us a mass of information which is, we take it, to most readers quite new. Here Dr. Stanley writes from personal knowledge, having himself travelled in Russia, and had much intercourse with its principal ecclesiastics. There is a freshness about his descriptions of scenes and persons which evince that they are taken from life. He has drawn the character, too, of Peter the Great at full length, and also given us a most touching account of Nicor, the unfortunate primate of the Russian church, who, though only the son of a peasant, was at once an "Eastern Luther" and an "Eastern Wolsey" combined. Anything that relates to the gigantic Russian empire, and to its Church, has a peculiar interest now to us English people. The intense universal veneration of pictures in the Russian church is thus described by him:—

"No veneration of relics and images in the West can convey an adequate notion of the veneration for pictures in Russia. It is the main support and stay of their religious faith and practice; it is like the rigid observance of Sunday to a Scotchman, or the *auto da fé* to an ancient Spaniard, or fasting to a Copt, or singing of hymns to a Methodist. Everywhere, in public and in private, the sacred picture is the consecrated element. In the corner of every room, at the corner of every street, over gateways, in offices, in steamers, in stations, in towns, is the picture hung with the lamp burning before it. In domestic life it plays the part of the family Bible, of the wedding gift, of the birthday present, of the ancestral portrait. In the

national life it is the watchword, the flag, which has supported the courage of generals and roused the patriotism of troops. It has gone forth to meet the Tartars, or the Poles, or the French. It has thus been carried by Demetrius, by Peter, by Suwaroff, by Kutusoff. A taste, a passion for pictures, not as works of Art, but as emblems, as instructors, as lessons, is thus engendered and multiplied in common life beyond all example elsewhere." (p. 362.)

"There are, it appears, numerous Dissenters in Russia as in England; and it is curious to observe how Dissent, here as elsewhere, fastens on trifles and overlooks essentials. "They deem it a mortal sin in the national clergy that they give the benediction with three fingers instead of two." "It was a mortal sin to say the name of Jesus in two syllables instead of three, or to repeat the Hallelujah thrice instead of once." "Their converts from the established church are solemnly rebaptized." These "Rascolniks," the "Separatists," from the Church of Russia, amounting to as many as eight millions in the whole Empire, hold, what we could almost wish was held in England, that "it is a departure from every sound principle of Church and State to smoke tobacco." "It is also, or was till very recently, a mark of heresy to eat the new unheard-of food of the potato; for that accursed 'apple of the earth' is the very apple of the devil, which was the forbidden fruit of Paradise." (p. 474, *et passim*.)

Our Author treats these, and other trumpety grounds of dissent from the established Russian church, with a just contempt; yet we are not quite certain that he would not introduce a still more serious schism into our own church. For he concludes his work by holding up a *Germanized Russian*—one who was "master of all the recent forms of German thought and speculation" (p. 490)*—as an example and pattern for all English divines to follow; and then he raises the question,

"Will Russia exhibit to the world the sight of a Church and people understanding, receiving, fostering, the progress of new ideas, foreign learning, free inquiry, not as the destruction, but as the fulfilment, of religious belief and doctrine? Will the Churches of the West find that, in the greatest National Church now existing in the world, there is still a principle of life at work, at once more steadfast, more liberal, and more peaceful, than has hitherto been produced, either by the uniformity of Rome, or the sects of Protestantism?" (p. 492.)

* In a Note on this page Dr. Stanley tells us respecting another Russian, Mr. Chamiakoff, the poet, "He was fully versed in German theology. His admiration of the character and learning of the late lamented Baron Bunsen was profound. He himself entered freely into the questions raised of late on biblical criticism, yet he never swerved in his faith and practice as an orthodox

Christian." "Are you not afraid of these German speculations?" was the question by an English traveller to another Russian layman equally devout and sincere. "Not for a moment," was the reply. "We have a singular gift of comprehending the ideas of others, and of amalgamating them with our own firm belief. I fear nothing, so long as we are true to ourselves."

These are significant words ; and they are rendered still more significant by his condensing the whole of his hopes, and wishes and expectations, in that last word which dropped from the expiring lips of Peter the Great—"HEREAFTER." With this oracularly ambiguous word our Author closes, only stripping it, under his own manipulation, of all its ambiguity. He would thus insinuate the future possibility of a new development of Christianity, in which, if we understand his true meaning, for the sake of a hollow charity, it is to be emptied of its positive truth. Truly, we may exclaim, "The proper study of mankind is man !"

We remarked, at the outset, that Church History wears a forbidding and repulsive aspect. It is, indeed, a sad and melancholy picture of the perversities and aberrations of the human mind, and of the fantastic tricks it will play before high Heaven under the sacred name of religion. But it behoves us to remember, that the outward visible framework of the Church is not the Church itself, and that those who have obtained the highest places in it, through their ambition or policy, and have perhaps left a name behind them, will probably have no place, or only a very low place, in "the kingdom to come." Better be the lowest workman engaged in the building, than the highest part of the mere scaffolding. In all ages there have been those who would abuse or compromise Christianity to gain the favour of the world, which is now, as it was in our Lord's time, only another name for the professing Church. It is not only the great stirring spirits, the ecclesiastical Agitators of their day, who have made themselves "conspicuous" for the Christian virtues "by their absence," that will probably have to take a lower place in the allotments of Heaven than they occupied in human history ; but also those of whom all men spoke well for what was termed their "mild wisdom" and "judicious management." Taking the New Testament for our guide and criterion in judging the characters we meet with in Church History, our estimate of men, and of their utility to the Church, will differ widely from that formed of them by Historians, who, smitten only with the admiration of adventitious greatness, have been wont to invest specious guilt, when found in high places, in gorgeous colours, while they have rendered the good actions of truly good men, done in obscurity, still more obscure by casting them altogether into the shade. How few, except fishermen, would ever have written the history of Jesus of Nazareth !

It ought to be a consolatory circumstance to those whose lot it is to labour in the low and obscure places of the Church, to remember that the names of all the *Twelve*, though they have not an equal place in History, are equally to be found in the foundations of that city, upon which rests for ever "the glory of

God." The estimate which the most conspicuous members of the Church now form of themselves, and which the world also forms of them, will, we may fear, be strangely reversed in the day of final judgment, when a meaning that was never before thought of will be given to those words of the Omniscient One, "The first shall be last, and the last first." We can imagine nothing more overwhelming than the *frightful surprise* that will then seize many a one, who passed in the Church on earth for a wise, judicious, holy, and highly Christian man, because he adapted all his actions and all his movements to the age in which he lived. When the ambition, the worldly policy, the self-seeking, the cunning craftiness, the moral cowardice, the fear of identification with Christ's true servants when under his reproach, come out as having been the basis of their whole conduct, even in their religion; then what a reversal will take place in their position, and how different will appear the history written in heaven from that recorded on earth. The best use we can make of Church History is to learn from it, that those are not to be envied, generally speaking, who have filled its largest spheres with their recorded doings, and that it is far better to have passed life in obscure and unknown goodness, than to have left a name only "to point a moral and adorn a tale."

DR. SHAW'S TRAVELS IN ENGLAND.

Travels in England: a Ramble with the City and Town Missionaries. By John Shaw, M.D., &c. London: William Johnson, Great Marlborough Street. 1861.

It has probably been the lot of most of our readers to meet in company with some vivacious stranger who entertained them for the first quarter of an hour, but very soon became a bore. Such specimens of humanity are to be met with sometimes even in good society. They amuse you for a while with their high spirits and multifarious talk. They describe well, have seen everything, know everybody, rattle off a peremptory opinion on every subject, and entertain you by their easy impudence. But, after a while, you discover that they are shallow and impertinent, contradictory to their seniors, ill-natured in their sarcasm, not very accurate in their facts; in short, you are obliged to put them down. Dr. Shaw's book reminds us of this class of forward young gentlemen. A book of "Travels in England" is no bad introduction to any company; and, for our part, we think "city and town missionaries" no bad society to be found in. But when Dr. Shaw, or

any other writer, abuses his opportunities, and annoys his friends,—in other words, injures the cause of town and city missions by his ill-nature, ignorance, and prejudice,—he deserves a much graver chastisement than our own good-nature will just now permit us to administer.

He begins the volume with four or five chapters of by no means disagreeable prattle, on a variety of subjects. He tells us "where travels should begin," and, like charity, we are informed they should begin at home. "We are of opinion also," says our author, "that they should end at home;" which, as he explains it, means, that when we have seen the world abroad, there is still a great deal left to be seen at home. But, in the course of these few chapters, the number of difficult subjects smartly handled, discussed in a few sentences, and finally disposed of, with a decisive verdict, severe and peremptory, is something wonderful. For instance: "In a pamphlet which," he says, "I read the other day, it is stated that in 1851 the number of proprietors in England and Wales amounted to 30,315; whereas, in the year 1770, there were in the same counties 250,000." We believe this statement is sufficiently correct. The numbers in 1770 were calculated by Arthur Young, the great agriculturist and traveller, a very good authority; and those of 1851 of course were taken from the Census. The conclusions, moral, social, and political, to be drawn from these facts are amongst the most varied, the most difficult, and at the same time the most important with which the statesman and the political economist have to deal. But Dr. Shaw cuts through all such Gordian knots with an amazing—perhaps we should have written, amusing—facility. England, he discovers, is ruined, or will be shortly: at least, she ought to be; for "wealth is monopolized by the few, which has given the land, as well as the commerce, into their hands." "A small man in trade or commerce now stands no chance against the large capitalist!" "The land is, perhaps, better cultivated, while the small cottager and tenant farmer are driven either into the towns, the colonies, or, as a last and very painful resort, the ill-fed Union, as his only salvation from actual starvation." Our only objection to this statement is, that there is no truth in it. There is no monopoly of money in Great Britain, though there are vast capitalists—millionaires—some of whom make but a sad use of their enormous wealth. On the other hand, there is a vast and scarcely disproportioned increase in the wealth of our middle classes, and in the comforts enjoyed by the lowest. There is no such thing amongst us as a vast despotism and monopoly of wealth, smiling in lordly contempt upon hundreds of thousands of our countrymen of the middle and artisan classes, who scowl defiance in return. The increase of wealth among the latter has been enormous since the days of Arthur Young, greater in proportion than

that of the large capitalists and landlords. The poor people of England, so called, have now forty millions sterling in the savings-banks; a sum which would have bought up, several times over, all the small landowners of 1770, whose disappearance, however, is a very interesting, and, as we have said before, a very important problem, deserving to be explained, and to have its probable effects brought out with more care and reflection than our political economists have yet given to the subject. But Dr. Shaw is troubled with no doubts. He settles the whole question in a sentence; and he returns, towards the conclusion of his volume, to the charge. The land is in the hands of 30,000 proprietors, once there were 250,000, therefore England is on the road to ruin. "The land, as well as the capital in trade, having got into the hands of the few, place the majority, who are as ambitious as themselves to figure in the world, to be well dressed, to travel, to dine well, to be entertained luxuriously, in the very unamiable position of having recourse to the tricks of trade to supply their wants, and to make up the monetary deficiency."

What makes this monopoly of the green sward of Old England (including Scotland) by the *millionaires* still more ominous, is the use to which they intend to devote it. This project is something too formidable for us to describe in our own words; we must give it in those of our author. There seems to be, dimly shadowed out on his mysterious page, a fearful conspiracy; we are not acquainted with the particulars. The son of William the Conqueror, however, wasted a hundred parishes to make the New Forest; and as we all know, he met with his reward. What shall be done unto those wicked capitalists who have actually bought up the whole of England and Scotland, on purpose to defile the land with bricks and mortar! And this, too, when, all the wealth being in their own hands, there shall not a soul be left to tenant anything better than a garret or a cellar; the rest having fled to the colonies, the workhouse, or the great American republic, where "the soil is in the hands of every man, able and willing to fight the woods, and to battle with the briars and thorns." Just now, by the way, we fear this harmless kind of battle is not the only warfare in which the emigrant must take his part. However, we transcribe the alarming page,—the very next to that on which we have been favoured with the dismal calculations we have just presented to our reader. "The rapidity with which they (that is 'modern houses made to sell and scarcely fit to inhabit; fungi, so slightly and jauntily constructed, that a fat drunken man might, in descending the staircase, annihilate the building, and smother himself in the ruins')—

"The rapidity with which they start up, bids fair to turn the soil of Old England into new towns. Shall we have a kingdom of houses

instead of that renowned portion of the earth known to geographers under the name of Great Britain? Is Great Britain to be baptized afresh, and receive a new name under the title of big and universal London? I query very much, if the war continue, whether Edinburgh be not endangered during the fight, and the whole of Scotland menaced by a shower of bricks and mortar, under the command of the builders, architects, and stonemasons. Are the ancient and beautiful green hills of Old England to be poached upon by these architectural invaders? In short, is the soil of England to be entirely covered with houses, as fungi grown in a hotbed; and the beautiful light of heaven extinguished from the soil, and the renowned land of our forefathers, to say farewell for ever to green grass and beautiful wheat crops? The rapid spread of towns into the country, consisting of houses imperfectly and flimsily constructed, houses of course always to sell, but very dangerous to inhabit, (although we have a great aversion to the coinage of new words,) we shall designate, with the approbation of our readers, under the title of architectural upstartism." (p. 18.)

We will not even venture to reply to the questions which thus come crashing and thundering down upon us; we will, however, presume to say, in his own words, we "query very much" whether the audacious project will be carried into execution in our time; and we derive some slight consolation from the prospect of a temporary postponement of the evil day; for some parts of the island are not remarkably well suited to these brick-and-mortar operations. The highest part of Skiddaw, for instance; of which our author in one of the best paragraphs of his book gives us his own recollections:—

"I remember well, about twenty years since, ascending the highest part of Skiddaw, in Cumberland. On starting, an old guide cautioned me not to go alone, reminding me that if a mist were to enshroud it much at the summit, I should be lost. I started without him, all alone, and when I reached the summit, I found myself enveloped in clouds so dark and dense, as to bring on a second night over the scene, as much so as if I had made an ascent in a balloon in a November fog. The worst had happened. I gazed with rapturous delight at the thin and gauzy clouds, as they danced past me in their magical bearing,—felt no fear, although the rich landscape had disappeared beneath me, and the beautiful azure canopy of heaven above had become invisible. I waited patiently, and in a few minutes I was well rewarded for my patience. The clouds that enveloped the top of the mountain, instead of occupying a considerable portion of the atmosphere, forming a series of clouds, were but the fag-end, a little detachment of mist, sufficiently dense to darken everything around, above, and below. A brisk wind sprang up, carried off the mist almost as quickly as the stage curtain is drawn up. In a few moments the sun shone in all his brilliancy. The vast and varied landscape for many miles lay with all its beauties developed, like a monster picture, where sun and shade, and light and heat, renovated all

nature, gilded it with transient and ever-changing hues, as if a sudden act of creation had fallen upon chaos.

“Let there be light! and there was light.”

“Had there been no clouds, dark and lowering, one of the most magnificent views in nature I ever beheld would have failed to paint this glowing picture upon the delicate retina. It was nature's magic. The mist had blinded me. In a few moments the distant Scottish hills marched into the horizon. A great portion of England, the Isle of Man, and perhaps some portion of Ireland, completed the picture. A man suddenly struck blind, and as suddenly recovering his vision, would not have been more surprised and delighted than I felt on witnessing this performance of nature's magic—this sudden and unlooked-for act of natural conjuration.

“Let the traveller wend his way to one of the finest and most romantic parts of Scotland, the Caledonian canal, where ‘cloud-capt towers’ belonging to nature's domain, are ever and anon appearing and disappearing; when the summit of the mountain is enshrouded in mist, dark and gloomy, and as lost to vision as if it had sunk into the bowels of the earth; again it comes into view, gilded and painted, warm and glowing with radiant sunlight—a sort of gigantic chameleon, that has suddenly changed its variegated costume to assume another phase, lovelier and more charming than the one that has called forth your admiration, which has been equivalent almost to an ecstasy. After this can you not join in the following strain, and sing with the poet—

“‘A fairer isle than Britain
Never sun viewed in his wide career!
A lovely spot for all that life can ask;
Its hills are green, its woods and prospects fair.
To crown the whole in one delightful word,
It is our home—our native isle!’” (pp. 39—41.)

In the seventh chapter, Dr. Shaw, having discoursed wisely and unwisely on an infinite variety of subjects and pronounced oracularly on most of them, opens thus:—

“When the London City Mission was formed, there was no Pastoral Aid Society, no Scripture Readers' Association, no Metropolitan Relief Association, with grants in encouragement of voluntary visitation, no Ragged School Union, and no Ragged Schools, no Model Lodging Houses, no Organization for Sanitary Purposes, no Penny Banks, no Open Air Missions, no Diocesan Home Missionary Society, no Special Services for the People, no Bands of Hope, and no National Temperance Society; no Refuges, nor Reformatories for the Young, or even for men, no Mothers' Meetings, no Meetings for United Prayer, in almost every parish:”—

In short, to use the stump orator's climax, *no nothing*.

We cannot conceive of anything more likely to injure the City Mission in the opinion of all sensible men than such extravagance; and it is on this account that we have thought it our duty to notice Dr. Shaw's travels in England, which otherwise we should have laid aside without a remark. There was a

time when reviewing consisted chiefly in a malicious or whimsical display of the faults of authors ; but those days are past, and a book that is merely stupid has nothing to fear from any respectable review. It is left to its fate, which, in these whirling and busy days, is not long delayed. It is elbowed in the crowd, and then forgotten. If Dr. Shaw had not linked his volume, and that on the title-page, with city and town missions, his pertness, his misrepresentations, his self-conceit, would have met with no reproof from us. It does not appear that he is an agent, accredited either by town or city missions. He seems to be a restless man, of a religious turn of mind, and, we hope, sincere in his religion. He advertises himself on his title-page as the author of "A Tramp to the Diggings," "Travels and Recollections of Travel," "A Ramble in the United States," and "A Gallop to the Antipodes." And tramping, travelling, rambling, or galloping through England, he has chosen to associate himself with city and town missionaries, and in return to injure the cause they represent to the utmost of his power, by the offensive manner in which he advocates their claims.

We allude, in the first place, to his contemptuous silence with regard to all those other religious influences which are brought to bear on the lower classes. A stranger reading his book might be left to suppose that no efforts whatever had been made for the religious instruction of the poor, either before the existence of city missions, or indeed up to the present hour. But for an occasional sneer, or at the best a disparaging allusion, a foreigner might suppose that heathenism reigns in all our towns, or worse than heathenism, till the scene brightens and the town missionary comes in. That the condition of too many of the lower orders is deplorable both in town and country, was known well enough before Dr. Shaw came forward with his discoveries and admonitions. We did not want them. They are totally superfluous. He has added nothing whatever to our previous knowledge. There has been no disposition, on the part either of churchmen, dissenters, whigs, tories, or radicals, to conceal or palliate the evils which he seems to think he is doing some mighty work in revealing to an astonished world. They have been obtruded on the public, till the public ear is weary, through various channels. The occasional papers of the Pastoral Aid, and of twenty other societies, of which, if not the parent, it has been at least the precursor, have long echoed with them. Almost every episcopal Charge, almost every visitation sermon, recurs to the painful topic ; and if not everywhere received with the attention it deserves, the least that can be said is, that those who affect ignorance are left without excuse. Yet our author relates his visits to the poor of some of our towns and a few London parishes with the air of one who has been making great discoveries. He has ventured into an

untrodden field; he is a great discoverer; and forthwith he rushes into print, to tell us of his *gorilla* warfare with animals human only in shape and name in those unknown regions where "all life dies, death lives." A readier way of manufacturing a book of anecdotes could not be devised. And yet it appears, from now and then a disparaging allusion, he is well aware, after all, that other labourers have been in the field before him; that there is an established church in England, as well as several bodies of orthodox dissenters. Otherwise, though he professes to give us some account of the state of religion amongst the poor in Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, and St. Giles's, and then conducts us through the chief towns of England, and everywhere recounts the triumphs of town missions; the existence of any other machinery for the spiritual instruction, or even the moral and social improvement, of the poor, is studiously concealed. We should have charitably concluded that Dr. Shaw was merely a man of one idea, and incapable of entertaining more, if it were not for the contempt with which he refers, when he is obliged to refer at all, to other labourers in his Master's vineyard. It is only so we discover that he is aware of their existence.

Thus at Liverpool, we are left to gather his knowledge of the existence of a clergy from these few lines:—"I was informed by a very noble and philanthropic-minded man, filling a most useful and important public station, that he laboured hard to found a Magdalen; in which he was opposed and defeated by one who holds a very high rank as a preacher and theologian, not only in Liverpool, but through the length and breadth of the land." Probably, if the story be true, because there has been such an institution in Liverpool for the last fifty years; of which, if we guess his name aright, the aforesaid great preacher and theologian is a warm friend; and he may reasonably have thought that one Magdalen hospital, well supported, would do the work better than two rival institutions. He goes to Brighton, where, after quarrelling with "Congregational agents," and "Church-of-England Scripture-readers' Societies," "as little more than centralizations of congregational agency," we are left to infer his knowledge of the fact that clergymen are to be found in Brighton from the following scene. He visits a wretched neighbourhood, and asks a miserable woman—"How long is it since you have seen the clergyman of the parish?" "Why, sir, not for the last seven years." He was informed, in another part of Brighton, that the clergyman of the district had appointed a missionary; "but the man finding his work too hard, and too hazardous, for want of either pluck or funds, relinquished his post." He went to "the Dyke," and found the country people, six or seven miles from Brighton, in an ignorant and disgraceful condition, which gives him the oppor-

tunity to ask, "Are the clergymen (of Brighton) doing anything to help the people out of this quagmire of ignorance?" We had marked, but need not transcribe, other passages conceived in the same spirit. We may sum up all in a few sentences from his concluding chapter:—

"The established church at the present time, among some of its leading divines, appears to be not only schismatic to a very high degree, but marching on the highway, at a rapid rate, to a very fearful stage of heterodoxy." (p. 345.)

Again:—

"The church of England as well as dissenters have been asleep in more respects than one: it has been preaching death to every child of Adam, the cold grave as the receptacle of every individual of human kind: it has gloated over the idea of the entirety of humanity being swallowed up by the gaping and voracious monster: it seems to have been as much a favourite subject with some divines of the melancholy kind, this universal death, as it is to the worms and gnats, who deliciously feed upon the dead body in the day of their jubilee." (p. 347.)

And once more:—

"The church has been equally asleep, in not attacking the sins of the age: the adulterator of food, the seducer, the fashionable fraudulent broad-cloth and crinoline delinquent, who sail under false colours before the world, in order that they may dupe the sons of humanity all the more effectually. The church has been so asleep, that she has forgotten to whisper the law and the gospel into the ears of respectable hypocrites, instead of denouncing such in holy anathemas and gospel thunder." (p. 348.)

And if he pronounces judgment with arrogance, he marshals facts with very little reverence for truth; for we hold that the man who, on mere hear-say evidence, repeats a slanderous falsehood, or, which is nearly as bad, conceals the favourable part of a report in order to depreciate those to whom that report refers, is but one remove above the man who utters a wilful falsehood.

Dr. Shaw visits Birmingham, and what he saw and heard there is thus described:—

"On the Sunday I paid a visit to this temporary wooden preaching house, where I met with a fair number of male and female adults, who were receiving instruction from their Sunday-school teachers. Some of them, upwards of thirty years old, were learning to read from the beginning; they were not ashamed to learn their alphabet. I met with some pupils upwards of forty. I was much struck with one woman well attired, with her better bonnet stuck at the back of her head, glistening with ornamental beads, ignorant, but most willing to learn, spelling her words slowly and carefully, like a little child lisping its alphabet. The milliner, in this case, had gone ahead of

the schoolmaster. I do not object to rags giving place to decent apparel, but it is the duty of the schoolmaster not only to catch the milliner and the tailor, but to give them the go-by. Dress without wit, education, and morals, are dangerous trappings, and like an elegant set of harness on a spirited horse, if in the slightest degree entangled, or if it should not fit or suit the wearer, may lead the driver to destruction.

"In the wooden house previously mentioned was a big, brawny, gigantic woman, whose limbs looked like ponderous levers to be used for weal or woe. The day after I had the honour of visiting this Herculean lady in her own house. She was the staunch and unswerving advocate of city missions, and being a working woman, possessed of moral courage quite equal to her physical, she acted the part of pioneer into parts where even the policeman and missionary dare not enter. She was their forlorn hope, and would be the first to mount a ladder and scale the wall when drunken men or women were laying siege to city missionaries, or thwarting them in any way in their benevolent operations. If moral suasion failed, she invariably had recourse to the physical. She had no respect for the sexes when turbulent and uproarious, and woe betide either the sober or drunken man that misbehaved himself in the presence of the missionary. Her feminine hands would twist him round like a top or toy, and let him understand what it was to come under the clutches of a lady who had, through physical capabilities, transformed herself into one of the petticoat lords of the creation. This woman united fine and acute moral sensibilities to her great physical power, so the sequel will show. I had the honour of paying her a visit in her own house, when she recited to me the following. A scripture reader was going his rounds among his own set (*i.e.*, those who come to church only), when she informed him that some poor invalid man or woman was literally starving on a bed of languishing and suffering. The scripture reader refused to visit the unfortunate man, for the reason that he or she was not an attendant at the church. She being aware of this, and not having the means of relieving the person herself, met with a thief, to whom she communicated the circumstance, who most willingly tendered her all that was requisite for the poor starving individual; thus proving that a criminal could have his heart touched with tender sympathy, whilst the disciple of sectarianism stood aloof in proud disdain, because the sufferer did not belong to his congregation.

"This story fully proves the necessity of all those who visit the poor having a wide sympathy extending to all classes without distinction—a sympathy modelled after the fashion of Him who is our great pattern, who sends His rain and His sun upon the just as well as the unjust. The town and city missionaries recommend no particular church, relieve every class of suffering humanity, of every cast, kind, and colour, the foreigner as well as the native; they read the Bible to all, pray with all, and by so doing approach more closely to that great immortal model, our Saviour and our Redeemer." (pp. 179—181.)

The scripture reader here represented as "going his rounds amongst his own set, namely, those who come to church only," is supported by a grant from the Pastoral Aid Society, under

the care of the writer of these lines. That he confines his labours to those who come to church only, is utterly untrue; if it were so, we say it with sorrow, his labours would be light indeed. That he ever refused to visit a sick and starving person "for the reason that he or she was not an attendant at church," is, he assures us, and we have known him too long to doubt his word because it disagrees with that of Dr. Shaw's Herculean lady, no less untrue. In reading his journal, we have fifty times exclaimed, "Truth is strange, stranger than fiction: here you have brought us materials for stories which would surpass in horrors all that Fiction ever wrote." Yet Dr. Shaw is not ashamed to publish this slander to the world on the authority of the Herculean lady and the town missionary who seems to have accompanied him. On the next page we have an account of a Refuge for fallen females, opened by the committee of the Town Mission, in March 1858. We believe it is doing good: but why it should have been opened when there was already a Magdalen institution of forty years' standing in the town, languishing for want of funds, is not quite so clear to us; especially since the latter has been connected from its foundation with the venerable name of Riland, for many years its almost daily visitor, and (assisted by the Rev. Sydney Gedge, now vicar of All Saints, Northampton,) its voluntary chaplain, and has been all along conducted by a committee of gentlemen eminent alike for their evangelical piety and their high position in the town; yet Dr. Shaw did not know, or affects to be ignorant, that such a hospital existed, and "recommends other towns to follow the excellent example afforded by the people of Birmingham," who, it appears from his statement, expended the vast sum of £277, in the year 1859, upon this newer institution! The older "Magdalen" has expended more than ten times that sum, in the last year only, in providing additional accommodation for its patients in a new hospital at Edgbaston.

His account of Birmingham is concluded in this short sentence:—

"Birmingham has no Ragged schools, except on a Sunday. It has no Model lodging-houses; and the sewage of the town is in many parts in a most deplorable condition. The worst and most degraded part of the town is London 'Prentice Street, through which I passed, and paid many visits to the inhabitants." (p. 187.)

When Dr. Shaw paid his visit to the wooden preaching house, he was within three minutes' walk of "the Industrial Schools," in Gem Street. They owe their existence to the exertions of the rector of the parish, the Hon. and Rev. G. M. Yorke, and have now been upwards of twelve years in vigorous operation; and it is more than probable that the children of

some of those wretched creatures, whom he describes as forming the congregation at the wooden preaching house, were, at the time he saw them, receiving food and raiment, and mechanical instruction, as well as religious education, in these very schools. They have been repeatedly pointed out both by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and by the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, as models of their kind, and deserving of the highest praise. They are, in the strictest sense, daily ragged schools, only that the children are fed and lodged, as well as taught. And there is, too, in the town another Ragged day-school, strictly such, supported chiefly by the Friends or Quakers.

If the philanthropic Doctor paid so many visits to London 'Prentice Street, it is a pity he did not find time to visit a low brick building situate therein, which he could scarcely have overlooked, since it is rather a modern structure amidst the grimy abodes covered with the filth and smoke of a hundred chimneys with which it is surrounded. It bears date 1847; and a slab of stone bears an inscription in the English tongue, setting forth that it is the Infant school room of the parish, as also two texts of holy writ, one of which might have excited his curiosity. It is this, "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him," &c. &c. There is a pleasant story connected with its foundation, which might have been transferred with advantage to our author's pages. The street, with its courts and alleys, may contain perhaps two hundred families; but with the exception of a lodging-house or two for tramps and beggars, and four or five poor Protestants, all are Irish Papists of the lowest class; such Irish Papists as would do no discredit to their order, whether found in St. Giles's or in the liberties of Dublin. Now it fell out, in the year aforesaid, that the clergyman of the parish gave a Bible to the child of one of these poor Papists; the priest saw the book, and saw it with horror. He seized it with a pair of tongs, for he would not pollute himself with the touch; had a bonfire made on a vacant plot of ground, and with appropriate maledictions consigned the heretical volume to the flames. The clergyman, the Rev. Joshua Greaves (now vicar of Great Missenden), thought such an event not unworthy of an enduring memorial; and through his exertions an infant school arose upon the spot thus consecrated by a happily bloodless *auto-da-fé*. It was soon discovered that the street was too riotous, and the inhabitants too degraded, for an infant school. The infants were not safe from violence, far less the teachers. The building has been used for many years as a Ragged Sunday, and during the winter months a Ragged evening school; and both of these have been conducted, as indeed they were created, by the devoted labours of the scripture reader whom our author,

instructed by "the Herculean lady" whom he had "the honour of visiting," describes "as only going his rounds among his own set." It has been carried on in the face of insult and outrage, the children have been beaten and the teachers stoned, and that "not once or twice;" and the school, humble as it is, has called into existence a rival Roman Catholic school of the largest dimensions, in the same London Prentice Street. The children, and lads, and young women collected there, have been, many of them of the lowest class, the Arabs of the streets; and strange and harrowing are the tales they tell of home life as it exists in all its horrors amongst thieves, and prostitutes, and drunkards! Nor are there wanting even here instances of self-devotion, of heroism, and occasionally, we trust, of real piety, such as would not, and ought not to obtain belief were they not but too well authenticated.

But we have spent more time upon this subject than our readers will thank us for having devoted to it. The moral of the whole is, that societies as well as individuals should rejoice in the good done by others, and not persuade themselves, that they have an entire monopoly either of zeal or of success; that town missionaries should take the advice they are daily giving to heedless girls, and beware of flatterers; and that all who profess and call themselves Christians should take a little more pains to discover what is good in others; to remember the words of Him who commanded His disciples not to rebuke the man who cast out devils, though he did not "follow with them;" (*anglicè*, did, in his humble way, a little good as opportunity offered, out of love to Christ, though he did not parade his journal in the reports of a society;) and lastly, that Dr. Shaw himself, and such as he, who tell us it is no wonder the church of England should be so inert, since "few of her members believe in the pre-millennial advent," should take care lest the Lord, when he cometh, find them ingloriously occupied in "smiting their fellow servants."

NOTE ON "MADAME GUYON."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In an article under the above heading in the *Christian Observer* of this month, there are some very reasonable and sound remarks, but near the close of it is the following paragraph, to which neither of these characteristics belongs. Speaking on the subject of the late Revivals, the writer says:—"The preacher, anxious to see conversions there and then, does not sufficiently press upon his hearers the fact that

if Christ promises immediate rest, it is to the weary and heavy laden; that *the gift of repentance must be sought* before the gift of pardon can be enjoyed: that the Lord Jesus Christ is exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour that he may give repentance to Israel as well as remission of sins. It is not more caution in the statement of divine truth, but a fuller statement of it, that we want in some popular Revivalists."

Now, sir, I demur to this last sentence, and say, that it is a *clearer* statement of divine truth that is wanted in a large majority of the evangelical preachers and writers of the day. The passage in italics is in point. Where in the New Testament will the writer find a single text to justify such a statement? I know of none. The gospel trumpet calls upon men to repent and believe the gospel, but nowhere to *seek* for repentance and faith—the thing is as *impossible* as it is unscriptural; for how can a man seek anything from God without *returning* to Him and *believing* that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him; and what is this but repentance and conversion? The gospel bids men everywhere thus to repent, and to believe that if they return to Him (as the prodigal to his father) He will return to them, for Jesus has died to reconcile them to God. There are some popular preachers and writers who are for ever sending men to weep and pray that they may be converted. Did Peter or Paul do this? On the day of Pentecost, and at the beautiful gate of the Temple, did Peter tell the Jews to go and be more "broken down" (a common expression) for their sins and pray for conversion and faith? Did Paul do so to the gaoler at Philippi? Did he himself pray before conversion? Simon Magus was told to repent of his wickedness and pray God to be forgiven, but he had been taught the way of access to God and was a professed believer; he was not told to pray for repentance, but to repent and pray with faith.

Jesus is exalted to *give* repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins; repentance is one of those gifts which He has ascended up on high to give even to the rebellious, to give it *freely*, not in return for many tears and groans and prayers—the tears and groans are the evidences and the effects of repentance and prayer in the cry (it may be feeble) of faith in the Lord Jesus, which it is the duty of the minister of God to encourage by the promises of God and by setting forth the sin of unbelief. (1 John v. 9, 10.) Would the preachers and writers I refer to bid a son who has denied his father's truth and love go to his father and say, "Father, convince me that I have done you wrong, give some further proof that you really love me and mean what you say when you offer me forgiveness?" Would any father receive and restore a son on such terms? Would he not say to his son, "Till you feel your sin and confess it, and

trust my affection and my word, don't come near me; don't call upon me to prove myself no unnatural parent, no liar; you only offer me a fresh indignity, in addition to your other offences, while you do so."

Sir, I believe that the paragraph to which I object, is only the counterpart of much erroneous doctrine which has driven and kept sinners *from* Christ, instead of drawing them to the foot of his cross, and that it is the clearer and more scriptural proclamation of the gospel of *salvation at once* by grace, through faith, to every converted sinner, and holiness as the *fruit* and evidence of this salvation by modern Revivalists that has made their addresses so wonderfully powerful, through the blessing of the Spirit, in winning souls to Christ as the way to a throne of grace and a crown of glory: "I, when I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

For the forgiveness of his daily sins the child of God (by faith) may and ought to ask, but not *for* faith to believe that God is willing to grant what He has promised to give, or that he is as good as His word, or a God of truth. The believer may and will confess the weakness of his faith as *his sin*, and say, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief;" but when the disciples prayed, "Lord, increase our faith," what was the answer? "If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say to this sycamore tree," &c. What was this but a rebuke for their want of faith? How often did their loving Master administer to them similar rebukes? Nowhere, so far as I see, is the least countenance given to deferring faith on account of a want of repentance; this would be giving our repentance a part in our salvation.

But it may be asked, if repentance is not to be sought, what is the meaning of such passages as Jeremiah xxxi. 18, and 2 Cor. vii. 10? I think a comparison of the former with Ps. lxxx. 7, must convince any one that both are prayers for the conversion *of the nature* for their restoration to God's favour; and St. Paul was speaking of that conviction of sin which issues in a change of mind, purpose, and conduct, but it was the apostle's *admonition*, which, under God, produced this conviction and repentance, and we hear nowhere of the Corinthians being exhorted to *pray for them*.

FIDUS.

July 15th, 1861.

[NOTE.—We do not think the paragraph to which "Fidus" objects in our review of Madame Guyon is chargeable with the doctrinal error which, if we understand him clearly, he brings against it. We think his own statements obscure, and, on some points, unscriptural. There is, no doubt, a way of stating the doctrine of repentance, so as to make it a condition of pardon; the sinner presenting, as it were, his repentance at

the cross, and bringing away his pardon in exchange. This is one grievous error. Another—and that against which the remarks in our review were directed—is one into which we fear some of our Revivalists have fallen. They overlook the necessity of repentance altogether, and encourage men, living to that hour in shameful and open vices, to expect at once a sense of their adoption into the family of God, and boldly to lay claim to it by virtue of what we fear is but too frequently a merely historical assent. Our review stated, we think, nothing more than the plain scriptural doctrine contained in the text, which tells us that the Lord Jesus Christ is “exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, that He may give repentance to Israel and remission of sins.” We think that our review gives both a fuller and a clearer view of the gospel than “Fidus” gives when he writes: “the gospel bids men everywhere thus to repent, and to believe, that *if they return to him* as the prodigal to the father, he will return to them.” The gospel does more than this. It gives them power to repent and power to believe; “power,” in a word, “to become the sons of God.” “Fidus” is a parochial clergyman: yet he says, “the gospel nowhere calls upon us to seek for repentance and faith; the thing is as impossible as unscriptural.” This seems strange doctrine from one who leads the devotion of his congregation thus: “That it may please Thee to give us true repentance, to forgive us all our sins, negligences, and ignorances, and to endue us with the grace of Thy Holy Spirit to amend our lives, according to Thy holy word. *We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord!*” We publish his remonstrance to shew that our caution was by no means a needless one.—EDITOR.]

HOOPER ON THE REVELATION, &c.

1. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ by John: Expounded by Francis Bodfield Hooper, Rector of Upton Warren, in Worcestershire.* 2 Vols. 8vo. Rivingtons. 1861.
2. *The Prophecies of Daniel, Collated and Expounded. Extracted from the above.* 32 pp. 8vo.

JUDGING by the great number of books and pamphlets on the subject, which issue from the press in an ever-rolling tide, the interpretation of prophecy is the ruling passion of the day. Were we to notice only a tenth of those which come before us, our pages would be little more than a journal of prophetic studies. It is easy to perceive, without very close inspection, that no inconsiderable proportion of these, however well meant, are not of much real value. The writers appear to have been

struck with an apparent coincidence between something,—a date perhaps, or a figure of speech, or a symbolic name, or the mere similarity of a sound,—something, however, in prophecy and the great occurrence of the day: a battle, or an earthquake, or a new administration; this forms the basis of the scheme. Other parts of the great book of prophecy unfulfilled are made to bend to this. It is Joseph's sheaf, and the other sheaves stand round about and make obeisance to this sheaf. Much cannot be expected from writers of this class; yet, if sincere and diligent, they may sometimes stumble upon an important discovery; indeed, there are few of them from whom something may not be learned. When we are searching for treasure hid in a field, the labour is not lost which ploughs up a single furlong, and demonstrates, if nothing more, that in that portion of the estate, at least, the prize is not concealed. In science, the failure of one experiment often leads to the success of another. It is something to know where the truth does not lie, before one sets about the investigation of the further question, namely, where it may probably be found. The field is narrowed for us; and the baffled search of others gives, perhaps, the right direction, and at length a successful issue to our own pursuit.

This consideration alone ought to rescue the study of prophecy, however feebly prosecuted, from the contempt with which it is too frequently assailed. We must confess the class of writers we allude to are often sufficiently provoking. Their confidence is generally in full proportion to their ignorance. And no controversialists are more ready to assume airs of importance, and to indulge in rude personalities. Yet we are not sure that the greater amount of error does not lie upon the other side. Is it quite fair to meet every attempt to fix the date of an unaccomplished prediction with the well-worn sarcasm, that prophecy was not given to make ours a generation of prophets? We will even go further, and ask if it be consistent with the respect which is due, not merely to honest if misdirected zeal and industry, but the word of God itself? Most of the arguments we hear against the study of prophecy are a scarcely disguised repetition of the Romish argument against the indiscriminate reading of the whole, or any other part, of the Sacred Scriptures.

In conducting our periodical, we feel the difficulties on either side. Many of our readers would not be sorry, they give us to understand, if prophetic subjects were excluded from our pages. Others, equally entitled to a respectful hearing, would be well pleased, they tell us, if we paid more attention to the subject. Our own judgment lies between the two: we cannot undertake to exclude all reference to so important a branch of biblical study; we cannot undertake to make it

prominent. If we can now and then find room for a review or essay, it is all that we can promise; and we wish to do this rather in the way of marking down the progress of prophetic research, than of making ourselves the organ of any school or the advocates of any system of interpretation. It is in this spirit that we offer a few remarks upon the laborious work before us.

Mr. Hooper may justly claim attention, from the originality of some of his views, as well as the intense labour and the vast amount of patient learning and investigation he has expended upon this great work. It would speak ill for the church of England and the Evangelical clergy, if such a writer did not meet at their hands with at least a kind and patient hearing, and with the respect which belongs, in an age we are fond of calling superficial, to much deep research. His treatise on the Revelation is an elaborate exposition, extending to 1116 large octavo pages. We shall render some service to our readers if we can exhibit in a few pages a sort of bird's-eye view of the author's scheme of arrangement and interpretation; and we shall attempt no more. It would be unbecoming in us to affect to sit in judgment on the work, unless we could give at large the reasons for our decisions, and this, within any space that we can devote to the subject, is quite impossible. We will endeavour to single out a few leading points; such as may enable the reader to form his own judgment.

"This book," he says, p. 3, "I take to extend from chap. vi. 1, to chap. xx. 10, and to contain a symbolical history of the first or Jewish dispensation. The first six will depict the history of the ages between the creation and the destruction of Jerusalem; the seventh seal marks off the sabbatical, millennial, or celestial age. Under the sixth seal, the first or Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem is symbolized. The seven trumpets mark out a transition period, apocalyptically included in the seventh seal, but chronologically lying between the sixth and seventh seals, as is shown by the non-occurrence of what is manifestly the period of the seventh seal (namely, the 1000 years of chap. xx. 4) till the end of the seventh trumpet. This period commences at B.C. 70. The seventh trumpet contains the history of the conflict between Christianity, Judaism, and Roman heathenism, from A.D. 1 to 70."

The point of departure in this scheme is not altogether a novel one. The following, among other writers, have thought that the seven-sealed book began from a date prior to the time of St. John: viz., Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Hippolytus, Victorinus, Hilary, Primasius, Bede, Anabert, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Aquinas; in short, "there is," Dr. Alford says, "an apparent *consensus* of the early expositors" on the point. Yet very few, perhaps only Berengaud and Bibliander, have explicitly placed the commencement at the creation. On the

other hand, there are nearly as few modern expositors whose schemes do not commence from or after the date at which they suppose the Apocalypse to have been written. How has this difference in the views of ancient and modern interpreters arisen? It is to be found in the passage in chap. iv. 2: "I will show thee things which must be hereafter." The author contends that the rendering, "*after these things*, is to be preferred to *hereafter*, as well because the former is the more literal rendering, as because it brings to view the relation to the state of things described in the seven epistles, which is lost in the indefinite term *hereafter*." He contends that the former and more literal rendering leads to the conclusion that the things spoken of here are not all those that subsequently symbolized, but those only which were of primary and immediate interest to the churches, for whom the revelation was specially given—the things which, we are told in the descriptive title of the book (i. 1.), it was the special object of the revelation to show—"the things which must shortly come to pass." And he thinks, at the same time (p. 5), that he finds, in the instruction given by the high priest at the opening of the vision (i. 19) an indication of the period to which it was designed that the revelation should primarily relate. The phrase in it, ἀ μέλλει γίνεσθαι (not ἀ δεῖ γένεσθαι, as in iv. 1.), *about to happen*, is never applied to a series of events extending over many ages. It can properly be taken to refer only to the immediate future. So that when the high priest says, "Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which are about to happen after these," the instruction must be taken to have reference to the events current in the apostle's generation; at the same time that this does not preclude the insertion on the one side (by way of introduction) of a narrative tracing the course of events leading to the state of things contemplated: nor, on the other, (by way of conclusion,) of a predictive intimation of the state in which they would ultimately issue.

The grounds on which Mr. Hooper bases his exposition, and the claims he makes to a higher verification of it than is possessed by any other scheme, are such as these:—that it was the custom of the apostles' age to exhibit the Jewish history from the creation in a symbolical form: that it was at that time believed that the existing dispensation would consist of seven ages, of which the first six would extend to 6000 years, and the seventh would be a millennium of sabbatical rest; and that the cardinal epochs of the Jewish history were now six, namely, the Creation, the Deluge, the Fall, the Exode, the building of the Temple, and the first destruction of Jerusalem. When these considerations are taken into account, and it is seen that the roll is divided into seven portions, of which the seventh is a Sabbatic millennium, he concludes that there is a strong *a priori*

presumption, that the seven ages of the Jewish dispensation have been had in view. At any rate, he claims for his Exposition that it is distinguished from all others by the following important differences : While other expositors, on the one hand, cut up the book, and arrange its parts at their pleasure, and, on the other, select such a portion of history as suits their preconceived opinions, and divide it into periods of any length that they can adapt to their own arrangement of the book, he does neither ; but, taking the ages as they are independently presented to him, he interprets the book with a strict adherence to consecutive chronological order.

"Proceeding, then," he says, p. 209, "on the warrantable hypothesis, that the seven-seal book mainly relates to the period between the creation and the near future of the apostle, I have shown the compatibility of the first six of its principal divisions, with the periods into which the sacred history between the creation and the second destruction of Jerusalem is divided. I have also demonstrated, *à priori*, and independently of any scheme of interpretation, some of the principal epochs. Hence, the proof of my exposition is substantially complete at the point of commencement of that of those which depend wholly on the coincidences, or fancied coincidences, with the symbolizations, which history, by a process of torture (expanding here and contracting there, colouring this resemblance, and extenuating that incongruity), can be made to yield. I allege, in support of my scheme, two series of verifications, the one independent of questions of interpretation, the other arising out of the agreement of the facts of history with the symbolizations. And, while prepared to challenge comparison, in respect of coincidence in details, with any of those schemes whose sole dependence is on such coincidences (little trustworthy as they are, generally speaking, in reference to abstract symbolizations, as the history of apocalyptic interpretation abundantly shows), I rely not principally on these ; but look to them only as *corroborative* attestations of a proof already in the main complete. It is on this ground, that is to say, in the confidence that I have a different source of proof, as well as a greater cogency of argument, to rely upon than is ordinarily possessed ; and also under the persuasion that I have prepared the way, by excluding other systems, in having shown their incompatibility, *as systems*, with the structure of the book, that I have been emboldened to lay the present scheme before the public."

The following are a few of the points of interpretation which appear to claim special notice. Referring to his exposition of the seals, the author says (p. 342) :—

"It may safely be affirmed, that, if not all, yet at any rate, most of the coincidences are striking, and not to be paralleled in any other exposition. In particular, I may instance the reference of the symbolization in the second seal of the destruction of life and the introduction of war, to the Deluge and the *first* recorded war :—of the symbolization in the third seal of bondage and famine, to the bondage in Egypt and the unparalleled famine which drove the Israelites thither :—

of the symbolization in the fifth seal of martyrs for God's truth, to the Israelites of old who *first* suffered for the truth's sake; of the symbolization in the sixth seal of a universal political catastrophe, to the destruction of the whole Jewish nation and polity by the Babylonians: and perhaps I may also specially mention (by reason of the parallelism that is made) the intimation we have found in the prelude to the seventh seal of a corresponding persecution and catastrophe in that seal, which can be none other than those under the Roman kingdom,—I mean the persecution of Jews and Christians by Nero, and the second destruction of Jerusalem."

The half-hour's silence of ch. viii. 1, may be accounted a *cruz commentatorum*. The author's view in reference to it is in few words, as follows:—"In the sixth seal the history was brought down by implication to the end of the period of domination of the four great monarchies,—the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian." Under the seventh "a silence of half an hour" is first spoken of. This "half-hour" can only have reference to the twenty-four hours of the vision. Now, if (as the author claims to have shown in his *Guide to the Apocalypse*) the six ages of the Old Dispensation, which comprise 6000 years, occupied twelve hours of the vision in their symbolization, 250 years, chronologically, would be equal to half an hour visionally. And this was "about" the period which intervened between the disruption of the Grecian empire and the Roman conquest of Judea (B.C. 320—70 = 250). This, then, is the period which is symbolized as being passed over *sub silentio*. If it be asked, why it is thus passed over, two reasons may be assigned: 1st. During this period "the kingdom of the world" was in abeyance. The Greek empire had been severed in two, for "the iron and clay would not cleave to one another;" and Rome, "the unhewn stone," was fast rising into supremacy. Thus there was no longer one universal monarchy; but three powers contended for the kingdom. 2nd. This period had been so elaborately symbolized by Daniel, that to have dwelt on it would have been only to copy his prophecies.

Mr. Hooper finds in "the hour, day, month, and year," of ch. ix. 15, a period of $391\frac{1}{4}$ years, as a type and measure of a period following it of 391 days; and this he does on the ground of various precedents adduced from the Old Testament, and in particular of Ezek. iv. 1—8. Now, the "silence" or period of the divided state of Daniel's fourth kingdom,—the first six trumpets or period of indirect dominancy of Rome over God's people, and the seventh trumpet or period of direct dominancy of that power, and of the incipient stage of the Christian church, in round numbers measure that period. They extend respectively, (1) from B.C. 320 to 70, (2) from B.C. 70—0, (3) from A.D. 0—70 = 390 years. The four angels of this trumpet Mr. Hooper considers to be those of the winds (representing

the four kingdoms just mentioned), which, in ch. vii. 8, were restrained from loosing. But "the Euphrates," the river of Babylon, or (literally) of Rome, shows, that the valley of the Tiber is now the theatre of the loosing; and consequently we must conclude, that the might and dominion of the four prophetic kingdoms are here represented as having been concentrated in the one power of Rome. This power, having been ordained and in course of preparation since the era of the divided state of the Grecian kingdom, was now to have a loosing anew in the bestial character of a heathen despotism tyrannizing over God's people. This took place in B.C. 80, when Augustus re-inaugurated the empire. The great conflict which led to this result is then symbolized. The era of the sixth trumpet having thus been fixed at B.C. 80, that of the seventh begins at the era of the Nativity. The author thinks that the rainbow-encircled angel with the opened roll (x.) so manifestly symbolizes the introduction of "the new covenant" and the abolition of "the old,"—the two witnesses (xi.), the two dispensations, as personified in John Baptist and Jesus,—the seventh trumpet symbolization the advent of Christ,—and the woman and child (xii.), the Jewish church becoming the mother of the Christian, as, by their apposite location on his scheme in their due chronological order, strongly to verify that scheme.

The details of the seventh trumpet Mr. Hooper comprises under seven "Heptads," through which we cannot attempt to follow him; we merely single out a few striking points.

The heptad of the Woman and Dragon represents the Jewish church giving birth to the Christian in the person of its founder, and both as being assailed by Satan through the military power of Rome. The history commences from the birth of Christ, with an allusion to the massacres perpetrated by Herod, the flight of Mary into Egypt for three and a half years, and the providential preservation of the holy child Jesus. It then symbolizes the conflict between the powers of light and darkness at the epoch of our Lord's ministry, and the liberty accorded to Satan to operate by possessing the bodies of men and using the sword of persecution. Satan is next represented as instigating Caligula to order that his image should be set up in the temple of God; and thus he occasions a persecution of the Jewish church. Cruel and rapacious governors also are sent into Judea, one after another, with the view to drive the people to rebellion; but the forbearance of the nation for a time frustrates the old Serpent's machinations, and in consequence he directs his efforts more immediately against the Christians, whom he excites Nero to persecute.

The heptad of the Beasts from the Sea (heathendom) and the Earth (Judea) sketches the history of the twelve Cæsars of the

Julian and Flavian dynasties. The beast combines in itself all the evil qualities of Daniel's four. The leopard-like aspect of the beast denotes Julius, who, as the founder of the dynasty, is made its representative, and who answers to the first horn; the bear's feet represent Augustus, the second horn; the lion's mouth, Tiberius, the third horn; the wounded head, in which the beast was slain, denotes Caligula, by whose assassination it was believed, for a time, that the empire was subverted, and the republic restored. The head, in which the beast revived, and which corresponds to the fifth horn, is Claudius; the head, with a mouth speaking great blasphemies, and which answers to the sixth horn, is Nero. By him the Christians were persecuted "forty-two months," and he made war upon the Jewish "saints." The emperors represented by the three next horns, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, are not brought explicitly into the symbolization, because they might be accounted "rebels" rather than emperors. And the horn for Vespasian is transferred from the next beast, to which it properly belongs, in order to show the mystical number *ten* on this one, and because Vespasian comes chiefly into account in respect of his conduct as Nero's lieutenant. The second beast comes up from the earth, to represent Vespasian going up from Judea to seize the empire; it has two undeveloped horns like a lamb's, for Titus and Domitian were only emperors in embryo at the epoch to which the symbols relate, and are brought in to show the number of "the twelve Cæsars" complete. The history of this beast very plainly depicts the conduct of Vespasian, while "exercising Nero's power in his presence," with the view to make the Jews bow down before him and worship his image.

In the heptad of the Angels of Judgments, *the first* symbolizes the apostles' preaching of the gospel touching the coming kingdom, which preaching "had now come into all the world." *The second* announces the fall of Rome's empire. *The third* sets forth the punishment which would fall upon those who should yield such homage to an earthly sovereign as would be treason to the King of kings. *An interlude* interposed here, and which serves to mark the author's time present, affirms the immediate bliss of martyrs of Jesus. *The fourth and fifth angels* symbolize the ingathering of the righteous dead who had been confessors under the Roman persecution. Under *the sixth and seventh* is depicted the ruin and uprooting of the now cast-off Jewish church and nation.

The heptad of the Vials has reference to the last plagues on the Roman world, inclusive of Judea. *The first angel* inflicts a plague on the adherents of the Roman emperor in Judea, A.D. 66. *The second* on the Roman territory-proper, A.D. 67. *The third* on the Roman world in general. *The fourth* on the senate, the courtiers, and those in immediate connection with

Nero. *The fifth*, on the dynasty of the Cæsars by the extinction of the Julian family, and on the empire in general by the civil wars which ensued. *The sixth*, on Rome-proper by the exhaustion of its resources in the conflicts of "the three unclean spirits," Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, by which the way to the throne was opened for "the kings from the East,"—Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. *An interlude* here again marks the time present. Under *the seventh angel* is symbolized the ultimate ruin of all Rome's empire. First, the overthrow of the metropolis of Judea, as the representative of the Jewish nation, comes into view; then, those of the heathen dependencies of Rome; next, that of Rome herself, as the representative of the Roman state-proper; and lastly, every vestige of Rome's empire. Finally, the calamities brought upon Rome's subjects by these events are forcibly depicted. All this is placed without limitation in the future.

THE HEPTAD OF THE WOMAN AND THE BEAST, xvii., forms the introduction to "the judgment, &c.," contained in ch. xviii. The woman represents Rome in her republican aspect. This beast is generically identical with that in ch. xiii. Rome, as a state and commonwealth, is charged with abetting the Cæsars in seducing the rulers and dwellers in the Holy Land into compliances traitorous to Jehovah. She is symbolized as being "wholly given to idolatry" and its abominations, and as glorying in her shame. She has filled herself to repletion with the blood of Jewish and Christian saints. On contemplating her, the seer is filled with astonishment that she, who had heretofore been so indifferent to all forms of faith, should now have been induced to join in persecuting those who were distinguished for the excellence of their principles and the purity of their lives. But the revealing angel tells him, that there is no such great cause for wonder, as he will see when he is more fully instructed in "the Mystery of the Woman and the Beast," or the alliance of idolatry and despotism. "The dynasty of the Cæsars had existed in the Julian family, but at the present time it was in abeyance, though it would be restored again in the Flavian family, and in it would become extinct. The seven heads of the beast represent the seven hills, on which the metropolis of Rome and seat of her power is located. They also represent seven rulers. Of these the first five (namely, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero) have passed away; the sixth (Vespasian) is on the scene in respect of his being a competitor for the throne, though he cannot at present be considered to be actually an emperor, inasmuch as the contest is not decided; the seventh (Titus) is *in futuro*, and his reign will be but a short one. The 'heptad' will be completed in an eighth emperor, (Domitian,) who will spring from the seven, and in whom the dynasty will come to an end."

At the outset of ch. xx. the dragon is bound for 1000 years.

The construction, Mr. Hooper maintains, is, that this binding is correlative to the loosing in ch. xii. 9. If so, as Satan was then loosed in respect of receiving liberty to possess the bodies of men and to persecute the servants of God, he must now be bound in respect of having that liberty withdrawn. And accordingly we find that for 1000 years after the fall of Rome, the nations were not seduced into attacking Christians with the sword. Next, as to the heavenly regions. The martyrs for Jesus under Rome are symbolized as being enthroned, and having conferred on them the privilege of pronouncing the sentence on their brethren, who had confessed Christ before men. All these confessors are admitted to the celestial life, and to the enjoyment of a state of bliss and glory, 1000 years before the rest of the righteous dead of the old dispensation are admitted to it. As a necessary consequence, all fear of their portion being ultimately in the lake of fire, is taken away; and they will reign in sacerdotal and regal dignity with Christ during the 1000 years.

Having now arrived at the end of the seven-seal roll, the standing scene of chs. iv.—v. is brought into view again. The full and final termination of the older dispensation is first symbolized. "The rest of the righteous dead" of the Jewish series of ages appear before the heavenly throne of the God-man, "the Judge of all:" and, after their justification through Him, and their title to life, have been made manifest, they are admitted to the same life, and reign as their brethren of the first resurrection. Then the unrighteous dead are raised; and after a like manifestation of their works, they are consigned to the place of torment, where the devil and his angels are.

The concluding scene, which serves as a supplement to the two mysteries, is that of the New Jerusalem. It has a prelude prefixed to it (xxi. 1—9), in which the state of things consequent on the Reformation is symbolized. The new heaven and earth denote the reconstitution of the church; and the non-existence of a sea, the absence of any heathen power competent to make war on Christendom. The commencement of the renovation of the church, the special presence of God in the midst of her, and the removal of disquieting doubts and fears in reference to a future state, are depicted. The proclamation of the doctrine of free grace, and of the adoption of Him who should overcome the world, is made on the authority of the Alpha and Omega. On the other hand, eternal torments are declared to be the portion of those who shall be guilty of such crimes as had been rife in the church under the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. After this prelude, the church is symbolized, in the heptad itself, in that state of purification to which it will ultimately attain. But it is to be observed, that at the epoch at which the symbolization commences, and which may be at a

period indefinitely remote from the times of the reformation, the New Jerusalem is still seen to be only emerging from the heaven on its descent towards the earth, that is, the church will be only then entering on the course which is to result in the state of purification symbolized. She will then shine as a luminary reflecting all the glory of God. She will be protected by godly discipline as by a strong wall. Admission into her will be given only to those who keep all God's law; for she will be carefully guarded by faithful and true "watchmen" on every side. All her doctrines will be built on the foundations laid by the apostles. She will be admirably symmetrical and complete in every part, of incredibly large dimensions, and absolutely impregnable to all assaults. All figures of speech would fail to depict her beauty, splendour, and excellence, or the grandeur and solidity of her foundations. In a word, she will form one vast temple to the Lord. She will be a light to lighten the unconverted; and all the powers and peoples of the earth will honour her. The truly converted will at all times be welcomed into her; but none that would cause defilement will obtain admission. The waters of life will flow from her, and the bread of life will ever be found in her. None accursed of God will find in her a dwelling place; for her inhabitants will be those only who are fitted to dwell in the light of His countenance, and to reign with Him for ever and ever.

The originality of the author's scheme has induced us to give a very imperfect outline of his interpretation, but still at a length to which we seldom go in noticing such works. We must conclude abruptly. Indeed we have no intention, as we said before, to sit in judgment upon this work. We think we have done our part in directing the reader's attention to it; as the result of much learning and piety, great research, and probably a life-long labour. Mr. Hooper differs much, and often fundamentally differs, from Mr. Elliott and his friends; with whom, in the great outline of their scheme, we feel more disposed to agree. But events, some of which seem to be very nigh, even at the door, can only determine infallibly who is right. One reflection forces itself upon us: namely, that commentators, differ as they may in the roads they take, all seem compelled to meet at last on common ground. *Babylon is Rome, and the doom of Babylon is near at hand.* Even while we are writing this last page, a new work, small in size but of considerable worth, has been laid before us; which, taking different ground both from Elliott and Hooper on several points, though in the main adopting the views of Mr. Elliott, throws fresh light—fresh to us at least—on some of the most difficult portions of this most mysterious book. We are speaking of *The Revelation; with a short, plain, continuous exposition*, by S. Smith, Vicar of Lois Weedon.* And one text to

* Ridgway. 1861.

which we would refer, is that in which the merchants of the earth, its traders and travellers, take up the cry and lament the sudden overthrow of Babylon the great city, by whose means so many sea-going men and shipmasters were made rich. Now, as Mr. Smith reminds us, it is an old and sound canon of biblical criticism that the Bible should be made in every instance, if possible, to interpret itself: and this canon is especially valuable in the Revelation, which is altogether peculiar in the subjects of which it treats, and is figurative and symbolical, with very few exceptions, throughout.

"The pain," he says, "of this prophetic description has arisen from this, that though Rome is clearly designated, it is utterly inapplicable to her circumstances. For, at no period of her history could inland Rome have possibly had any traffic, as a commercial and mercantile city, at all. But, let the analogy of the book be consulted in its elucidation, and, if it be not presumptuous to encourage a hope with reference to others, as strong as the reality is with the writer, all will be clear.

"One thing is evident, that the description is derived from the fall of Tyre in Ezekiel. Tyre, the proud and luxurious emporium of commerce, had wantonly insulted God's people in their distress; and God, through his prophet, announced its entire overthrow and destruction; and the threat was carried out to the letter. But, let the difference be marked. The prophecy against Tyre, by name, was literal, and was literally fulfilled. The prophecy against Rome, by another name and not its own, was not literal; and will not be literally fulfilled. Papal Rome is denounced in the Revelation as the spiritual Babylon, the harlot, committing fornication with the kings of the earth. According, then, to the rules of analogy, the merchants of Babylon, by land and by sea, cannot be literal merchants, but are to be interpreted spiritually, like Babylon itself and its idolatrous kings. How they are to be so interpreted, it is not more difficult to conceive, up to the point of a general application and without pressing hard upon details, than is the bold figure of the holy city, its walls and streets and costly decorations, as the bride of Christ.

"There is such an iniquity as the making merchandise of religion. And it was precisely because of this unholy merchandise, because of the pride and arrogance of her merchants, who were the great ones of the earth; because her deceptions were infinite, and she dealt in the blood of the righteous, that the avenging angel symbolized the utter overthrow of the doomed city and her traffic."

This explanation seems unforced and natural; and it removes a difficulty which has perplexed most of our expositors, as well, we venture to add, as most of our readers.

Truly it is a wonderful book—the Revelation of St. John the divine! Sciolists, pert men, and shallow scholars, sharpen their tongues against it, and show their little wit by their small battery of harmless but incessant ridicule; harmless to the book itself, but, as it may one day appear, of fearful moment to themselves. Wise men and thoughtful dig in it

as for hid treasures. Historians feel themselves drawn by an irresistible power to confess its mysterious influence; and politicians, in spite of themselves, are awed or guided by its tremendous maledictions. Above all, the humble Christian, from what is obscure in it, scarcely less than from what is clearly revealed, is confirmed in his assurance that, verily there is a God that judgeth the earth, a reward for the righteous, and a fulness of joy, of which the city whose streets are of pure gold, and through which flow the waters of the river of life, is the glorious type and emblem. There he shall abide for ever; while the Lamb shall lead him, and he shall drink at the head of the fountain of the water of life freely, and "see face to face," and "know even as also he is known."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Cruden's Concordance. New Edition. Longman and Co.; Rivingtons, and all Booksellers. London. 1860.—There are few religious families, even in humble life, which do not possess a Cruden's Concordance. It is a special favourite with the more intelligent readers of the Bible, and with those who like to think over the texts which they may have heard in the Sunday's discourse. Without any wish to undervalue this text-hunting use of Cruden, we think we can show that it may be rendered subservient to a still more important and comprehensive purpose; viz., that of establishing the doctrinal unity of the Old and New Testament, by demonstrating that the Bible contains only one scheme of salvation.

It should be remembered, that Cruden drew up his Concordance strictly on an alphabetical plan, and that therefore he could have no such doctrinal harmony in his designs. If, then, we can show, that without any preconceived system this verbal Concordance may be used as a doctrinal harmony of thought and language between the Old and New Testament, we shall go far to establish the divine unity of the word of God, and to demonstrate the reality of verbal inspiration.

Let us take the first letter of the alphabet. In Exodus iii. 6, 15, 16, iv. 5, God is termed, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Turn to Matt. xxii. 32, Mark xii. 26, Luke xx. 37, Acts iii. 15, vii. 28, and you will find exactly the same expression, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

In Exod. iii. 14, we find this remarkable expression, "I AM THAT I AM;" "I AM hath sent me unto you." In John viii. 58, we have the same grammatical peculiarity, "Before Abraham was, I am." Isaiah xli. 4, "I am the Lord, the first and the last." In Apoc. i. 17, "I am the First and the Last."

In Joel ii. 26, we read "My people shall never be ashamed." In Romans ix. 23, x. 11, "Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed."

In Gen. xii. 2, xxii. 17, xxviii. 4, we have the expression, "The blessing of Abraham;" xii. 3, "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." In Gal. iii. 14, "That the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles."

In Jer. xv. 16, Ps. cvi. 31, it is asserted, "Abraham believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness." We have the very same assertion, in the same words, Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6.

In Ps. xxxii. 2, we read, "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin." In Rom. iv. 7, 8, we have the very same words, as a citation from David.

In Ps. cxliii. 2, it is asserted, "In thy sight shall no man living be justified." Rom. iv. 20, "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight."

Ps. xvi. 10, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell (Hades); neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." These words are cited, Acts ii. 27, xiii. 34, 37, and applied to Christ, "Neither did his flesh see corruption;" "He whom God raised up saw no corruption."

It would be easy to multiply similar illustrations to almost any amount, but we wish merely to show the way by which Cruden may resemble Paley's "*Horæ Paulinæ*," with this signal advantage, that every man, however unlearned, may work out the problem for himself. Nor let any man be discouraged merely because he reads an English version: Was it not a Greek version which Jesus and the Apostles constantly read and cited? Neither the thoughts nor the style of the Bible can be essentially affected by any variety of versions. It is all very well for critics to indulge in critical niceties, but the language of the Holy Spirit is *stereotyped* for all practical and edifying purposes. As the worst manuscript contains all the essential facts and doctrines of the Bible, so the worst translation will convey its saving truths to the hearts of all sincere inquirers.

The test, the criterion here proposed, of trying the harmony of the Bible by the verbal Concordance of Cruden, is such as can be applied to no human composition. Take down the writings of any heathen philosopher and see whether any such concordance could be made by the most copious index. Their opinions are often at variance with themselves, and always with each other. How uncertain is their meaning, how frivolous their distinctions, how contradictory their conclusions. Then think how transient is their authority, and how mutable their estimation. Contrast with this "the word of God which endureth for ever;" that word which is "sharper than any two-edged sword;" that word which "gives wisdom to the simple," and which humbles and instructs the wise; that word which is at this moment travelling over the east, the west, the north, and the south, whose sound has gone forth unto all lands, and whose words are echoed even to the ends of the world.

E. W. G.

Mr. Oxenden continues his very useful labours. We notice with pleasure a *Volume of Sermons on the Christian Life*. *Hatchard and Co.*—A model for village curates in the pulpit or the cottage; and equally deserving of commendation to those who sit and read by the bedsides of the intelligent sick or poor.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE session of parliament is drawing to a close, and we have no reason to complain of its inactivity. Many important debates have taken place, several important measures have been passed. None will deny the diligence of our legislature, for the last few weeks at least; and on the whole, we have no reason to be dissatisfied with their work.

The discussions in both Houses, though they may lead to no immediate results in the shape of legislative acts, nor, indeed, were meant to do so, are not unfrequently amongst their most important proceedings. Thus, in the House of Commons, the report of the Royal Commission on Education has been well sifted; and all parties seem to acquiesce in these two conclusions, that the present system, as a whole, must be retained as the only one that is even possible in England; and that, in its mode of instruction, it has been too ambitious, and consequently, in its effects, both partial and superficial. Night schools and ragged schools begin to be spoken of with a degree of respect, which contrasts, with a violence which we might almost term amusing, with the contempt with which government inspectors and the privy council at Whitehall spoke of them five or six years ago. Yet, on the whole, we agree with lord Shaftesbury, that they are better without government aid than with it, for at least one good reason which his lordship mentioned. That not unfrequently "the very best teachers, fitted beyond all expression for the duties assigned them, would not stand an examination before the Privy Council inspectors." The teachers wanted, whether male or female, and the only teachers, we will say, worth having, are, under divine guidance, self made; and lord Shaftesbury has described them well. "They are characterized by earnestness, truth, piety, and a thorough knowledge and love of their children, presenting in themselves the most extraordinary combination of the teacher and the missionary." We would add one remark in passing. There is a great prejudice against the title, Ragged School, as if, it said, rags and filth were a recommendation. And so they are—to these institutions. It is their special vocation to be the *chiffonniers* of public instruction; to be always groping and raking in the mud which lies at the bottom of that awful current of humanity which rushes deep and turbid through the lowest quarters of our great towns. It is theirs to bring up from its lowest depths the pearls, some of which will not fade or lose their lustre, either in this world or in that which is to come. This done, the diver must go down again and again, and leave the polishing of his pearls to other workmen. A ragged school ought never to cease to deserve its name. It should always be filled with ragged children. When these have learned cleanliness and order, they should make way for others, or be removed to a higher and totally distinct department. A ragged school should be the first step in the upward progress of those outcasts for whom no decent school for the children of the respectable working man will open its doors, or ought to do so.

In the House of Lords several debates have occurred on matters especially interesting, not only to the clergy, but to all earnest members of the church of England. Lord Lyttelton proposed an increase

of the episcopate at home; but even his high character, and the respect in which he is so justly held, failed to secure for him more than a respectful hearing in a thin house. Lord Ebury fared no better with a proposal for altering the terms of subscription to the Prayer Book. Last year, it will be remembered, his lordship, in a long and elaborate speech, introduced the question of Prayer Book Revision. It is evident that these subjects are taking hold upon the public mind. If the first should ever be carried, it will only be with the loss of the secular dignity which is now, and has been for ages, associated with our English episcopacy. And we would here repeat a caution we ventured to give to the advocates of lord Lyttelton's measure some time ago,—to consider well the consequences of what still appears to us so needless, and at the same time so hazardous, a measure.*

The other questions are not allowed to sleep. The formidable number of pamphlets which crowd our table, for and against liturgical reform, sufficiently attest the interest taken in it both by the laity and clergy. Ireland has now taken up the subject, and formed her own "Liturgical Amendment Society." To this course she has probably been driven by the unwise proceedings of our English Convocation, of which we have said enough already. The last pamphlet we have opened argues for revision "with an especial reference to the clergy, and the *Essays and Reviews*." Evidently there is a great disturbance, a ferment in many minds, and it is foolish to conceal it. Many of our bishops and archdeacons, in their Charges, have introduced the question. They view it, of course, in different lights. Indeed, it seems, just now, to be cast loose on the world, ignorant of its own parentage, and equally willing to accept a fostering hand from High or Low churchmen, from a Tractarian, or an admirer of the *Essays and Reviews*. This is an ominous state of things, and one on which our Evangelical churchmen should, if possible, come to a full understanding with each other, and be prepared to act in concert.

After nearly fifty years of public service, Lord John Russell receives a peerage, which his political opponents no less than his personal friends allow to be well deserved. He took leave of the House of Commons in an eloquent speech on our foreign policy, from which we are left to infer that our relations with France have been for some time past, as indeed we all supposed, of a frail and delicate nature. His silence, rather than any explicit statements, in answer to questions put to him by Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Kinglake, and others, have left a painful conviction that France has been trafficking for the accession of Sardinia as the price of Italian independence, and the withdrawal of her troops from Rome. England, it is now clearly understood, will never consent to so unprincipled a transfer of sovereignty, and one so injurious to her own interests. If persisted in, it would have caused an open rupture. Were an apology wanted for the attitude which England has assumed, for our enormous expenditure in forts and fleets and rifle corps, it is supplied at once by such disclosures. For the present the clouds have passed over us, and we begin to breathe more freely. An European war may still be averted, and the bold front we have been able to assume will, if so, have been, under God, the chief cause of the world's prolonged tranquillity.

From India we learn that abundant rains have fallen, and that the

* See *Christian Observer*, April, 1860.

funds raised at home for the relief of the sufferers from the famine have been sufficient. It will be a bright feature in the history of the year. It reflects great honour on the national character. We have had an opportunity of returning good for evil. The Indian mutiny and its atrocities have been avenged in the Indian famine, and now England has been permitted to exhibit to millions of idolaters what it is to be a bible-reading nation, taught to return good for evil. The lesson, we are assured by our missionaries, is making a deep impression.

American affairs show no improvement except in one point; the feeling of the Northern States towards Great Britain has become more reasonable. It is perceived that we really intended what we all along avowed; namely, to maintain a perfect neutrality. For though it may seem strange to us that such a construction should have been placed upon our conduct, it is not the less true that the conviction was almost universal in the Northern States that England, directly or indirectly, would give her influence to the Confederates, the slave-holding and cotton-growing States. Public feeling in England has, from the first, undergone no change whatever in this respect. A public meeting was held last week in London to present a testimonial to Dr. Cheever, of New York, who was present. He maintained that "the duty of the Northern States was to forbid slavery in the district of Columbia, repeal the Fugitive Slave law, and forbid the traffic of slaves from State to State." So far we agree with him. "If," he added, "the North were to adopt such a course, and announce their firm determination of suppressing all slavery and trade in slaves, for the future, he believed the course would at once command the sympathy and respect of all mankind." Of this there can be little doubt. But when he tells us that, "the duty of Great Britain in this matter was clear,—no matter what the issue of the present struggle in the United States might be,—England should never submit to the degradation of recognizing a community of pirates as a nation,"—few Englishmen, and, we are persuaded, no English statesman, will see their way to this conclusion. It would be an act of injustice. Privateering ought to be made piracy by the law of nations; so should slave-holding as well as slave-dealing; but they have never yet been made so. And England is too just to act upon an *ex post facto* law. Lord Kinnaird, who followed, after alluding to the strange prejudice so current in New York, that our sympathies are with the Southern States, spoke the voice of all parties when he said, "Such statements were utterly untrue. He thought there was not much sympathy felt in this country for either party in the contest between the North and South, for the universal opinion in England was that both were equally insincere." Not much sympathy, it is true; but still great sorrow. No shout of triumph, or pealing of cannon and of joyous bells, will greet the tidings of the great battle, which we are told daily to expect, when they shall reach our shores. Whoever may be the victors, we shall be more disposed to put on our mourning suits. The conquerors themselves will feel as we do when passion is dethroned, and reflexion and calm reason have resumed their seat.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—We are obliged to omit several contributions which were ready for the press. They will appear in our next Number.

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"WALKING AT LIBERTY."

Few words are sweeter to human ears, or more frequently upon human tongues, than liberty. It does not, however, always happen that words oftenest used are those best understood. Our knowledge of the thing indicated is sometimes small and superficial. This becomes evident when anything unexpected arises to throw a doubt upon the notions we have formed, or taken for granted, respecting it. It may be that many who talk of liberty, know but imperfectly what real liberty is ; it may be well to direct a few thoughts to this point. It may be that the painful events now happening in America have infused into some minds strong doubts, whether the modern forms of liberty are, after all, so much superior even to the despotisms of ancient times. This is a great question, which, however, we do not propose to discuss in this paper. But it must be evident that, for the consideration of such a question, it is essential to understand what true liberty is.

Liberty is as dear to us as to our descendants in America, or to any people on the face of the earth. None boast of liberty more than we. We demand it for ourselves ; we recommend it to others. We could not eat by day, or sleep by night, if it were gone. It is our glory that the first foot-print of a slave upon our shores makes him a free man. We have proclaimed liberty to the thousands who were once serfs in our colonies and foreign dependencies. We gave twenty millions of money to the owners of slave estates in our West Indian possessions to set their bondsmen free. The love of liberty has always been a characteristic of our nation. Even in papal times, as the whole course of our history shows, the yoke of bondage galled our ancestors ; nor were all the arts of Rome sufficient to make it sit easily on their necks. We have come to regard our isle as the home of freedom, and thousands

in other lands envy us our distinction in this respect. There is nothing which either our senators or ourselves guard with greater jealousy and watchfulness than this. To this fact the spontaneous rise and successful growth of the Volunteer movement may well bear witness. We may therefore be supposed to know what liberty is, and to be able to point out its constitution and bearings. No doubt we can; and every Englishman ought both to learn and to transmit the great lesson which the word of God, and the experience of ages, combine to teach. The subject is one of great interest for the genuine Christian. He of all men ought to have a true idea of liberty, and rejoice in it. Liberty and freedom are words not unfrequently used in the Bible, in a political, social, and religious sense. How greatly did Israel rejoice in his freedom from the yoke of Egypt. Among the rewards offered to the man who should silence the boastings of Goliath was this, "that his father's house should be made free in Israel." Both the Psalmist and St. Paul recognized it as an essential feature in spiritual life, for the one declares that he walked at liberty when he sought the divine precepts" (Ps. cxix. 45); and the other, that "where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty." (2 Cor. iii. 17.) Nor does there seem to be any difference in the nature of liberty itself, whether viewed in connection with ordinary or religious matters; so that we may argue from the one to the other with advantage. Let us first, then, inquire into the nature of true liberty, as presented in ordinary life, and afterward apply it to the affairs of the soul.

First. What, then, is true liberty? Whether we choose to call it by this term, or by the Saxon term *freedom*, it must be evident that it has reference to restraint of some kind. The word emancipation indicates the same. It necessarily implies the removal or absence of something which cramps energies we wish to exert, or impedes acts we purpose to perform. We cannot use the word *free* without having before the mind something which we wish to shake off, or keep at a distance. The man whose arms are pinioned, though he be in a desert, is not free. Neither is the man, though unfettered, who is shut up within the walls of a prison, and we know the liberty for which both are longing. They want to get rid of the impediments which prevent them from going whither they please, and doing what they wish. They want absolute and entire freedom in these respects.

But here a question arises. Is there such a thing in the world as absolute and entire freedom? and if there be, is it worth the having? We may answer thus: Alexander Selkirk, on his desolate island, had such liberty. A man may have it now, if he will. Let him only go into a lonely wilderness, far away from human society, there provide for his own wants, and

do everything for himself, and he will realize the idea of absolute and entire liberty. No one will restrain, control, or interrupt him; he may do as he pleases without impediment or reproof from any. His power may, indeed, be limited. There will be many things which he cannot do, many places to which he cannot go; he must either have few desires, or many which he cannot satisfy; but he is free. He is at liberty to do whatever his power may be sufficient to accomplish. Whether this absolute and unrestrained liberty be worth much, seems to be settled by the fact that very few choose it. Here and there an individual has preferred it; some from ambitious motives, as the founder of the Buddhist religion is said to have done; some from misanthropy, and some from superstition. Others have been driven to it by persecution. Nor do we greatly admire those who, from any motive, have adopted this sort of life; we regard it as selfish, idle, or cowardly. We feel that it is not the sort of thing for which men were made; not the work for which such faculties and powers as they possess were bestowed.

But is this the only sort of life in which absolute and unrestrained liberty can be realized? We believe it is. We may safely affirm that a man who had adopted such a course of life could not come out of his isolated position to mingle with other persons without giving up some portion of his liberty. If he will invite any one to share his desert with him, whether as a friend, a wife, or a servant, he must surrender a portion of space, goods, time. Impediments which existed not before will arise. The new-comer has a will which may cross or limit his. The presence of this second person will assuredly lay some restraint upon his acts, words, and intentions. If, on the other hand, he should leave his solitude to seek the society of others, whether in city, village, or cottage, the necessity of giving up somewhat of his liberty will be still more evident. He obtains indeed an equivalent for what he gives, perhaps more than an equivalent; but his liberty is abridged, he is no longer absolutely and entirely free.

It may seem strange to say, that despotism is an attempt to be absolutely free; yet, we are mistaken if this be not its true character. Is not the despot a man who is trying to be as free in the midst of society, as if he were alone in a desert, not perceiving that he who will dwell with other men must surrender a portion of his liberty? Place before your mind the idea of a tyrant. What does the man wish; at what is he aiming? He wants to do as he likes; just as if those around him, or under his rule, were so many stones, trees, or reptiles. He wants to remove all restraints upon his own will, all impediments to its exercise, whatever his will may be. He wants to be, as if he were not observed and remarked upon by think-

ing persons, not amenable to the judgment of others. If any one dares, or happens, to stand in his way, he must be cut down at once, shut up in a prison, or at least banished from his sight, and deprived of the power to annoy. To a superficial observer it may seem that this man has excluded all restraint, and achieved absolute freedom of action. But is it so? Is he not all the time living under the restraint of suspicion and fear? He tastes his food deliberately, as if poison might be there; he looks for a dagger under every cloak, and searches for treachery in every smile. He finds, too, in his most despotical movements, that the wills of other men cross his, are stronger than his, baffle him, and will not let him do as he likes. The late king of Naples could doubtless tell us how true this is.

Take another instance from common life. Look at that youthful pair standing before the minister of God to be united in holy wedlock. What are they saying and doing? They are mutually giving up their liberty to each other. Each of them, till now, as far as the other is concerned, may have been at liberty to go where and do what was pleasing to self, without taking the counsel or asking the consent of the other. They may do so no more. This liberty they have both resigned. Henceforward, till death them do part, neither of them is free to do this. They may have gained something better than the liberty which they have sacrificed; but they have sacrificed it, and they must not go away from the hymeneal altar flattering themselves that they retain it still. Many married persons do cling to a delusion of this kind, or forget the surrender they have made. Too often the husband thinks that he may, without consulting the opinion or even wishes of his wife, adopt this or that course, may omit this or that attention. The wife, on the other hand, grieves at being crossed or controlled by the wishes and ways of her husband, and claims her liberty where she thinks his will ought not to intervene. Hence arise many of the jars and miseries of married life. They think it hard to abide by their bargain. They were never compelled to give up their liberty and marry. They were free to remain single and be independent of each other's control, but as they voluntarily gave up their liberty to each other, they may not pretend nor imagine that they have not surrendered it; they may not attempt to resume the freedom which they so solemnly relinquished. Such is the argument of St. Paul: "The wife hath not power over her own body, but the husband, and likewise the husband hath not power over his own body, but the wife." (1 Cor. vii. 4.) If the husband should object that he did not promise to obey—it may be replied, "True, but you promised to love, and to make happy the woman of your choice;" and this it may be impossible to do, without allowing her will to act oftentimes as a restraint upon your own.

From these, and from numerous instances that might be adduced, it must be evident, that the true idea of liberty is, not absolute freedom from all restraint and control; but freedom from such restraints as are unjust, unnecessary, and intolerable. Society, as we have seen, must necessarily impose upon those who enjoy its advantages, various restraints, and when those restraints are just and needful, there is real freedom; as much, perhaps, as is good for man. We may then be asked to indicate some of the restraints which are compatible with genuine freedom, and regulate it to good ends. Three may be named as naturally presenting themselves for consideration.

The first is, the general welfare of society.

We must take it for granted that when the interests of an individual, and the interests of the community to which he belongs, really clash, the claim of the individual must yield to that of the general body. Otherwise neither the liberty nor safety of the community could be secured, and in the end the liberty of the individual would be lost also. If, therefore, the liberty of individuals injure or endanger the liberty and well-being of the community, it must be abridged or restrained. Take a few instances. A number of persons wish to stand together, transacting business or discussing grievances, on the public foot-path of a town, blocking up the way. Two other parties, with a crowd of instigators, are resolved upon a fight in the street; two others, more politely and murderously, with the help of friends, arrange for a duel in a more secluded spot. A butcher's boy, or a cabman, wishes to drive furiously along the road, placing upon every one, large and small, the responsibility of getting out of his way. Another man wishes to reel about intoxicated, with brutal language on his lips, to the disgust of passers by. A number of persons have a fancy for forming themselves into an armed club, and meet together for drill and the use of fire-arms. Others for sport, for a livelihood, or for gambling purposes, get up a prize fight, in which men, commanded to love one another, inflict the severest punishment they can on each other's person, for the gratification of those who care not how much they suffer. Again, a publisher exposes indecent or seditious prints in his window, and abandoned women ply their seductive arts in places of public resort. Now all these persons are asserting their individual liberty. They are attempting to do as they please. But are they permitted, in well-regulated communities, to do these things? Does not the policeman interfere? Does not the magistrate deprive them of this liberty, and even place them where they cannot exercise it, unless they give him security that they will in future abstain from such acts? Nor do we account this unjust, or tyrannical? And why not?

Clearly because the exercise of individual liberty in these several cases would interfere with, endanger, or destroy the liberty and well-being of others? Were these acts not restrained by the magistrate, individuals either singly, or by illegal combinations, would claim their liberty of interfering. Disturbances would then arise, and a vast increase of confusion, violence, and injury might be the result. We, therefore, not only consent, but even demand that individual liberty should be abridged whenever it would endanger the public weal. There is no doubt some danger to be apprehended on the other side, lest, in the carrying out of this principle, individual liberty be unnecessarily and improperly abridged; and to this extreme, it is said, liberty in America is tending.

A second kind of restraint is justly imposed on individual liberty by the rights of other individuals.

We have already seen an instance of this in the case of a married couple, where each acquires a right which restrains the other. Take one or two more. On passing down the street, you see in an open shop window, or at a door, an article of food or clothing: you greatly desire—perhaps you urgently need it. Why is it that you do not at once exercise your liberty and take it? It is easy to do so; and if it lay in the street you would do it at once. You will reply, that the man inside, in the shop, has a right to it, and you have none. You may buy that right from him, if you please; but until you do, you are no more at liberty to take that article than he is at liberty to put his hand in your pocket and take your purse. His right, then, restrains your liberty, and your right restrains his. The same applies to a man's house, which he significantly calls his castle. The sovereign may not pass over its threshold without his consent; the policeman may not enter without the warrant of the magistrate; and the magistrate may not issue such warrant without just cause shown. And why? Is it not because a man's rights are justly acknowledged to impose a restraint upon the liberty of other men, even those in authority? Were it otherwise, the liberty of some would be intolerable to the rest, and productive of the worst evils.

A third class of restraints upon personal liberty remains to be noticed. A person may say, I admit these restraints and will respect them; but I will do as I please, so long as I do not interfere with the rights and liberties of others. I will enjoy my liberty, and allow them theirs; I will eat, drink, and be merry; I will choose the companionship of those who wish to do as I do; and if I spend my money foolishly, and revel in what you stigmatize as vices, what does it matter, since I allow all others to do as they like? Such seems to have been the liberty which the prodigal son in the parable desired, sought, and exercised. Let us suppose that the person so resolving is

not a husband breaking a loving wife's heart—not a father robbing his children of bread, clothes, and education : let us suppose that his aged father and mother are no longer weeping over their son's folly and sin, but sleeping in the grave ; and that he is as nearly as possible correct in saying that he invades no man's liberty, and injures none but himself. Yet is this liberty of his subject to no restraint?—is he able to do whatsoever he pleases? What means, then, that violent headache, that prostration of strength, that empty purse? Disease has shut him up in a prison without fetters ; unless perhaps *delirium tremens* has made even bonds indispensable. His liberty is gone ; the medical man forbids its exercise ; his will is as strong as ever, but he cannot, dare not, exercise it. He is really a prisoner, he feels it, he chafes under it ; he is perhaps so impatient and angry at the restraints which he has brought upon himself as to seek in self-destruction the liberty which he has lost. Or take the case of a disagreeable man. He may not be a tyrant, wishing to invade the liberties of others, but he is resolved to exercise his own just as he chooses. He takes no pains to please anybody. He affects to disdain his superiors ; he is blunt or overbearing to his equals, ungracious to his inferiors. He knows nothing of that consideration for the sufferings and weakness, for the wants and wishes of others, which so easily wins upon the heart. If they ask him for a little self-denial or generosity, he regards them as enemies, or at best as nuisances. He deems it no business of his to care whose feelings he wounds, whose convenience he disregards, or whose hopes he disappoints. He is simply enjoying his own liberty and rights, and other people can take care of theirs. Well, does this man find, after all, that he can do as he likes without restraint? No. By-and-by he finds that he is shunned by all who can afford to shun him. His selfishness repels those whom he would most wish to retain. Men retire and leave a wilderness around him ; and thus the opportunity of gratifying his bad temper and exercising his liberty is denied to him. Nor is it improbable that more direct impediments and restraints will be laid upon his self-will, by the hatred and opposition which his disagreeable behaviour has excited against him. How often has a waspish, ungenerous master driven away a wise and faithful servant. How often has a violent-tempered servant lost a kind mistress, with an amount of liberty and comfort never to be regained.

Here, then, we perceive a class of restraints differing from the former, inasmuch as they are self-acting, but not less distinct and powerful. We may, perhaps, call it the restraint of circumstances ; but we can see where it comes from. It arises out of that system of moral government which Almighty God exercises over His creatures. So, indeed, do the other kinds of

restraint before noticed, but this is more evidently and directly from Him. A fundamental principle of that government is, that each one should do unto others as he himself would have others do to him. Our Lord and Saviour recognized the necessity and force of this class of restraints, when He said: "With what measure ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again." We find, then, that there is no such thing, except in solitude, as absolute and unrestrained liberty; every man's freedom is checked and limited every day and at every turn, and must, of necessity, be so restrained.

Secondly. And now we come to apply this idea of real liberty to the spiritual life and walk of the true Christian.

The Christian is a free man. "I will walk at liberty," said the Psalmist. St. Paul speaks of the liberty with which Christ has made him free. Is this liberty of his, then, like that of which we have spoken; is it absolute, or restrained? We have seen that in ordinary life there is no such thing as unrestrained freedom, no such thing as unlimited right and power to do as we please; but only a rational freedom which recognizes the restraints laid upon it by the circumstances of human society, and the moral government of God; and we will now venture to affirm that Christian liberty is of the same kind.

The genuine Christian is the first to recognize these ordinary restraints, because He sees in them the wise and kind intentions of His heavenly Father for the good of mankind; and at the same time recognizes a still higher and more effectual restraint than even these. He perceives and accepts the claim of God's holy will and law, not only upon his actions and behaviour, but upon his thoughts, wishes, and intentions. He rejoices in the liberty wherewith Christ has set him free, and yet he feels that he is "not his own, because bought with a price." He knows, he feels, that God's law is a restraint; but he rejoices that it restrains him; for "He serves God with his spirit in the gospel of His Son," and loves his servitude as much as his liberty. In fact, he regards them as identical; much as our prayer-book has expressed it: "Whose service is perfect freedom." St. Paul also unites the two ideas: "He that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant."

But how, it may be asked, can the restraint of God's law be regarded as liberty? Is not this a contradiction in terms? We think not. Let us once more refer to what has been said of ordinary liberty. We saw that there can be no real liberty without the restraints of a wise law, which shall prevent the liberty of individuals from becoming a nuisance to others and an injury to themselves. It is, therefore, the law which secures and preserves to every man his rights and his liberty. The law is so constructed as to leave free scope for all intentions and

actions that are good or harmless, and to forbid only that which is wrong in itself and injurious in its effects. To violate the law is to infringe upon the liberty of others; and the law so violated, in order to protect their liberty, must abridge yours. While therefore you respect and obey the law, you have liberty; you lose it when you disobey. It was therefore genuine philosophy as well as enlightened piety to say,—“I will walk at liberty, for I seek thy precepts.”

And this is especially true of the Christian's walk with God. The law of God forbids only what is evil, and imposes nothing upon us but what is conducive, nay, necessary, to man's happiness, both here and hereafter. It leaves full scope for the desires and actions of the renewed heart; nay, its whole object and aim is to foster and direct them. Viewed as a restraint, it is a restraint only upon the unholy desires, the sinful propensities, or mistaken notions of the carnal heart; and it forbids and denies these, because they displease God, interfere with that happy communion which subsists between Him and the renewed soul, and injure, in various ways, both the church of God and the interests of mankind. When the Christian is enabled to delight in the law of the Lord, and to walk consistently in its ways, he is conscious of peace and satisfaction within; on the other hand, when he fails to do this, pain and distress are felt, and impediments arise in his path. Surely, then, the restraint of God's law may be regarded as the freedom of his soul. He walks at liberty when he seeks His precepts.

Two practical suggestions may close these observations.

1. We should always remember that we are not at liberty to do evil.

That we have all the power to do evil, none will dispute; and that the choice of good and evil is before us, will not be doubted. If a man will be a sensualist, a dishonest, an irreligious man, an infidel, it is too easy for him to succeed. And he is too much disposed to think that, because it is so easy to go wrong; and because he finds temptations drawing, and propensities moving him in such a direction, it is therefore not wrong, or at least allowable, and that he is at liberty to follow the impulses of his nature. But the restraints we have noticed, as well as the evil consequences which result, show that though a man may have the power, and even the opportunity, he has not the right to do evil. And if he will abuse his liberty in this respect, he will sooner or later lose it. God will not allow us to sin, but will place restraints upon us in some form. And if men will persist in casting off those merciful restraints which He lays upon them, they will either in this world be deprived of liberty and power till they submit, or become prisoners of despair in the world to come. It is our wisdom, then, to remember, that

while we have the fullest liberty to do good, we are not at liberty, at any time or under any circumstances, to do evil.

2. Let us learn to love the restraints of God's law.

We have seen that the law of God, even viewed as a restraint, is a merciful arrangement of infinite wisdom to withhold us from that which would injure the soul, impede its growth in grace, abridge its enjoyment, and, indeed, mislead and ruin it. When we understand and regard it in this light, we love it. "His commands are not grievous." "I delight in the law of the Lord," says the apostle Paul, "after the inner man." It is only the carnal heart that would cast off its pressure,—that heart which loves not true liberty, but the bondage of sin,—and shall we take counsel of that? "The law of the Spirit of Life sets us free" from this bondage; free to love God and delight in His commandments. There is no hardship, no grief, in doing the thing we like to do. When the heart sympathizes with the law, and is brought into such a measure of conformity with God's will as to love only what He loves, and to choose that which He chooses for us, our choice of good will be every whit as free as his choice is who chooses evil. We should not err if we added, that it is freer. For the word of God represents the man who chooses evil, as a slave, a slave to evil passions or imperious influences, which domineer over his better judgment, or as led captive by Satan at his will; while the Christian's choice of good is formed intelligently, thoughtfully, and upon the soundest principles which can guide the actions of man. The Christian, then, walks at liberty, when he walks with God.

G. P.

OLMSTED'S JOURNEY IN THE SLAVE STATES.

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Russell's Letters in the "Times." 1861.

IN our last Number we had occasion to notice the present state of American affairs, and to express our doubts, which many at least of our English readers will share, and which have been already expressed in other organs of English opinion, whether the war, now raging between North and South, could be justified on constitutional principle, or could end in anything but disappointment. We wish our friends in the Northern states, who are naturally inclined to look at the question with

the heat which such strife engenders, would so far bear with us as to accept and weigh an opinion which is general in England, unprejudiced, and, we truly believe, friendly; for our natural sympathies are all with the Northern states. With them we have the closest relations both of commercial interest, brotherly affection, and religious sympathy. We even go further. They think us indifferent and cold; they have blamed us for our neutrality in the war, and they think we cannot understand the real points at issue. We are about to show them that we have some knowledge of what is passing in the South, and we shall take that knowledge from one of their own citizens, a very keen observer, who looked upon the South with the prepossessions of a Northern man, and with a strong dislike of slavery, though without fanatical excitement. We can even enter into the feeling which has raised the North as one man in a transport of loyal resolution. An old nobleman among us, who has held our highest judicial offices, and who, surviving beyond the age of ninety, preserves his remarkable intellect unimpaired, formed in early life a connection with the United States, which has given him a brotherly interest in their welfare. He has been so mortified by seeing the great republic broken into two by this disastrous warfare, that he never alludes to it without tears. We can well understand, then, how the men of New England and of the North, who have been proud of that Union which has swelled, in less than a century, into a great state, whose flag of Stars and Stripes flies bravely, while the Fleur-de-lys of the Bourbon and the Bees of Napoleon have disappeared, should resist, with a passionate loyalty, this unhappy secession. But it is one thing to have strong feelings—it is another thing to deliberate as statesmen; and the reasons we have given from history and experience, from geographical extent, from distance, solitude, the necessity of large armies, the need of great supplies, the certain bloodshed and the uncertain issue, form reasons which weigh strongly with us, and incline us to the opinion that even the secession of the Southern states is better than a bloody, ruinous, and unprofitable war.

One good, however, we derive from this event—we shall study the United States more, and we shall begin to understand the people and their various conditions better. The graphic pictures which Mr. Russell is now giving us in the "*Times*" will leave with us a vivid impression of the South, and of that part of the South which stretches to the far West; and these pictures, as far as they have gone, confirm the views which, in more detail and from a different point of view, Mr. Olmsted, himself a citizen of New York, gives us in this volume. Mr. Olmsted is a yeoman, and an employer of labour; he is able, therefore, to judge of the bearing of slavery on wages and the profits of farming. We detect in his work the prejudices of a northern

American. He detests the law of entail and primogeniture, and prefers small properties and subdivision of land. He charges the Southern states at times with faults which, if we were reviewing the condition of the North, we think we should find reproduced there. The inconveniences which he suffered at inns, and of which he gives a laughable picture, arise sometimes from the independence and insolence of hotel-keepers, which are to be found in the North; at other times, from the extent of the country, sparsely peopled, with great blanks of marsh and forest intervening, and with bad roads. Old as Virginia is as a settled country, having been colonised for two centuries and a-half, she still is in her infancy in population and tillage. Our notions of the size of the states of the Union are very vague. We hear of the North invading Virginia, and of its intention to compel the Southern states to submit. If we were to hear that France had attacked and meant to annex Switzerland, that she were to try to conquer the Peninsula, to overrun Belgium and Holland, and push her frontier to the Rhine, we could understand the greatness of the enterprise and its risk. But we think of Virginia as we think of Yorkshire, or of the North of England beyond the Trent. The fact is, that Virginia is a great state, of 61,000 square miles, and of near 40,000,000 of acres. She has fine rivers, vast mineral treasures, and a soil of boundless fertility. Various causes—among them may be, as Mr. Olmsted thinks, a large landed proprietary, wealthy, improvident, and extravagant, not improving themselves, or the soil, or the people—have reduced Virginia to comparative poverty. These proprietors, like the Irish gentry, encumbered their estates, and only saved their country by becoming bankrupt; their estates then went to the hammer, and passed into the hands of a more enterprising and thrifty class. This process fell upon Virginia after the American revolution, and had reached such a point in 1790, that from that time there began an increase of produce and population. In the thirty years which ran from 1790 to 1810, the increase of the population of Virginia was from 10·68 to 13·92. This increase, however, is much less than in the Northern states. In the ten years which preceded 1852, the ratio of increase of population was in Virginia 11, while in New York it was 27; and in Massachusetts 34. The unimproved land in Virginia was in 1850 near 30,000,000, as compared with 10,000,000 improved; while in Pennsylvania, the unimproved land was 6,000,000, as compared with 8,000,000 improved. The cash value of farms, which is twenty-five dollars per acre in Pennsylvania, is only eight dollars an acre in Virginia. The impoverished state of the land, which in many places is wrought out and abandoned to the forest, estates heavily mortgaged, mansions and houses tumbling into ruins, are signs of its backward state. No better evidence of this can be given than the canvassing

speeches of the candidate for the post of Governor in 1855. Of course, he stated the case of the Province in the best view to his audience. He says that the trade of Virginia is gone; that they have barely extracted coal enough for the consumption of their dwellings, and have only manufactured cotton enough for the clothing of their slaves; nor have they, with abundance of iron, any furnaces or foundries. He adds, that their tillage is deplorable; that landlord and tenant are alike paupers; so that, with "land, roadsteads, mines, and all the elements of wealth," "you have had no commerce, no mining, no manufactures." If we examine the progress of education, we find, from their own returns, that the school-rate is heavy, yet that children attend irregularly; in many places not half of the children of the poor can be brought to attend at all; and that the interest, both about building schools and locating them properly, is languid.

Mr. Olmsted gives a lively picture of the outward appearance of Virginia. Taking the north, entering it from Washington across the Potomac, and travelling seventy-five miles to its capital, Richmond; he found, though the country was pretty, country-houses frequent, and maize and wheat cultivated, yet "not more than a third of the country visible on this route is cleared; the rest is mainly a pine forest: and even of the cleared land, not more than a quarter seems to have been lately brought under cultivation." When you enter further into Virginia, pass Petersburg, and, leaving the line of railroad, explore the interior, you find a country which is thus described:—

"For hours and hours one has to ride through the unlimited, continual, all-shadowing, all-embracing forest; following roads in the making of which no more labour has been given than is necessary to remove the timber which would obstruct the passage of waggons; and even for days and days he would sometimes travel and see never two dwellings of mankind within sight of each other. Only, at long distances, often several miles asunder, these isolated plantation patriarchates."

These are two-story houses, often built by a race of proprietors that have passed away, and now occupied by more illiterate yeomen, who lead a rude life and oversee their negroes; the latter live in wooden shanties grouped round the proprietor's house. Other estates are still occupied by men of larger wealth, who have education and refinement, and employ overseers to manage their slaves. But it is evident that there must be some defect in the system which leaves the tillage so rude, makes the growth of the population so slow, and has brought Virginia down from the place it held at the Revolution, namely that of the first class, to that of the fourth in population and the fifth in wealth. The causes which produce this condition are indicated

by some significant facts. In four of the north-western counties of Virginia, where there are no large towns, and where land ought to be cheap, the land is above seven dollars and three quarters per acre; while in four other counties better situated, near rivers, and with the most productive soil, the land is only four dollars and a half per acre in value. In the former counties there is a free labouring population, and slaves are to the freemen as 1 to 15. In the latter counties, the labour is carried on by slaves, and the slave population is as 1 to 2.2. The case of Fairfax county, early settled, is even more striking. There land had fallen to a low value, while the slaves equalled the white population in number: the slaves have been since reduced one half in number, northern emigrants bought the lands, which had been exhausted by over-cropping and handed over to the waste. Now, large tracts, cleared of pines, neat farm-houses and barns, with smiling fields of grain and grass, "salute the delighted gaze of the beholder, and" (these are the words of the Agricultural Report of 1852) "the country is so changed in appearance in many parts, that a traveller who passed over it ten years ago would not now recognize it."

When we follow Mr. Olmsted into a more minute examination of this subject, we fall in with some facts which are indisputable. Neither in Virginia, nor in the Carolinas, is there evidence that ill-treatment of slaves is a general practice. Some instances our author gives of cruelty to negroes;—men sold off a plantation, while the ties of life are rudely broken; negroes grown for sale, like cattle, and brought to the Richmond market to fall into the hands of dealers who transport them hundreds of miles away from kith and kin. (See p. 486; pp. 56, 57.)

This, unhappily, is a necessary part of the system of slavery. People talk of their slaves exactly as a Highland drover talks of his bullocks. A person seeing a man in a railway car in Virginia with a negro girl, whose manner and expression of face indicated dread and grief, "asked, thinking she was a criminal, what she had done? Done! nothing. What are you going to do with her? I am taking her down to Richmond to be sold. Does she belong to you? No; she belongs to —; he raised her. Why does he sell her? He sells one or two every year. Wants the money for them, I reckon."

Another, who owned ninety-six negroes, said with a boast that "his women were uncommonly good breeders. He never heard of babies coming so fast as they did on his plantation; and every one of them was worth two hundred dollars, as negroes were selling now, the moment it drew breath." Another, who was out of health, said he thought of giving up his plantation, and taking his slaves for sale to Louisiana and Texas, or to Lower California, if that should be made a slave state. In fact, proprietors think and speak of negroes with

the utmost naïveté, not as rational beings, but as animals. In one sense they are so; but animals perverted from the aim and stripped of the restraints of humanity; who add to the passions of animals the viciousness and perversities of man. The picture which Mr. Olmsted draws of the negro character is evidently to the life. Of course there are exceptions, and he takes note of these. He speaks of some negroes who had become ministers, who taught their people gospel truth in uncouth words, but with a Christian spirit, and had died amidst the tears and regrets of their simple congregations. There are others, of whom Uncle Tom was a highly-coloured representative, who have imbibed the faith, and with it the elevation of Christianity. But the mass of negroes are, as we should expect them to be, sensual, brutal, without self-respect or moral restraint, lazy, thievish, and false. The work they do is what might be expected from such a class,—what an Englishman or Scotchman meets with amongst the lowest class of the Irish Celts; slovenly, slack work, from labourers who are eye-servers; crouching and cringing to their employer; but when his back is turned, they muddle through their job in the most superficial manner. If you can task them by piece-work, you may get the task done from fear of the lash, or starvation; but if it is not work that can be done by the piece, you may make up your mind that you will get only half work from negro labourers:—

“The mass,” says Mr. Olmsted, “as they are seen at work under overseers in the fields, appear very dull, idiotic, and brute-like; and it requires an effort to appreciate that they are more than the beasts they drive—our brethren, a part of ourselves. They are very ragged, and the women especially, who work in the fields with the men with no apparent distinction in their labour, disgustingly dirty. . . . They seem to move very awkwardly, slowly, and undecidedly, and almost invariably stop their work while a train is passing.”

A well-informed capitalist and slave-holder remarked, that negroes could not be employed in cotton factories, as “the negro could never be trained to exercise judgment. He always depends on machinery doing its own work, and cannot be made to watch it. We have tried reward and punishment; but it makes no difference: it is his nature, and you cannot change it.”

Another intelligent proprietor, whom Mr. Olmsted visited, was interrupted every ten minutes during the three hours Mr. Olmsted was with him, and was obliged three times to leave the dinner table by slaves requiring his personal direction or assistance. “The slaves are excessively careless and wasteful—and in various ways subject us to very annoying losses. You see how constantly I am called upon, and often it is about as

bad at night as by day. Last night I did not sleep a wink till near morning. I am quite worn out with it, and my wife's health is failing." And this was on an estate where the slaves were treated with paternal kindness, and where they were evidently attached to their master; but they act and work like children, to whom a task has been given in which they require constant encouragement and direction. Another says, "In working niggers we must always calculate that they will not labour at all except to avoid punishment, and they will never do more than just enough to save themselves from being punished; and no amount of punishment will prevent their working carelessly and indifferently. It always seems on the plantation as if they took pains to break all the tools and spoil all the cattle they possibly can." In fact, mules are substituted for horses on farms, because horses are always soon foundered or crippled by them, while mules will bear cudgelling, and lose a meal or two now and then, and not be materially injured. If an attempt is made to superintend them by overseers, all concur in stating that the overseers are generally of the most rascally description. "They are the curse of the country," says a Virginian, "the worst men in the community." In Carolina, an intelligent planter spoke of the character of overseers as exceedingly bad, almost universally drunken and dissolute. The "*Southern Agriculturist*," published at Charleston, says, "Overseers are changed every year, a few remain four or five years. They are taken from the lowest grade of society." Without fear of God, they give way to passion, intemperance, and every sin. Yet the rice plantations of Carolina, which are too unhealthy for the planters to reside on, are managed by overseers, and the slaves are placed in the entire power of these men.

Within houses where negroes are employed as domestic servants, their character is the same, and also the kind of work:—

"There is hardly," says a lady, "one of our servants that can be trusted to do the simplest work, without being stood over. If I order a room to be cleaned, or a fire to be made in a distant chamber, I never can be sure I am obeyed, unless I go there and see for myself. If I send a girl out to get anything I want for the dinner, she is as likely as not to forget what is wanted, and not to come back till after the time at which dinner should be ready."

A hand organ will draw them out of the house, a military parade will stop the dinner; reprimand is vain, they answer it by laughter; in humane houses they know they will not be whipped—and they are therefore playful, careless, and wilful as a naughty child. Evidence of waste abounds (see p. 54). A Southern lady told her friend at New York that her two Irish drudges, bad as they were, did more work than her twelve slaves. It is useless to appeal to moral feeling or fore-

thought, or reflection, for these faculties are wanting. When Mr. Olmsted left his horse in charge of a negro to be fed, if the hay or corn were a little way off he would not go to fetch it. From Richmond to Charleston, as he travelled, he never found that a negro "thought of shutting a window to shut out the cold, or of closing a door when he left the room; if you asked for water or a fire in your bedroom, it was two hours before you got it."

In a glue factory in North Carolina, where the operations were carried on night and day, and one gang had to relieve the other, the slaves would never be at hand when the hour of relieving came, and the work, which required judgment and watchfulness, was always spoiled. A Virginian was obliged to cultivate only the coarser sorts of tobacco, as the fine sorts required more painstaking and discretion than a negro will use. "You can make a nigger work, but you can't make him think."

Another says, that the ordinary waste in harvesting wheat by negroes was equal to what a Northern farmer would think a fair profit on his crop. Coach proprietors brought both team and servants from the North, as they found the negro grooms would go to sleep and leave the team for a whole day, unfed, uncleaned, unrubbed. Mr. Olmsted describes a scene in South Carolina, where thirty men and women were at work repairing the road. "The negroes were fat enough, and did not look as if they were at all overworked, or harassed by cares. Clumsy, awkward, gross, elephantine in all their movements; pouting, grinning, and leering at us; sly, sensual, and shameless in all their expressions and demeanour. I never before had witnessed anything more revolting than the whole scene." They were under the charge of an overseer, who rode about with the whip in his hand, but, as he visited one end of the line, those who were working at the other end would discontinue their labour.

Their morals, as we might suppose from this account, are thoroughly abandoned. They make no scruple of pilfering from their masters. When they are hired out to work, or can by working at extra time make over-wages, they spend it in drinking, licentiousness, and gambling. At Richmond, when the police broke into a gambling cellar, they found twenty negroes at high play. In Charleston, and other Southern towns, the Jews have settled themselves, and have opened shops for cheap clothing and trinkets. There they receive cotton which the slaves steal from their masters; and there are grog shops at which the owners buy from the slaves stolen goods, and sell to them gin or whisky in exchange, which often excite them to deeds of blood. Negro servants resent any attempt to restrain their licentious habits, and the master's house is unpopular which attempts to enforce chastity. With

persons so ignorant and dissolute, the manners and conversation are foul, yet they are the nurses of the children of the planters, and live with the family in familiar intercourse, so that the ears of the children are accustomed, from the first moment they can understand, to the grossest conversation and the worst examples.

The labour, which has thus been described as slovenly and bad, is also costly. It must be so; for a stupid servant who destroys a good horse and misuses his tools, would be expensive if he worked for nothing. "It is a common thing, I am told," says Mr. Olmsted, speaking of the Carolinas and Georgia, "to see a large gang of negroes, each carrying about four shovelful of earth upon a board balanced on his head, walking slowly along the embankment, so as to travel round two sides of a large field, perhaps for a mile, to fill a breach; a job which the needful number of Irish would accomplish, by laying planks across the field and running wheelbarrows upon them, in a tenth of the time."

Try to change this, and you fail; they are prejudiced against all that is new; they wont use the new tools. If forced into their hands, they will break them, or by misuse prove that they are worse than the old ones. They use a clumsy hoe in place of a plough, tear up a fence to light their fires, let a boat go adrift for want of fastening, and do every mischief which can be done by wanton and mischievous children. Yet this labour, dear if it were had for nothing, costs high. A Virginian gentleman, who had tried negro labour, substituted German and Irish for it. He found that when he hired slaves, he paid precisely the same money wages as for free labourers, while their master had to pay in addition for their clothing, and to be responsible if the slave shammed sickness, or was sick or sullen. From inquiries in Eastern Virginia, Mr. Olmsted ascertained the wages of slaves, and found that, comparing them with the wages of a common labourer in New York, they were 25 per cent. higher. Their employer is exposed, besides, to the trickery of the slaves evading work by shamming sickness, and by exposing themselves to some injury—sore hands, or sore limbs—in order to stop their work. "This hand," said a negro, "belongs to master—bless the Lord! (for the wound which some timber had inflicted on it). Reckon dis child got no more corn to hoe dis year, no how!" A woman, who secretly got employed as a dressmaker, escaped labour for a long time by pretending she was dying of consumption, and by appearing to spit blood. In such tricks negroes shew great ingenuity. "Four Virginia slaves," says an intelligent man, "do not do as much work as an ordinary farm labourer in New Jersey or New York." In a field of wheat, where the crop was light, a negro accomplished one quarter of an acre a day in

reaping. In New York they would be expected to reap about two acres a day. A clergyman from Connecticut, who had lived many years in Virginia, told Mr. Olmsted that the work which a slave spent his whole day upon, a labourer in the North would do by eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and a planter, who took charge of his own estate, said he found his negroes cutting each one cord of wood per day—he doubled the quantity, and found they did it with ease. In comparing the cost of labour with a small proprietor of South Carolina, Mr. Olmsted found that he himself was paying 9 dollars a month in the North, whereas the Carolinian was paying 12 dollars a month, with board and clothing to boot!

No doubt there is some evidence of improvement in the slaves within the last thirty years; but it is plain that their slaves contaminate the higher class, and they draw down the white labourers with whom the negroes associate. The helotry of this impure race pollutes and debases the whole tone of society. The masters, though at times they are severe and unjust, are generally indulgent; and their indulgence takes a form which is injurious to the morals of the negro. They give him holidays, though they know that he will spend them in drinking and debauch. When he becomes old or infirm, they connive at his pilfering from them. They regard their slaves as by nature improvident, and never expect them to save; and having dealt with them as thoughtless, reckless beings, they overlook their vicious habits, which they think are unavoidable. They have tried to make them work briskly by advice, by overseers, by the lash, and by rewards. Nothing will do; the negroes continue indolent and apathetic. At length most of the masters and the overseers acquiesce in this condition as a law of nature. As an overseer said, "What motive have they to do better? I am sure if I was in their place I shouldn't move as fast as they do." In fact, the natural impulses and restraints, which God has provided to overcome indolence and repress passion, are by slavery broken, and no artificial stimulants will supply the place. To us it may appear strange that the planters, who suffer from the system, should not seek to change it. Some there are who groan under it, and heartily wish it gone. A few in the north of Virginia have introduced free labour, but the difficulties are great. In the rice, and cotton, and sugar plantations, many of the proprietors live beyond their income. The loss of one or two crops would involve them in ruin; but it might be years before new labourers could be introduced to supplant the old; nor could the whites bear the malaria of the rice grounds. It would require a rare degree of principle to brave such hazards. In Virginia, the largest profit accrues from the sale of the slaves themselves. These are the breeding countries for more southern states.

Ask the farmer on the Downs of Sussex to destroy his flock—ask the grazing farmer of Scotland or Ireland to destroy his stock! We dare not expect a Virginian to disperse the gang, every infant in which he values at 200 dollars! In Louisiana, a slave will sell for 1200 dollars, and a batch of 22 negroes, which were probably purchased in Virginia, were worth 20,000 dollars; and if the sugar in Louisiana is inferior in amount of produce to that of Cuba (p. 664), still the produce in the hands of a judicious planter is so large as to enable him in six, or even in four years, to pay off the original cost of the plantation. The rice of the Carolinas and Georgia, which entirely depends on slavery, amounted in 1849 to 215,000,000 lbs.

These form overwhelming inducements to the proprietors to retain the system of slavery, and they gladly persuade themselves that the African is born to be a slave, and from his nature and temperament is unfit for independence. On this question, which is full of interest, Mr. Olmsted presents us with some fresh evidence. How the slaves feel towards their masters, and what is the general treatment of slaves, we shall notice presently; but that the condition of the slave operates to prevent the natural impulse to exertion, is evident. The fact that a slave shows wits enough when he wishes to cheat his master, that he will work hard when he is working for money to be spent by himself on his own amusements,—these are signs that he is actuated by the same impulses that move our working class. A conversation, which Mr. Olmsted had with a Louisiana negro, the slave of a most humane master, shews that the desire for independence may be concealed, but is irrepressible. The master was most attentive to his slaves, and was greatly beloved by them; they were fed well, not over-worked, had every comfort provided. The negro, with whom Mr. Olmsted conversed, had been born in Virginia, but preferred Louisiana, where he had lived long, and which he had no wish to leave. Nor had he the slightest desire to quit his master, as he thought him the best of men; but when asked what he would do if he were free, the nature of the man burst forth. He would work for a year and get some money; then he would buy a house and a little land; then he would go to see his old mother in Virginia, from whom he had been separated for twenty years; he would then return, settle on his land, marry a wife, and supply provisions to the market of New Orleans. Here, in a nutshell, lies the answer to all arguments drawn from the present state and habits of negro slaves. Treat them as you will, they are plants forced in a hot-house, which will never grow with the strength of the natural atmosphere. Nothing can supply the want of the stimulants which Providence has implanted, that we are to feed ourselves by our own labour and gain sustenance for our family by our industry.

We admit readily that the African race, accustomed to tropical abundance and to the indolence of the tropics, do not work, and perhaps will never work, as the European, still less as the Saxon races do. Our experience in the West Indies shows that it is difficult to get from them labour undertaken for an employer, and still more hard and continuous labour. We are bound in candour to say, that the liberation of the negroes in the Southern states would probably lead, in the outset, to the stoppage of much of the rice, cotton, and sugar cultivation ; would ruin a large class of planters ; and would, as in the West Indies, make a great deal of property change hands. Mr. Olmsted thinks that slavery might be got rid of by allowing a slave to purchase his freedom either at a fixed price, or at a price to be appraised. He considers that, even in hot and unhealthy places, white men might do the work of negroes ; and he mentions that already in New Orleans "the majority of the cartmen, hackney-coachmen, porters, railroad hands, public waiters, and common labourers, as well as of skilled mechanics, appear to be white men, and of the negroes employed in these avocations a considerable portion are free." It is also clear that planters are exhausting their land in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana by over-cropping, and by raising cotton and sugar continually ; though the cotton is, at present prices, hardly yielding a profit, and if its price were to fall a little, it would yield no profit at all. These lands, then, might be turned to ordinary crops ; and would be so, if slavery were abolished ; and if the land were broken up and divided, they might be cultivated with ordinary capital. Still it is evident that we reach this desirable consummation through the bankruptcy and dislodgment of existing planters ; and it is natural that these, like the West India proprietors, should fight fiercely to avert this ruin. There is no doubt that the ruin would be more complete, because the recovery would be much slower, from the present degradation of the slave. Even if the negro were only to be admitted to freedom through his own industry, it would be long before he would consent to work for an employer ; such work, were he once free, would be specially distasteful to him. He would raise provisions for himself and for sale ; but to go back to labour for another, would revive the recollection of slavery ; and as he could no longer be whipped or threatened, and as he has been by long years of slavery made an indolent, sensual, and thoughtless being, he would shew himself, whenever he could be tempted to undertake a task, a wilful, capricious, and irregular labourer. In the mean time, the worst negroes would remain on the master's hands to be fed and clothed by him, while making an inadequate return for their food. It is in vain we shut our eyes to these hindrances. The planters see them. The wisest thing is to offer suggestions in order to remove difficulties, to allay fears and abate opposition. This, and systematic effort to educate and christianize the negro, seems to us the

mode for paving the way to the removal of slavery. But, on the simple question, whether the African can and will work if he were free, there ought to be no doubt on any candid mind. On questioning the masters in Virginia, Mr. Olmsted found that even in slavery the negroes had improved enormously within the last forty years, in consequence of their better treatment and their educational privileges. Unfortunately those privileges are not extended equally to the slaves in Louisiana; as there, where the slaves are more numerous, the masters are more timid, and dread that, if educated, they will aim to be independent. Their object, then, is to keep them as mere children, and their dread is lest they should think for themselves, be dissatisfied, and combine. But the freed African often shows what are his natural powers. A proprietor in Virginia had freed all his slaves, and his experience was significant. Many of them, who had fixed habits of indolence and vice, especially if they were drunkards, went to the bad; others became useful and successful traders. One went to the North, engaged in trade, and became rich; another, a woman, went to Philadelphia, worked her way to a competency, married respectably, and gave her children an excellent education. On the estates in South Carolina, Mr. Olmsted saw negroes working as mechanics, and working better than the ordinary mechanics of New England; others were employed as stewards, and performed admirably duties both delicate and responsible. Others in Louisiana acted as clerks and book-keepers, kept their accounts with perfect accuracy, and carried on an extensive correspondence in a clear and terse style. These cases must satisfy us, as the experience of Sierra Leone and our West India colonies attest, that though the African race has more faults and far less energy than the European, it yet can and will improve, if we give it the same chance and the same spur. The cases, which Mr. Olmsted mentions, of free negroes being worthless, idle and poor, by no means contradict this view. They are the shreds of an outcast race; disowned by the class they have left, and despised by the free class to which they are joined, the vices which they have brought from slavery cling to them and pull them down.

There is a prevailing notion that the slaves of the South only require a signal to rise in insurrection against their masters. Mr. Olmsted's observations do not confirm that view. In the struggle between the North and the South, we suspect the slaves will side with their Southern masters. When Mr. Olmsted questioned the slaves, he found them strongly attached to the State in which they lived,—the Virginian negroes to Virginia, those of Louisiana to that state. Most of them declared they had no wish to go back to Africa, and they had no fancy for going to the North. They knew that there the blacks were free, but they were looked down upon

and despised, and they preferred the easy yoke of an indulgent master, who fed them well and treated them familiarly, to being withered and having their souls galled by the iron of contempt. The North is thus receiving a retribution not to be wondered at. They have kept the blacks at arm's length, and the blacks have learned to fear and avoid them. All through the Southern states the negro is treated by his master with indulgent familiarity. They sit with their children in the same carriage, side by side in the same railway car; the black and white children play together, they go to school together. Mr. Olmsted found this frequently the case; one master in Louisiana said,—“My niggers' children all go regularly to a Sunday school, just the same as my own, and learn verses, and catechisms, and hymns. Every one of my grown up niggers are pious, and members of the church.” This is of course compatible with harsh treatment on the part of severe and capricious masters, and with cruelties practised on the negro by overseers. Of these Mr. Olmsted gives some instances. It is clear that where the whip is used, where there is no restraint placed on its exercise, where the evidence of slaves is not received, and where man wields over his brother man a power that is absolute and irresponsible, harsh usage will be not unfrequent and barbarities will occur. No doubt, in the breeding countries such as Virginia, these happen rarely; a man will not mutilate the negro any more than the grazier would mutilate his ox or cow. But in the producing countries, and in the process of sugar grinding and refining, where long spells of night-work occur, and when brisk work must be had at any terms, the laziness or sullenness of the negro will irritate the temper and provoke the passions of his master; and it is impossible not to see that between apathy and idleness on one side, and imperious demands on the other, opportunity will be given for passion and violence. Still no doubt the general impression, which Mr. Olmsted's observations leave, is, that cruelty is the exception and indulgence the rule. But the indulgence is often licentious and fatal, and the cruelty without redress or cure. For, as a planter admitted to Mr. Olmsted in Louisiana, “on all sugar plantations they work the negroes excessively, in the grinding season often cruelly.” They make them work eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, leaving but six for rest. If you maltreat your negroes, your neighbour won't tell, still less prosecute; for if he did, he would have you and all your friends as his mortal enemies. Hence even the laws which are passed for the protection of negroes are violated. There is a law requiring that meat should be served regularly to the negroes, but that law is little regarded. There is another law which forbids the working of negroes on Sunday, but the planter

admitted that almost every one worked their negroes on the Sunday. And when one planter opened a school-house for a church, as this induced the other negroes to wish for the same indulgence, he was forced by his neighbours to close his school-house on Sunday. In fact, in the generality of estates we find that the negroes are treated well as profitable animals, but that for their morals or their spiritual life there is neither thought nor care.

Unhappily such a system is not disagreeable to the negro; sensual and degraded, he becomes satisfied with bodily comforts; and it may serve to qualify the notion that the negroes are ready throughout the South to rebel, to find that in the main they are content with the life they lead. They see the free African as degraded as themselves, with this difference, that, as he is pauperized by his vices, he is often left to endure the pains of hunger and want: an old negress was struck with terror when her master threatened to send her away, to send her back to Africa. In Virginia, where they have peculiar advantages, a negro slave, who was intelligent and had been a sailor, visiting the ports both of the South and North, expressed a feeling which, we suspect, prevails widely. "I asked him once," said his master, "how he would like to live in New York." "Oh! he did not like New York at all, niggers were not treated well there. There was more distinction made between them and white folks than there was here. There ain't no place in the world like old Virginny for niggers, massa."

Doubtless we shall still have from Mr. Russell, and from other observers, remarks which will further illustrate the condition of the South and the system of American slavery. For these remarks we wait, and by these we may correct the impressions which this volume has left upon us. But from internal evidence we accept the testimony as trustworthy as far as it goes, though it is by no means complete.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND CLERICAL AND LAY ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

As a professed observer of "sayings and doings" in Christian society, you will, I think, be pleased to have your notice drawn to a body which, under the name of *The Church of England Clerical and Lay Association for the Maintenance of Evangelical Principles*, held its fourth annual conference at Bath on the 4th and 5th of June in the present year. In the Report* of

* Should any of your readers desire to see this Report, which contains notes of the subjects discussed,—list of 425 members, since which many may have joined, and some interesting papers,—they can obtain it by application to Rev. J. Emery, St. James' Parsonage, Gloucester.

the third Conference, held in June, 1860, at Clifton, the objects of the Association were thus set forth and commented on:—

“The first rule of the Association asserts the objects most clearly thus,—‘FIRST and principally for general CONFERENCE, with a view to mutual recognition, counsel, and communion at stated periods; next as an important adjunct, to afford opportunities for general consultation on all questions affecting the interests of Religion and of the Established Church; and lastly, to establish and maintain such an organization as may tend, as far as possible, to promote unity in action, in every case wherein such action may seem desirable.’

“The second, and subsidiary object, is ‘to afford opportunities for general consultation,’ &c. Little need be said upon this, except to remark that it holds the SECOND place in our objects. The Association formed for Conference becomes a natural and ready means for consultation on important public measures, but only when a sufficient interest is awakened on any particular question to render it advisable to consult. It is not the purpose of the Association to *seek out* questions of this kind, but to be *prepared* for them, if need be, when they arise. Great caution has been exercised, and, therefore, but little attempted hitherto. But when circumstances may hereafter render it desirable to call for a more general expression of opinion on public questions affecting the interests of religion, or of the Established Church, we feel that we possess the means of obtaining it, at least to the extent of our own members; and yet, in the interval, we remain more or less quiescent, with the view of avoiding unnecessary interference with other parties, or the adoption of any course which might tend to rouse or to cherish a spirit of hostility or contention.

“The third object, although possessing its due relative importance, is still more subsidiary to that which has been shown to be first and pre-eminent. There are undoubted occasions when the results of conference, discussion, and consultation, would require an *organization* to render them more practically effective. Under wise and prudent regulations, ‘unity in action’ is as desirable for the Evangelical as for any other body in the church; but such unity can only be effectually promoted by an established organization, ready to act when occasion requires. Nevertheless, the intention of the Association is not to constitute a Committee for the purpose of stirring up strife, or of attacking others; nor of watching for opportunities of busy action; but for the management of its internal affairs, and for the adoption of such measures as may be thought best calculated to promote the maintenance of the Evangelical principles of the Established Church. And our desire is, to accomplish this in a manner and spirit consistent at once with Christian candour, courtesy, and charity.”

To enumerate the various important and interesting subjects which, in the spirit of the above remarks, have been discussed by the Association, would occupy more time and space than I can expect you to allow me; but I will mention that at the late meeting the following were brought forward among others:—

1. The criteria of divine truth, more especially in relation to the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

2. Evangelism ; present state and prospects in the church of England.

3. The duty of the preacher in relation to existing evils, whether political, civil, or social ; with an inquiry into the system of preaching generally, and its results.

4. The impressions of the laity on the present position of the church of England in relation to its teaching, its machinery, and its services : its moral and spiritual influence on themselves ; their duty in connection with it as a church, and as a national establishment : and also a layman's view of lay influence and lay ministration in the church of Christ.

The discussion which arose on the last topic was so illustrative of one of the grand objects of the Association, viz., the free interchange of ideas and opinions between the clergy and laity, that I am induced to send you a transcript of the address in which it was introduced to the meeting by a layman, thinking you may deem it worth a place in your magazine. When I say that, although of course it expresses not an universal opinion, it was favourably and kindly received by a large audience, of whom the great majority were clergy, your readers will readily understand that candour and charity preside at our meetings, and how much good may be expected from their continuation.

C. R. F.

[NOTE.—The layman's address, though it well deserves the praise bestowed upon it, is too long for our pages : nor can we print what, in fact, would be a *report* of a speech already made public to a certain extent.—EDITOR.]

THE PROTESTANT DEACONESS-INSTITUTION IN PARIS.

SIR,—I wish, with your permission, to offer to your readers, at irregular intervals, a few letters on a subject concerning which I was allowed to write in the "*Christian Observer*" in the last month of 1858. The title of that contribution was "*Sunday Schools and Deaconesses*;" but it was remarked, in the course of it, that a paper with that special reference could only touch a part of a very wide subject. Since that time, the question of the female diaconate has made wonderful progress, both in public opinion and in actual experiment. The "*Bible Woman*" system has been established. The "*Missing Link*" has been published. And these, important as they are, are only specimens. Hospitals, workhouses, penitentiaries, and, above all, parishes, are feeling the impulse. The subject in all its range is under grave discussion. Contributions based

on actual knowledge and careful thought can hardly fail to be of some use, even if they are desultory and occasional.

There are various reasons why the consideration of the Paris Deaconess-Institution is an advantageous starting point. In the first place, its history is not very generally known.* When Deaconess-Institutions have been under consideration in England, our attention has been taken up with that of Kaiserswerth, not more than its importance deserves, but too much to the exclusion of others. I lay more stress, however, on this, that the Paris Institution has on the whole been the least successful of the Continental foundations of the same kind. It has therefore a special value controversially, on the principle that it is good policy in argument to understate your case. Moreover, the difficulties which have beset it are peculiarly instructive. It has struggled into existence through much debate, and in the course of this debate those points have come prominently into view which are likely to be most closely scrutinized in England. Our own people are naturally anxious to be fully informed of all the religious bearings of an organization which is pressed on their notice. The Paris Deaconess-Institution, though much smaller and weaker than some others, is, in this point of view, very rich in suggestions.

The first beginnings of a new religious enterprise are of great importance. We want to be satisfied concerning the spirit in which it has risen. Our first criticism is directed to this point. Our wish is to discover here the traces, so far as it is permitted, not only of human sagacity and human courage, but of Divine providence and Divine grace. I doubt whether any spiritual enterprises of our times will stand this test better than the founding of Deaconess-Institutions. I am well satisfied of this as regards the Institution in Paris.

As a mere matter of chronology, the idea of a female diaconate was probably quite as early with M. Vermeil as with Dr. Fliedner of Kaiserswerth, or any other of the founders of the various Deaconess-Institutions. He thought and spoke about the subject in 1830, or before. At that time he was pastor of a congregation in Bordeaux. It is of some interest to mention this; for it was from that congregation that the lady came, who was of eminent service in organizing the Institution in Paris, and who still presides there. The first steps of the undertaking were marked by those providential coincidences, on which a religious mind loves to dwell. This

* Among the scattered notices which have appeared at various times, we may particularly mention an appeal (inserted in the "Record" newspaper, and elsewhere, in 1850) for the formation of a body of English Deaconesses in association with the Paris Institution, and

especially with the view of rescuing English women in Paris from a life of misery and sin. The author of the appeal was Mr. E. A. Argent, for several years a successful agent of the Colonial Church and School Society.

is not the place for such private histories, however important they are for a complete criticism of undertakings of this kind. Suffice it to say, that about 1840, M. Vermeil, who had then removed to Paris, was urgently impressed with the need of giving a definite organization to female charity, especially with the view of aiding and guiding women who had been in prison. While at Bordeaux, Mdle. Malvesin had long been desiring "to devote herself entirely to some work of this kind"; and about this time the desire ripened, under the influence of a deep sorrow, into a strong conviction and resolution. "But the path was not clear. She wrote for counsel to M. Vermeil on the same day when he wrote to invite her to Paris." Thus, at the point of intersection of two Christian biographies, grew up this admirable Institution.

The work began with a difficulty which will probably be felt in England whenever any similar attempt is made. This difficulty will be apprehended more clearly, if we contrast the first steps of the Institution in Paris with the first of that in Strasburg.* There M. Härter, the founder, after a long parochial experience, found the Deaconess spirit rising among those who had been his own catechumens. Thus he began with a number of fit agents, gradually trained by himself from youth, and ready to act under others in a spirit of affectionate obedience. Here, on the other hand, it was difficult for Mdle. Malvesin to counsel and control those who were admitted at once as "Sisters" without any preliminary probation. It was always intended, however, at Paris, to have a "preparatory school" for Deaconesses; and this intention is now, after many hindrances, realised. This *Ecole Préparatoire* is in fact the Institution itself, each department furnishing its opportunities of instruction to those who wish to be Deaconesses; the Hospital being one class, the Penitentiary another, the Infant School a third. This threefold instruction corresponds with the threefold division of the work itself, which embraces in separate divisions the cure of the sick, the rescue of the guilty, and the teaching of the young. Under the second head we must include, besides the Penitentiary for voluntary inmates, and the Reformatory School for young girls who are placed there by authority of the law, a *Retenue*, just now in process of establishment, for those intermediate cases to which the steady but gentle influence of a female diaconate seems peculiarly applicable.

As regards the penitentiary, I was strongly convinced there, as I had been elsewhere, of the value of a system under which Christian women give their lives to the work, and reside day and night among those whom they wish to save,—as opposed

* An account of the Strasburg Deaconess-Institution, and of others mentioned below, will be found in the "Quarterly Review" for Oct. 1860, Art. *Deaconesses*.

to our English method of committees and matrons. Of all statistics, those connected with this subject demand a very cautious reserve. Some who give admirable promise, are presently discovered to be utterly fallen once more. Some who have left the temporary home in a furious outburst of passion, are found, after many years, to have traced a sincere repentance to the influence which they seemed to reject. I cannot, however, help noticing the encouraging statement, that, of the inmates of this Paris Institution, two-thirds are known to have been brought to an orderly and respectable life, and half of these two-thirds to have given proofs of a thorough religious conversion.

I have said that this enterprise, in its progress, has passed through considerable difficulties. This, in fact, is the one single Deaconess-Institution, among several that I have visited, upon which a slight shade of sadness seems to rest, in contrast with the buoyant elasticity and sustained strength which is conspicuous in all the others. Here only does there appear to be any embarrassment as regards funds. M. Vermeil's health has suffered seriously during the last few years. The number of Deaconesses, too, in the parent-house, is very small. Nor are any extended operations carried on beyond the limits of the parent-house. Here is a great contrast with Kaiserswerth, which has a multitude of out-stations. And further, no great impression seems to have been produced by the Paris work on the general body of French Protestants, whether belonging to the Confession of Augsburg, or to those who are technically called "Reformed." In the East of France, where the former or "Lutheran" tendency prevails, the Deaconess-Institution of Strasburg has struck its roots both deeply and widely. Among the "Reformed" Swiss, in Calvin's adopted country, Saint Loup has the sanction of public opinion. Such is not the case with France generally, (of course I mean France so far as it is Protestant,) with regard to the Paris Institution. For this it is not difficult to assign the reasons. The atmosphere of French Protestantism is, on the whole, both cold and light. With much love of independence and much dislike of authority, there is a great lack of the seriousness of spirit, and of the habits of simple earnest piety, which characterize many families in Germany and Switzerland. Thus, in France, women offer themselves very sparingly for the work of Deaconesses. Even those pastors who are favourable to the principle of the work, are very faint in their encouragement. And many are unfavourable to the principle. And besides the theoretical division of French Protestants into Lutheran and Reformed, we must remember that there is a wide prevalence of opinions which in England we should regard as far from orthodox; and by the divines of the free school, the establishment of Deaconesses seems never to have been viewed with favour. To all these influences we

must add the discouragement given by the State to Protestants, except where they are strong and numerous, and the determined opposition which the Roman Catholics have made to an enterprise which not only is conducted on evangelical principles, but has likewise an obvious tendency to win the affections of the poor.

It is well, as I have said, for an advocate of the Deaconess cause thus frankly to mention the weak side of what has been established by M. Vermeil and Mlle. Malvesin in Paris, if it were only for the sake of averting the charge of overcolouring his picture. But there is this further advantage in studying the history of the struggles of the Paris Institution, that we have in it an accumulation of much useful experience, and a record of important controversies, by attending to which we may hope in England to avoid the like. Perhaps the dullest of all printed books are the Annual Reports of benevolent societies; but the successive Reports of the Institution before us are full of valuable suggestions for those who wish to begin similar operations here. It is interesting to trace the stages of progress through difficulties, and the gaining of new positions after conflict; to observe how objections, which are likely to be made again, have been refuted already, and how a wide range of experience has been gradually obtained. In these papers we see the statutes as they have been revised on various occasions. Though the work has always been in principle the same, yet since the time when the first pamphlet was published in 1841, with the title *Etablissement des Sœurs de Charité Protestantes en France*, various modifications have been introduced in detail.* Speaking generally, this institution is "of the less severe and less ecclesiastical type, like those, for instance, of Riehen and Saint Loup, as contrasted with those of Kaiserswerth and Strasburg."†

As regards this feature, it may be interesting to notice how the establishment struck one of our best known and most deservedly respected Anglican theologians. Some few years ago the attention of Dr. Wordsworth was attracted to these Deaconesses of Paris, and in his journal we find the following passage:—

"Went to the Barrière of Charenton, near which is a recently established (viz. in 1842) Institution for *Diaconesses des Eglises Evangéliques de France*, as they term themselves, or *Sœurs de Charité Protestantes*. We were very kindly received by Mlle. Malvesin, the Sœur Supérieure, who is a very pleasing and affable person, and very simple in her manners and address. The costume of

* The adoption, after mature consideration, of the term *Diaconesse* instead of *Sœur de Charité Protestante*, is instructive.

† Thus, to mention a very small point, the Sisters have the option whether they will retain their baptismal or family names, and we find both in the printed list.

these sisters is certainly a great improvement on that of their namesakes the elder *Sœurs de Charité*, without being very different from it. This Institution differs in principle from the Society of the Romish Communion in the following respects. First, there are no *vows*, but only simple engagements for not more than two years, which may be dissolved for good reasons, with the permission of the governing body. *Point de séclusion* is another circumstance in which these Sisters state that they differ from the Romish sisterhood. It is certain that the conductors of this establishment desire to make it a religious one; the walls are inscribed with numerous Scripture texts; there are Bibles in all the rooms of the Sisters; and there is a Chapel in the building where they assemble for prayer, singing psalms, reading and exposition of Scripture, morning and evening daily. But here comes out an unhappy want of *principle*, a defect which is at the root of the system. The Institution is under the control jointly of the *two* different Protestant communions recognized and paid by the State in France, viz., the Reformed or Calvinistic, and the Lutheran or Confession of Augsburg; hence it has, and can have, *no common creed* and *no basis of unity*. The chapel *has* a *pulpit*, but *no altar*. The daily expositions of Holy Scripture in the chapel are given by the *Sœur Supérieure*, or by one of the other *Sœurs* deputed by her for the occasion, and are delivered extempore. This Society claims, in the official Prospectus of its constitution, to have no other basis than the *Gospel* (*de ne pas avoir pour base que l'Evangile*); but it is difficult to see how the members of the sisterhood can, consistently with this assertion, take upon themselves the title of *Deaconesses* without any due mission; and how can they reconcile their profession of a *Scriptural* foundation with their daily practice of *expounding Scripture*, when they meet in the Book which they expound with the prohibition which suffers them 'not to teach?' * *

Without touching upon the general ecclesiastical questions raised here, I will venture to make a comment on just three points in Dr. Wordsworth's criticism. It is hardly correct to say that the Institution is under the joint government of the two Protestant communions. Doubtless it receives sympathy, and a certain amount of co-operation, from members of both, though the "Reformed" are predominant in Paris, as the "Lutherans" are at Strasburg; but the establishment is really a private one, under the management of those who founded it. As to the exposition of Scripture by the Sisters, I think this can hardly be blamed without unduly pressing the letter of Scripture. I doubt whether the Deaconesses ever pass beyond the feminine sphere as defined by the Apostle. A very significant expression, used to me by M. Vermeil regarding the idea of the office was this, that though they could not be "ministres de la parole," they might be "ministres de l'action." And this point is closely connected with what is noticed of the peculiarities of the chapel. In order to avoid all ecclesiastical

* "Diary in France, mainly on topics concerning Education and the Church." London 1845; pp. 171—173.

complications, it was fixed that the chapel should not be used for the celebration of the sacraments, but only for the ordinary devotions of the house. This question, in all its bearings, is discussed in a very important controversy between M. Vermeil and M. Coquerel, published in the sixth Report of the Institution. But that controversy enters also on other questions of no slight consequence, and I believe it will be useful if I give some extracts. M. Coquerel is well known as an eloquent preacher, and as a leader in the free school of French Protestant theologians. He is not perhaps a Unitarian, but he is what we should call, in England, an Arian or semi-Arian. It is from this side of French Protestantism that the opposition to the Deaconess organization seems chiefly to have come. M. Coquerel wrote warmly against it, and M. Vermeil replied firmly. The former, referring to the published regulations, laid down certain conditions under which alone he could approve the new Institution. We give in order two of these requirements, with the explanations.

"1. *No obedience.* In the regulations I find the following passage: *The supreme authority is placed in the hands of the superintending sister; her duty is to see that rules are observed; and to her obedience is due.* Now this is the primary article of all monastic foundations; this is pure Romanism; charity thus contrived is not charity, but servitude; and all the more because a Deaconess cannot quit the Institution except after a notice of six months. These are not gospel principles, for the gospel of Jesus Christ is *the perfect law of liberty.* (James i. 25.)

"2. *No vows or engagements.* The Deaconesses, say the statutes, make no vows; they take engagements. But let us avoid here all illusion of words. If these religious engagements engage, then they are vows; and religious vows are an importation from Paganism or Mosaicism into Christianity. Our fathers abolished them throughout Reformed Christendom, judging them contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. Calvin says that true disciples ought not have their conscience bound. (See his *Commentary on Acts* xxi. 23.) On this point I am a Calvinist. But it is too true that, in establishing a monastic servitude, it was necessary to forge chains; and the only possible chains are religious vows. You determined to have obedience, and you insisted on its being promised before God. This is perfectly logical." (COQUEREL, pp. 4, 5.)

"1. '*No obedience.*' I agree with you as regards claustral, blind, monastic obedience, where those who obey are perfectly passive, and give up both conscience and will into the hands of a superior. . . . But there are two kinds of obedience. No doubt we require obedience. But where is it not required? when can it be dispensed with? Without obedience there can be no subordination; then what becomes of the family, of society, of the church? No association, no organization, no combined work is any longer possible; everything is broken up and crumbles away. But while speaking thus, I do not forget what truth and charity, evangelical liberty, and human dignity really demand. They demand—(1) that the obedience be free, reasonable, and con-

scientious; (2.) that in this obedience the law be supreme over her who commands as well as her who obeys; (3.) that it be possible to withdraw from the obedience. And these are our principles.

"2. '*No vows or engagements.*' You allege that the engagements taken by the Deaconesses are anti-Christian vows. But the difference is immense between the vow and the engagement. The latter is, in fact, simply like that which takes place in ordinary life, as in the case of servants, teachers, apprentices, &c. As in those instances, so in this: there is a term at which the engagements can be renewed or broken. . . . They are taken freely, not as before God or in His name, but simply with regard to an administration which receives the Deaconesses on their own application, instructs them during eighteen months at least, supplies them with the means of support, tends them in their sicknesses, and assures them of a home in old age. It is expressly stated, also, that the engagement can be broken, not only 'for urgent reasons,' but 'by mutual agreement,' seeing that 'the work claims no devotion but that which is willingly rendered.' If we ought to avoid illusions of words, surely we ought to avoid confusion of ideas." (VERMEIL, pp. 12—16.)

In the same Report a further answer is given to M. Coquerel by another writer:—

"*No obedience*, you say; but observing rules which you know beforehand, is no servitude. Following the direction of the person who is judged most capable, is not servitude. . . . If the law of Christ is *perfect liberty*, the bond of marriage is contrary to that law."

And then he adds :

"*No obedience* is equivalent to anarchy. What is any administration, without some chief to give direction and impulse? A body without a head or a mind, is a corpse."*

I add no comment on these extracts. These are questions which must be considered by those who contemplate the establishment of any analogous institutions in England; and I think it is not without advantage to present the controversy exactly as it has already occurred in France.

I will only say, in conclusion, concerning this Paris Deaconess-Institution, that it would be quite a mistake to conclude, from the preceding remarks, that it is a failure. If it was good policy to begin a series of papers on the Female Diaconate by understating my argument, it is due to the cause which is advocated to leave the reader in no doubt as to the success of this practical illustration of it. No doubt the Paris Institution has still to contend with difficulties. It is in a less favourable position now, with regard to Government, than when the late Duchess of Orléans could extend to it a powerful help. But even in public recognition it has been gaining ground of late. The municipality of Paris received so favourable a report of the establishment, from a commission appointed to examine

* Pages 30, 31, from "l'Echo de la Reforme."

it, that it has pledged itself to a large annual contribution; and within the last two years it has received from the central government that public authorisation which is only given to philanthropic institutions of acknowledged utility. As regards internal statistics, whereas in 1854 there were only fourteen Deaconesses, there are now twenty-one, exclusive of probationers.* As regards the successful maintenance of a principle under discouragements, this Paris Institution is peculiarly valuable and important. It is a firm outpost in an enemy's country. Its very struggles make it a most instructive sample of a system, which is growing and spreading, and which, in fact, has so grown and spread as to have become a feature of the best Continental Protestantism.—Your obedient servant,
J. S. H.

RICHARD BAXTER ON THE USE OF THE WORDS
PRIEST AND ALTAR.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—You have well and seasonably called our attention to the use of the term *Altar*, rather than that of the *Lord's table*. The former has been excluded from the Communion service of our church as inappropriate, and in the consciousness of the evil use made of it by Romanists.

The question is not new one of *bare names*, but of scriptural truth; and these are times when those faithful to that truth should feel it especially imperative to restrict themselves to our church's language in this matter. It were indeed happy if no cause of just suspicion had been thrown upon the use of the term *altar*, either by some of the clergy or others; and well if we might now regard each other as at liberty to use either that term, or the *Lord's table*, as each might please. But since some express such cordial abhorrence of the Reformation, and some avow the Popish views of the Scottish Episcopal Communion service as the *true faith*, and seek also to introduce it amongst us, this *scandal* renders an exclusive compliance with the language of Scripture and our Church, in this particular, the more incumbent on us.

It is well, therefore, that the public be awakened to the effects of admitting a term excluded from our service, and led to consider, that existing circumstances should now render its exclusion, as a scandal and word of *ill design*, permanent.

If you think fit to give admission in your next number to the subjoined 122nd question, as found in Baxter's *Cases of Con-*

* There has been an increase also in the out-stations. One Deaconess conducts a home for convalescents at Passy; one is at Rouen. Six, in all, are now labouring beyond the limits of the parent-house.

science about Matters Ecclesiastical, we may hope that the more sober and consistent members of our church will see that times and doings are such as to forbid that latitude of expression which purer days and more single purposes allowed.

According to Baxter's calm and moderate view of the question, the *exception* must *now* be the *rule*; whilst our church's service may well be our example, if we would maintain the purity of her teaching.

By the exclusion of that which is now an offence and instrument of evil, we shall avoid the condemnation, not of those who used the term *altar*, not foreseeing the advantage they would give the Papists, but the heavy culpability of those who, with their eyes open, have long seen why Romanists make use of it, and *now* see why Romanizers adopt it, seeking thereby to bring in an *ill sense* of it into our church, and to engraft on our Communion service their unscriptural and popish doctrine.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

H. J. D.

"QUESTION 122. May the name *priests*, *sacrifices*, and *altars* be lawfully *now* used instead of *Christ's ministers*, *worship*, and the *holy table*?

"Answer 1. He that useth them in design to bring in the popish transubstantiation and real sacrifice of the Mass, doth heinously sin in such a design and use.

"2. In a time and place where they may not be used without scandal, or tempting or encouraging any to their errors, the scandal will be a grievous sin.

"3. The New Testament useth all the Greek names which we translate *priests*, *sacrifice*, and *altars*, therefore we may use the same in Greek; and our translation and English names are not intolerable. If *priest* come from *presbyter*, I need not prove that; if it do not, yet all ministers are *subordinate* to *Christ* in his priestly office as essentially as in the rest. And Rev. i. 6, and v. 10, and xx. 6, it is said, that we are or shall be made *priests of God*, and *unto God*. And 1 Peter ii. 5, we are '*an holy priesthood*,' and ver. 9, a '*royal priesthood*.' If this be said of all, then especially of ministers.

"And the word *sacrifice* is used of us and our offered worship, 1 Pet. ii. 5, Heb. xiii. 15, 16, Phil. iv. 18, Ephes. v. 2, Romans xii. 1. And Heb. xiii. 10 saith, *We have an altar whereof they partake not*, &c. And the word is frequently used in the *Revelations* vi. 9, and viii. 3, 5, and xvj. 7, &c. in relation to gospel times. We must not, therefore, be quarrelsome about the *bare names*, unless they be abused to some ill use.

"4. The ancient fathers and churches did ever use all these words so familiarly, without any question or scruple raised about them, either by the orthodox or any heretics that at present I can remember to have ever read of, that we should be the more wary how we condemn the bare words, lest thence we give advantage to the Papists to make them tell their followers, that all *antiquity was on their side*. Which were very easy for them to prove, if the controversy were about the

names alone. Extremes and passionate imprudence do give the adversaries great advantages.

"5. The names of *sacrifice* and *altar* were used by the ancient churches, not properly, but merely in *allusion* to the Jewish and heathen *sacrifices* and *altars*, together with a tropical use from the Christian reasons of the name.

"As the Lord's Supper is truly the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice, and therefore called by Protestants a *commemorative sacrifice*; so that our controversies with the Papists is not, whether it be called a *sacrifice*, but whether it be *only* the *sacrament of a sacrifice*, or a *sacramental commemorative sacrifice*, or also a *real proper sacrifice* of the very *body* and *blood* itself of Christ. For we acknowledge that '*this is a sacrifice*' is no more tropical a speech than '*this is my body and blood.*'

"6. Yet it must be noted, that the Scripture useth the word '*sacrifice*' about *ourselves*, and our *thanksgivings* and praises, and works of charity, rather than of the *Lord's Supper*; and '*priests*' of all men, lay or clergy, that offer these foresaid sacrifices to God. Though the ancient doctors used them familiarly, by way of allusion, of the sacrament and its administrators.

"7. In a word, as no Christian must use these or any words, to false ends or senses, or deceiving purposes, nor yet to scandal; so out of these cases, the words are lawful: and as the fathers are not to be any further condemned for using them, that as the *words* (which they foresaw not) have given advantage to the Papists to bring in an ill sense and doctrine; so those that now live in churches and countries where the public professed doctrine doth free them from the suspicion of a Popish ill sense, should not be quarrelled with for the terms; but all sober Christians should allow each other the liberty of such phrases without censoriousness or breach of charity or peace."

THE BIBLE AND ITS CRITICS.

The Bible and its Critics: an Enquiry into the Objective Reality of Revealed Truths. Being the Boyle Lectures for MDCCCLXI. By the Rev. Edward Garbett, M.A., Incumbent of St. Bartholomew's, Gray's Inn Road; Author of "The Soul's Life," &c. London: Seeley and Griffiths, 2 Hanover Street, Regent Street. 1861.

THE Boyle Lectureship has not enriched the stores of theological literature to the extent which might have been anticipated; and which was doubtless hoped for by its illustrious founder. Bentley was the first lecturer. Appointed within two years of his ordination, his lectures at once established his reputation as a preacher, and in 1694 he was again nominated by the trustees, one of whom was Evelyn. His first Series was devoted to the refutation of the systems of Hobbes and Spinoza, and to the

popular exposition and recommendation of the discoveries with which Newton had just startled the world. These lectures went through several editions, and were translated into Latin by the profound oriental scholar Jablonski, author of the "*Pantheon Egyptiorum*." Their author was speedily rewarded with a Worcester canonry. The second series was never published, nor is it known that the author's manuscript is in existence. Bishop Van Mildert preached the Boyle as well as the Bampton Lectures. In later years, we believe that Canon Wordsworth and the Rev. W. G. Humphrey have held the office. But we must own to ignorance even of their subjects. The series of the Rev. F. D. Maurice, "*The Religions of the World*," was delivered in 1845-6, and has reached at least a third edition. In his preface Mr. Maurice intimates that they were delivered "to the eight or ten persons, who in the present times compose an ordinary week-day congregation." Hitherto they have been preached on the first Monday in the month, from September to May—an arrangement singularly infelicitous for securing listeners. The present bishop of London has sanctioned a new scheme, under which the lecturer shall submit his plan of subject, time, and place, each year to his lordship. In the present instance, the lectures were delivered, on consecutive Sunday afternoons, in Trinity church, Marylebone; and it speaks well both for lecturer and congregations, that Mr. Garbett is enabled to report in his preface that an "unexpected" measure of "success accompanied their oral delivery," "evidenced by the large and attentive congregations who listened to them."

But if the bishop of London is to be congratulated on his practical sagacity in the remodelling of the arrangements for the delivery of these lectures, still more so on his choice of a lecturer. Mr. Garbett was already advantageously known as the author of a volume of sermons of far more than average merit. And we learned with great satisfaction that an admirable sermon preached by him before the University of Oxford had been followed by his nomination to the office of Select Preacher. We have no hesitation in at once affirming that in his "*Bible and its Critics*" he has produced a great work. We use the term advisedly. It is a work worthy to usher in a new series of Boyle Lectures which shall take permanent rank with the noblest defences of our "most holy faith." Philosophical, but not dry; logical, but not dull; calm, without frigidity; controversial, without bitterness; enriched with the results of wide and well-digested learning—in style animated and, in more than one passage, thrillingly eloquent, but without declamation or bombast—above all, glowing throughout with the evidence that with the author "the gospel of the grace of God," and the inspired Book in which that gospel is revealed to us, are not subject matters for polemical contention and

dry argumentation only, but living and life-giving realities in his own heart—"the power of God unto salvation." Mr. Garbett's volume is emphatically a book for the times. And in a day when complaints are rife of a non-reading and unscholarly clergy, we rejoice that a volume, which would have added to the reputation of any of our university professors, has proceeded from the pen of one, not in the enjoyment of cloistered ease and leisure but, actively engaged in the pastoral duties of a London parish.

The Lectures would, under any circumstances, have demanded a somewhat extended notice at our hands; but their bearing upon the momentous controversy which has culminated in the "Essays and Reviews" invests them with special interest and importance. In the pages of the "Christian Observer" appeared one of the earliest—if not the first—of the many dissections to which that most mischievous volume has been subjected; and, we have been encouraged to believe, not the least successful. Mr. Garbett has not aimed at a specific and detailed refutation of every erroneous statement in that volume. But, inasmuch as his subject is "An Enquiry into the Objective Reality of Revealed Truths," in combating "that particular form of unbelief which holds all truth to be subjective; or rather treats it as if it were so"—he has necessarily been led to the discussion and refutation of "the latent principles on which the theological system of the Essayists is founded." These, he observes, "are few in number;" and adds with mournful and startling truth, they "are so closely identical with those of positive unbelief, that I acknowledge myself incompetent to distinguish between them." (Preface, p. v.)

Of the volume itself, Mr. Garbett thus speaks, (Preface, p. iv.) :—

"The production of such a volume, from persons holding the official positions of the writers, might unhappily be paralleled in Germany, but is, I believe, without precedent in the previous history of the church of England. The authors must be perfectly aware, that 'the Christianity,' which it is their avowed object to place on a new and more solid foundation, is not the Christianity embodied in the formularies of the church of England, or which is taught in the Scriptures, plainly understood by the laws of interpretation applied to other books. Nor would they probably deny, that, could they succeed in substituting their system of belief for that which has been hitherto held from the beginning, the change would involve a prodigious revolution, alike in the character of religion in general, and the position of the church of England in particular. It can therefore be no matter of surprise that others should appreciate the magnitude of this change as vividly as they must have done themselves, when they risked position and reputation by the bold avowal of their opinions; or that those, who believe the Bible to be in the strictest sense the Word of God, and that no church can stand if once dissevered from this

foundation, should come forward to vindicate their church and themselves from complicity with such opinions. Both parties to this controversy must be equally conscious, that the questions debated between them are primary and vital."

Such being the actual character and the true issue of the controversy with the Essayists, neither in his choice, nor in his treatment of his subject, has Mr. Garbett violated the intention of Robert Boyle, who, when he directed "that eight sermons should be preached each year in London, for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels, to wit, atheists, theists, pagans, Jews, and Mahometans," forbade the preacher to descend "lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves," adding, "that he should be ready to satisfy such real scruples as any may have concerning these matters, and to answer such objections and difficulties as may be started, to which good answers have not yet been made." Assuredly the controversy reaches further and deeper than to the points ordinarily recognised as controvertible "among Christians themselves." Well does Mr. Garbett affirm, that "whatever is destructive of revealed truth must be infidelity, and it were foolish to shrink from using the right name. No man ought to be ashamed to recognise to himself, or openly to avow before others, the proper character of his opinions. If Christianity is not true, there can be no more moral dishonour involved in the name of 'infidel;' and the instinctive shrinking from it, which is very perceptible among men, can only arise from an unconscious misgiving as to the solidity of the reasons for which Christianity has been rejected."

True,—as the lecturer remarks, with the candour and discrimination which characterize him as a controversialist,—“the tendency of an opinion is manifestly independent of any consciousness, or unconsciousness, of its true character, that may exist in the mind of those who hold it. It is conceivable, that the man who takes stone after stone from the outward edifice, may be unconscious of the tendency of his own acts, and might be startled at the thought of the destruction that he is consummating. His object may simply be to remove what seems to him an unsightly portion of the structure, or to search below for some imaginary treasures. It would be wrong to confound the motives of such a person with the recognized hostility of men deliberately bent on tearing down the edifice that shelters you; but it is as necessary to watch against the one as against the other.”

There are those among us who, when warned that the tendency of the Essayists is to infidelity, reply, “We see no force in the objection, and are not to be prejudiced by it against their principles and arguments.” If we understand the rejoinder, it means that we are bound to consider the truth of

the principles and arguments themselves, and to follow them, if found true, fearlessly, and without thought of the consequences in which they may land us. By all means, if infidelity be truth, let us embrace it, with all its credulities. But surely when we detect beneath principles and objections and arguments, tricked out though they be in modern dress, the very steps by which, in past ages, men have been landed in the deadly swamps of an oft-refuted infidelity, we may well pause and ponder solemnly the path of our feet.

We have often striven, but striven always in vain, to ascertain definitively and precisely the authority which the Bible, Christianity, and Christ occupy in the minds of those who repudiate with indignation the charge of infidelity, but have admitted principles, and taken up with objections, which are absolutely fatal to the Divine pretensions alike of the book, the religion, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. We remember to have heard a Jewish Rabbi lauded for his enlightenment and liberality, because he spoke in complimentary terms of Jesus of Nazareth as a teacher, a benefactor, and a good man. But surely such compliments ignore the point at issue. Jesus of Nazareth claimed to be, not simply a teacher, nor a benefactor, nor a good man sent from God, but—**THE MESSIAH**. He was *that*, or an impostor. The Bible claims to be the word of God. Its utterances are based upon "Thus saith the Lord." It is the Word of God or it is a lie—adorned indeed with literary beauties, and valuable for curious glimpses of antiquity, but, as a book claiming an inspiration and a Divine authority for which it has no title—a lie. Christianity claims to be from God—the revelation of Divine mercy in a remedial scheme of salvation for a fallen world. Tell us not about its morality nor its beneficial tendency—it is from God, or it is a cunningly devised fable. No intermediate ground is tenable for an instant. The issue is between the reception of the Bible as God's book of inspired and infallible truth, of the Gospel as His power unto salvation, of Christ as His Son and His gift, and the alone Saviour of the lost—and the rejection of all as unworthy of our faith and hope.

The headings of Mr. Garbett's lectures will indicate his general plan and the ground which he has traversed: I. Reality of Revealed Truths; II. Testimony of the Scriptures; III. Modern Speculation; IV. The Soul and its Wants; V. Witness of Heathenism; VI. Christianity the Power of God; VII. Infidelity, its Origin and History; VIII. Free Thought. His main proposition is, "that Christianity consists of a definite and positive body of truths that admits neither of addition nor of diminution." To guard against "the manifest retort, that in discarding this fact or that doctrine, it is not Christianity that is discarded, but the additions or corruptions



that human systems have added to the original revelation;" he insists on the necessity of defining "the limits of the revelation," and of asserting "the objective reality of the doctrines it contains." It is a scheme, not "indefinite, shifting, undeveloped," but "definite, positive, complete." And in no part of this masterly volume is our lecturer more powerful, either in thought or language, than when dealing with that "subjective idealism which allows no existence to anything beyond the mind itself," and which is "the common characteristic of the latest systems of German thought."

"To prove that revealed truths have an actual existence, independently of the mind which believes or disbelieves them, and that they cannot, therefore, be affected by *à priori* objections, is to shut the door at once against a very considerable proportion of these objections, and to reduce the controversy within such defined limits as admit of a conclusive issue. So long as it is admitted to be a valid argument against Christianity, that it does not correspond with the ideas which may possibly be framed by the mind of the propriety or impropriety of Divine dealings, an issue is evidently impossible; for notions which are arbitrarily entertained by the individual reason admit neither of proof nor disproof. If, on the contrary, there is an objective reality about revealed truths, the controversy resolves itself into a question of evidence in which *à priori* considerations are reduced to their proper position, as parts, but parts only, not the whole, of the argument." (pp. 353, 354.)

In an early stage of his argument, Mr. Garbett distinguishes the legitimate functions of *à priori* or speculative reasoning, and protests against it only "when it quits its subordinate place, and sets itself up as the competent opponent to Christianity with its positive evidences." The danger of German theology, it is unnecessary to observe, arises from the preference of speculative, or *à priori* reasoning, to the inductive, or *à posteriori*, which commends itself to the English mind, and to which we owe the marvels of modern scientific discovery. And,

"It is a notable distinction between the two schools, that those writers who have pursued the speculative method have more or less positively rejected Christianity, while those who have followed the inductive have been Christian, a pregnant hint as to the character of the two systems." (p. 105.)

In applying his observations on this point to the Deity himself, Mr. Garbett truly observes,—

"If we claim to form of ourselves an adequate idea of God, it can only be by removing the chasm which divides finite from Infinite, limited from Absolute, creature from Creator. In short, the very idea annihilates God. If in the possibilities of things He can be adequately conceived by the innate powers of the human soul, then God can be no longer God." (pp. 94, 95.)

He is equally happy in dealing with "*a speculative criticism.*" The extreme brevity of many of the Scripture narratives necessarily lays them open to captious attack. And injudicious attempts to harmonize where we have not the necessary data, have suggested imaginary points of weakness. In no single instance do the inspired historians profess to give us a minute, complete, and exhaustive biography or history. In dealing with such narratives, all candid, and indeed all fair, criticism demands that we bear in mind that one single omission, could it be supplied, would probably remove all discrepancy and difficulty; or that, in some cases, there may yet be forthcoming testimonies from antiquity which shall corroborate and place beyond doubt the truth and minute accuracy of the sacred writers. Of this Mr. Garbett gives interesting and striking instances:—

"It is recorded in the Second Book of Kings (xx. 12), and in the historical chapters of Isaiah (xxxix. 1), that Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, because he heard that he had been sick. It was objected that no such king existed, and that Babylon was not a separate monarchy at the time. But the information supplied by a fragment of Berosus removes all the difficulty, and informs us that Merodach Baladan was an usurper, who reigned independently at Babylon for six months, and was then overthrown by Sennacherib.* Another instance is that of Belshazzar, mentioned in the Book of Daniel (v. 1). The narrative of the prophet appeared to be in absolute contradiction to the statement of Berosus, that the last Babylonian monarch was absent from the city at the time of its capture by the Persians, was afterwards taken prisoner, and treated with much kindness by Cyrus. But documents found at the ancient Ur by Sir H. Rawlinson have again removed the difficulty. They shew that Nabonadius, the last king of Ptolemy's canon, associated with him on the throne, during the later years of his reign, his son Bil-shar-uzur, and allowed him the royal title.† A third instance is supplied by the title ascribed in the Acts of the Apostles to Sergius Paulus, the Roman governor of Cyprus.‡ It was urged that this particular title implied the pro-consular dignity, and that officers of such a high rank are known not to have been appointed to govern so small a dependency. Moreover that the island was one of the imperial provinces, and would therefore be governed by a pro-prætor or consular legate. Yet both difficulties have been removed. The latter by a close examination of the passage of Dio Cassius, on which the objection was founded; the former by the subsequent discovery of a coin of the time of Claudius, dug up in the island, and bearing on its inscription the precise title given to Sergius Paulus by the sacred historian."§ (pp. 117, 118.)

* Dr. Wiseman's "Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion," pp. 363, 371.

† Rawlinson's "Bampton Lectures," p. 170.

‡ Acts xiii. 7, τῷ ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ Κερύλλῳ Παύλῳ.

§ "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," by Conybeare and Howson; cap. v. p. 676.

And the words in which Leland exposes, in the early English deists, a fallacy employed by Mr. Goodwin, are well quoted :—

“It is another form of speculative criticism, where out of several possible senses of the same word, the critic chooses that particular one which makes the worst of the author’s meaning, and then proceeds to argue from it. Thus it is assumed that the word translated ‘firmament’ in Genesis i. 6, is used in the particular sense of a ‘permanent solid vault;’ and then, having fastened upon Scripture this supposed sense, the critic proceeds to show that it is irreconcilable with the discoveries of modern astronomy.* This is an old weapon of infidelity. Leland describes it as a favourite fallacy of the early English deists. ‘Candid critics, if they meet with a passage in Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Tully, or any other celebrated profane author of antiquity, which at first view has something in it which they cannot well explain and account for, are very unwilling to charge the original author with nonsense or absurdity, and think themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavours to find out a convenient or favourable sense of the passage in question. But with this writer (Chubb), and many others of the same class, it seems to be a rule to interpret every passage of Scripture in the most absurd sense that can possibly be put upon it.’” (pp. 122, 123.)

We are multiplying quotations, but cannot withhold the following, in which Mr. Garbett puts with irresistible clearness and power the case of the Christian in reference to alleged discrepancies between the contents of revelation and the ascertained facts of science or other portions of its own contents :—

“The weight of the objection depends entirely on the proof that the alleged discrepancies are so absolutely contradictory, that both cannot possibly be true. Thus, when objections are raised against the Mosaic cosmogony, it is necessary to prove that it can in no possible mode be harmonized with science. When objections are urged against any given portion of the evangelical histories, on the ground of discrepancies between them, it must be proved that these discrepancies forbid the possibility of both the accounts being equally true. If the objection does not prove this, it proves nothing. To make the argument valid, it must not only be shewn that the discrepancies have not been reconciled, but that they cannot be reconciled by the fuller information, or the more accurate science of the future. In short, it needs to accomplish the hopeless task of proving a negative. Against this ‘cannot’ of the infidel stands the ‘may’ of the Christian. We need nothing more than this for the necessities of our position. The assertion of the evidences is, that revelation ‘is’ true; the objection of the infidel is, that it ‘cannot’ be true, the rejoinder of the Christian that it ‘can’ and ‘may.’ Thus a hundred different modes may be suggested of reconciling the Mosaic account of the creation with the results of science. It is immaterial to the Christian position to decide which of these is true; it is enough that they are possible. The very number and variety of the proffered explanations only increases the emphatic disproof of the

* Mosaic Cosmogony.—“Essays and Reviews,” pp. 220.

infidel negative, since they represent so many different channels of possible reconciliation." (pp. 127, 128.)

Before we pass from the subject of over-confident criticism on apparent discrepancies — specially the discrepancies of Genesis with modern science—we may remark, that it would be well for the philosophic rationalists, before they finally class the Mosaic record with "the speculation of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton," to moderate their confidence in their own conclusions. In "An Address on the chief points of Controversy between Orthodoxy and Rationalism, delivered to the Fellows of Sion College, by the Rev. B. M. Cowie," we are reminded that the Darwinian theory is opposed by nearly all eminent naturalists (Professor Huxley excepted) at home and abroad; and that one of the highest and most unprejudiced living authorities on the subject, M. de Quatrefages, has recently published an essay, in the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," controverting the notion of the impossibility of the descent of mankind from a single pair. While, in regard to geology, we are warned against the crude conclusions and dogmas of some of its professors by the assurance of professor Worsaae, of Copenhagen:—"I feel convinced that we are at the commencement of the most remarkable discoveries." And our lecturer well contrasts with the bold assertion of professor Powell, that Darwin's theory "must soon bring about an entire revolution of opinion in favour of the grand principle of the self-evolving powers of nature," the fact that "the most distinguished authorities in science are against it;" and that "Owen, Murchison, Daubeney, and others, in their respective spheres, treat it almost with contempt." (pp. 350, 351.)

In dealing with "The Soul, and its Wants," Mr. Garbett brings out with great clearness and strength that which Dr. Temple has ignored in his Essay:—"The remedial character of the gospel, as declared in the prophecies, typified in the law, and fully manifested in the work and offices of Christ." Shallow readers of Dr. Temple's Essay, and readers who have never, under the teaching of God's Spirit, discerned their own spiritual need, and the adaptation of the gospel as a scheme of mercy and salvation to meet that need, fail, as fail they must, to detect the lamentable defectiveness of this Essay. Dr. Temple's theology has already been examined in our pages; we need not, therefore, digress into it largely now. But Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Baden Powell are abandoned by many who tell us that Dr. Temple's Essay is, at least, unobjectionable and harmless. We affirm that Dr. Temple's specious, but untenable, theory leaves no room for the introduction of the everlasting gospel of the grace of God as the remedial scheme for a ruined world. The gospel is not needed. The "colossal

man" is self-developed, under successive stages of training. Mr. Maurice says that this "phrase is worthy of Comte, and was probably learnt from him;" and while he is in rapture with the "admirable conviction" of Dr. Temple, which underlies his Essay, complains dolefully that "this Essay" is "disappointing, almost heartbreaking, to those who had hoped for so much from it," because the essayist has given us a "hard notion," a "scholastical figment," about monotheism, in place of "the living lessons of Scripture."* Be this as it may, Mr. Garbett has demolished "the colossal man" in a passage which we reluctantly withhold, but which we commend to the reader's notice. (Lect. iv. pp. 139—142.) There is "a substantial unity and identity of human nature," in all ages. There has been no advancement in man's mental capacity or genius, no accession of mental faculties, "no sign of any colossal progress" in man's intellectual or moral nature. Essentially the wants and yearnings of man's nature are unchanged. And to these the gospel is adapted. And in that book of which the revelation of the gospel is the Alpha and Omega, we have not simply, nor primarily, the element of human experience and human utterance, but of a Divine message. The Bible is "the record of" the "opinions and religious life" of its penmen, but it is "at the same time much more." Lecture IV. appears to us one of the ablest portions of the volume, and we should gladly have extracted more than one passage. The reality and truth of man's moral wants—their influence as the most pregnant sources of happiness or misery—the argument that any true philosophy of man must satisfy, not his intellect only, but these inalienable wants—the trial of infidelity and Christianity respectively by this test—the touching description of the agonies of bereavement, mocked as they must be by the gloomy prospect of annihilation—are brought out with great power and beauty. The hopes imparted by the gospel flow to us from a revelation of objective truths, conveyed to us in inspired records not to be interpreted as if they were wholly subjective, and thus shifting in their authority and teachings. These objective truths—the facts and doctrines of the Divine word—admit of no change or addition by reason of human progress or enlightenment. There can be no discoveries in theology. Biblical criticism may become riper. New sources of light may be opened up to assist us in the readings and in the interpretation of the sacred text. But, whatever triumphs be in store for science—for the naturalist, the astronomer, the geologist, the chemist—no future Cuvier or Newton, no Hugh Miller or Faraday, can add anything to, nor by one iota vary the facts of, the inspired

* Tracts for Priests and People. No. II., *The Mote and the Beam*. By Rev. F. D. Maurice.

records of the Old or New Testament; nor shall any such discover another gospel than the gospel of paradisaic and patriarchal promise, of legal type, of Jewish prophecy—the gospel of Bethlehem, of Gethsemane, and of Calvary—the gospel of eternal counsel and purpose, which “angels desire to look into,” and in which the principalities and powers of the universe behold the highest manifestation of the wisdom, no less than of the love, of God.

This unchangeableness of the gospel is, we are well aware, a source of disappointment and of offence to not a few of the restless spirits of our day. They would have their religion to bear that impress of change and discovery which characterizes all departments of human science and art. In a day in which physical science is making such rapid and marvellous strides, are we to stand still in theology? In these days of steamboats and railways and photographs and electric telegraphs, of iron-cased vessels and Armstrong guns; when we neither travel nor fight as did our grandfathers; when science has revolutionized the face of the civilized world,—are we to go to heaven (if heaven there be) as did our grandsires and the men before them? Surely, there should be progress in religion corresponding to progress in all besides. An enlightened age surely can with advantage bring to bear the power of modern thought, with its intuition and verifying faculty, upon God’s word, no less than upon His physical laws, and even upon God himself. Such are the proud, self-confident, and restless struggles of many minds, led captive by the spell of progress, enlightenment, independence, and free thought. The humble student of his Bible, the believer who has entered the kingdom as a little child, rejoices that while all else is changing, and the discoveries of to-day render obsolete those of yesterday; that while the astronomer is more accurately mapping the heavens and discovering new planets; and the geologist developing and perfecting his crude science; and the naturalist and the chemist penetrating yet more deeply into the secret laws of the God of nature; he has found, not perfect but, unchanging truth; that, in respect of the way of salvation, he knows, or may know, as much to-day as shall be known to the expectant saint who shall be found alive at his Lord’s appearing.

We cannot now follow Mr. Garbett in detail through “The Witness of Heathenism,” from which he deduces the two kindred truths—the universal acknowledgment of those wants of the human soul, and the universal inability of unassisted human nature to supply them, which are fully met by the gospel. And we must leave our readers to peruse for themselves the lecture on “Christianity the Power of God.” The origin and history of infidelity are concisely sketched in the next lecture. Exposing and rebuking the overweening pre-

sumption which characterizes modern thought, denying the learning, depreciating the genius, rejecting the experience of former times, the lecturer observes :—

“ But this unjust depreciation of the ability and learning of other days is applied, indiscriminately, to all those generations of the church of Christ, which link our own times with the primitive ages of Christianity. The distinguishing phase of modern thought rests entirely upon this. For shifting the ground of old attacks, and approximating, at all events, to a confession of the antiquity and genuineness of the Christian books, it concentrates effort against their credibility, as historical records. It represents them as not being, what is commonly supposed, plain statements of facts, but resolves them either into ideas, or into the utterances of a moral consciousness, according to the school from which the objection comes. Now, it must be remembered, that while idealism itself is old, this almost absolute denial of the historical element is carried further than has ever been done before. The church of Christ, from the apostles' days downwards, has never doubted of the historical truth of the scriptural history, or the objective reality of its doctrines. The whole voice of the church is unanimous on this subject. I do not attempt to present a catena of authorities, because the evidence would cover the whole field of Christian literature. If modern criticism is in the right, the whole learning, and genius, and piety of eighteen centuries must be wrong, and their whole experience be one enormous and inexplicable blunder.” (pp. 298, 299.)

Our modern infidels and essayists, whether pantheists, spiritualists, ideologists, or intuitionists, are shown to be but the resurrectionists of old cavils and heresies. Pantheism, as is well known, is as old as Egypt, Hindooism, and Buddhism. Spiritualism (esteeming all religions to contain more or less of the elements of truth, and distinguishing between the essence of Christianity and such outward circumstances as those which relate to the person, character, and authority of Christ) is traced back to the early Alexandrian school, to the Ebionists, and to Ammonius Saccas. Lord Herbert of Cherbury was but a revivalist; as also Messrs. Parker, Newman, and the Spiritualists of our own day. The genealogy of Ideology, which finds its modern champion in the Rev. H. B. Wilson, is derived, as every tyro in church history knows, from Philo, the Jewish Cabbala, and the Gnostics. The figment of an intuitionist faculty comes to us from Alexandria. Similarly, the Essayist theory of prophecy—the elevation of the moral and didactic element to the eliminating of the predictive, and the denial of its evidential value—the assault on miracles; the allegations of discrepancy and contradiction; these, and, with few exceptions, every modern objection, are substantially, and, in modified phases and proportions, the weapons of olden time and of early foes. The vaunted objections of our modest free-thinkers are assumed to arise from “a special development of scientific

opinion, which has outgrown the beliefs of other days." But, as Mr. Garbett has shewn conclusively, this is an audacious and an untrue assumption. We are haunted by the ghosts of old heresies. Let us not be scared as if some new weapons had been forged against the inspiration, miracles, prophecies, and histories of the book of God—a weapon against which truth may possibly be found to fail. The church is fighting an old and an oft-won battle. Now, as of old, she has many a champion "valiant for the truth;" now, as of old, her Captain and His Spirit are with her. She shall again triumph.

In his concluding lecture, on "Free Thought," Mr. Garbett points out that, in the present phase of the controversy, we have not to meet the charge of wilful imposture on the part of the inspired penmen:—

"The argument, which presses for present refutation, admits the comparative antiquity of the books of Scripture, and in regard to many of them acknowledges their authenticity, but denies their infallibility as a Divinely-appointed rule of faith and practice. It asserts them to have grown out of human tendencies, to be subject, therefore, to the approval or disapproval of the human conscience, and alleges that they have no binding authority whatever, beyond what they derive from the decisions of the soul itself." (pp. 354, 355.)

And adds, truly:—

"It is the peculiarity of this system that, accepting more or less the outward framework of Christianity, it retains much of the Christian phraseology. It professes to be, not the destruction, but the renovation of Christianity. It speaks for the most part respectfully of Christ and of His apostles. It rejects with indignation the monstrous vices, and even the reckless license, which tended in other days to make the name of infidel opprobrious. It disavows alike the character and the epithet. It uses the old familiar language, which has become entwined with men's dearest associations. It talks of submissive faith, of the inspiration of the Scriptures, of the authority of God's Word, of sin and of reconciliation, of atonement and of the Spirit. So far as the mere words are concerned, its language may be mistaken by the careless observer for that of Christianity itself. It thus becomes eminently deceptive; for it puts on the garb of faith, and hides beneath a mask the real outlines of its lineaments." (p. 355.)

We are glad to find Mr. Garbett remarking, in reference to our retention of old and familiar terms,—dear to us, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the truths which they express,—that the church has a right to her own phraseology, and that the outcry against "cant phrases" "has itself degenerated into a cant of the worst kind." The cant of the Evangelicals is often thrown at them as a reproach. Every theological school and party is driven to the frequent use of particular terms. And if our terms be scriptural, or such as have been appropriated by the church catholic for ages, we

must beware of surrendering or being ashamed of the terms, lest we surrender and become ashamed of the vital and precious truths which they express. No doubt, when terms are used as mere shibboleths, or as words of course, they become cant terms, whether in the mouth of High Churchman, Broad Churchman, or Evangelical. And assuredly we cannot read the writers of either of the two former schools without soon perceiving that, as preachers, as speakers, and as authors, they too have their technical and party terms, to which it is easy for us, if we will, to affix the opprobrious designation of "cant."

In this closing lecture, the various hypotheses of unbelief, in reference to the origin and rise of Christianity, are examined, and the just powers and limits of man's mental faculties, in reference to religious truth, stated. On no point, as it appears to us, is the case more unfairly put by shallow pretenders to free and enlightened thought. Thus, in an article in a widely circulated provincial paper, now lying before us, we read that Dr. Williams insists "that there is no necessity why a *really rational view of religion should be inferior to a blind and unreasoning acceptance.*" Here is the oft-repeated and oft-refuted fallacy. We do not ask "a blind and unreasoning acceptance"—an acceptance opposed to a really rational view of religion. It is *not* rational to constitute reason the supreme judge of subject matter beyond its powers. "We simply deny the existence of any human powers capable of discerning the realities of the unseen world, and support our denial by the irrefragable evidence of facts." We do not say to a rational being, "Here is a subject on which you are fully qualified to reason; one which is entirely, or in a great measure, within the ken and compass of your faculties, but you are forbidden their exercise, and shut up unto a blind credulity:" rather, "Here is a subject beyond reason, and on which it is rational to receive the accredited revelation of the Most High." And in its dealings with the Bible itself, we are willing, as Mr. Garbett observes, to allow the employment of reason, as upon any other book, if only "the same standard for judgment" be adopted. "Every book must be judged upon its own theory." "The theory of the Bible is, that it is a revelation from God." "*Our complaint against infidelity is, that it treats the Bible as it treats no other book.*" "To measure it by the criterion of a human book, is to assume the whole question disputed between the Christian and the infidel."

Here then we lay down the Lectures. In our examination of them, we have found ourselves at one time grappling with open infidelity, at another time with the Essayists and Reviewers. We have from time to time checked ourselves and asked, "Are we not creating an undue prejudice against the latter by placing them in close and continual juxtaposition with the

former?" But it is so in Mr. Garbett's pages. So true is the assertion of his preface, that "the latent principles on which" their "theological system is founded, and which are necessarily involved in it," are so "closely identified with those of positive unbelief, that I acknowledge myself incompetent to distinguish them." We confess to the same incompetency. Given, Dr. Temple's system of human progress, in which the remedial character of the gospel is ignored—given, the Essayists' view of Inspiration, the preponderance of the human element, the subjectivity of revealed truth—given, Intuition, the verifying faculty, Idealism, and Ideology—given, Mr. Baden Powell's assault on miracles and Dr. Williams's theory of prophecy, Mr. Goodwin on Genesis, and Mr. Jowett as an interpreter—and you have fairly surrendered the bulwarks and the citadel. As has often been urged in this unhappy controversy, the surrender of miracles is fatal; for it involves the abandonment of the Incarnation and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ.

What is the residuum of a Rationalist's Bible? Mr. Garbett has not dealt with the Essayists, Essay by Essay, point by point, throughout the ramifications of their system of falsehood. But he has chosen his battle-ground well, in directing his inquiries into the objective reality of revealed truth. He has asserted principles and established conclusions which are fatal to the assumption of a verifying faculty which makes man, in the pride of his *à priori* speculations and inner light, a Bible to himself and a critic of his Maker's revelation. Fatal too to an Ideology which makes the Bible a kaleidoscope, to be turned and shaken at the fancy of every man who handles it, presenting at each turn a new and fanciful combination of ever varying truth. If he has not dismembered Dr. Temple's colossus limb by limb, he has shewn him to be, not flesh and blood, but a man of straw.

We understand that the Boyle lecturer is to hold office for three years. Mr. Garbett, by the excellence of his first series, has placed a formidable difficulty in his own way. He has set up a high standard. But he has shewn his ability to reach it. Not a few able refutations of particular points in the Seven Essays have already been put forth. Other able pens are now busy in defence of the book of God against its critics. We form high expectations of the contributions promised by Professors Mansel, Ellicott, Heurtley, and their colleagues. But we question whether any volume will surpass in varied excellence that which we now heartily commend to our readers. The Boyle lecturer has laid the axe to the root. Were his volume to stand alone, the "Essays and Reviews" are answered.

BEAUFORT'S EGYPTIAN SEPULCHRES AND SYRIAN SHRINES.

Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines; including some Stay in the Lebanon, at Palmyra, and in Western Turkey. By Emily A. Beaufort. In two volumes. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

A BOOK of travels used to be estimated by the romance of its adventures. It is now valued by its facts. Perilous exploits and hairbreadth escapes may float a volume through the book-club; but unless it is found to add something to our stock of knowledge, either by important discoveries or by shedding new light upon the discoveries of others, no amount of personal adventure, no romance of scene or circumstance, will save it from neglect. The world, in fact, is growing old and commonplace; and we are becoming too well acquainted with its features. Before our children have left the nursery, they know more of the Sphinx and Pyramids, the catacombs of Rome and the caves of Elephanta, than their fathers knew when they left the University. The surface of the earth seems to have been explored: it is only by digging underground and rooting up the trunks and fragments of a long since decayed civilization, buried beneath the morass, that modern travellers can gain attention. Africa alone, and the heart of China, are unexplored; but we wait with patience till Dr. Livingston shall tell us more about the one, and some yet unknown Medhurst will no doubt give us, and probably grievously disappoint us with, accurate information respecting the hitherto impenetrable recesses of the other.

Here are two volumes of foreign travel; the foreign travel of two sisters, English ladies, who go forth, *sans peur et sans reproche*, with that strange mixture of feminine delicacy, love of adventure and perfect self-reliance, which makes an English gentlewoman, to those who are not acquainted with her ways, the strangest creature upon earth. A few pages carry us agreeably in their society from the neighbourhood of Hyde Park, on a misty, foggy December day, to the now "fashionable and crowded Nile." Here, with one maid-servant to wait upon them, their pleasure is to purchase a boat. A beautiful boat they say it was; they thought her "the best and most comfortable boat upon the Nile, and only two were larger." The boat must have a name; an English name, of course. So they painted on her side the "Wandering Maiden," greatly to the amusement of other travellers, and not a little, it is evident, to their own. It must have been a formidable affair; for "the crew consisted of the reis, or captain, the mestahmel, or steersman, fourteen sailors, and their cook-boy; besides which

our dragoman had his own servant, a boy called 'Ali; and these, with our cook, our own maid, and a German man-servant, amounted to twenty-three persons on board our Fair Maiden." Thus they sailed about, landing by day and returning to their boat at night. They visited Nubia, and saw the magnificent ruins of Egypt; but here a sad calamity overtook them, which, we must do them the justice to say, they bear with more fortitude, or at least describe with more gaiety, than we should have expected even from the rougher sex. While they are on shore on a visit to the magnificent temple of Edfou ("without hats, for it was a very sultry night"), a mass of flame attracted their attention. Their boat was in a blaze, and within a quarter of an hour their boat was gone. Their attendant, Phyllis—

"Had gone out, as she usually did in the evenings, to walk for a few minutes on the bank; she had been ironing till dark in the stern-cabin, and had hung up a quantity of clothes on lines across it; on leaving it she omitted to lock the door behind her, and 'Ali, the sailors' cook-boy, seized the opportunity of going in, with a light in his hand, to steal money out of the man-servant's coat, which was hanging up inside, or perhaps to pilfer the store bags of nuts, raisins, &c., which were there also."

In short, he had set the boat on fire, and it burnt to the water's-edge and sank. Our travellers relate with gratitude the courtesies of the English gentlemen sailing on the Nile, in rendering them every assistance; and, we are ashamed to repeat it, the want of courtesy from some English ladies, or those who, from their appearance, should have been such. They had lost their wardrobe, of course; one young lady lent them "all she could spare of the clothes we so much needed;" another shared with them—

"Everything she possessed with the most unselfish kindness; but from the boats then at Luxor no other body broke through the formalities of lacking an introduction to English women in distress; and we found our countrymen far more generous and thoughtful for us than our countrywomen; all their little stores of handkerchiefs, brushes and combs, needles and threads, &c. &c., were brought out and pressed upon us, and one gentleman even sent us shawls and green veils!

"There was one very large dahabieh with a small party on board, which came down the river to Luxor while we were there:—they offered nothing of their own accord, but in our utter distress for some of the common necessities that gentlemen could not supply, we ventured to send our maid on board to ask for some common materials requisite for making up the clothes we had contrived out of Arab cotton; the reply to this our first essay in the art of begging was—the gift of *one hook and eye*! We sought for nothing more from that boat." (i. 73, 74.)

Sometimes, it is true, the wandering maidens were in danger

of being forced to marry against their will; and the ladies at Damascus, like some ladies in other lands, were a little too officious in promoting these matters. "The women pestered us with ceaseless questions as to what we had done with our husbands—where we had left them—what could have induced them to let us go so far without them?—and I do not think they were ever persuaded that we had none; though finally the old woman ran after us emphatically intreating us—'Oh, maiden, maiden! if you really have not got a husband, do let me send for such-and-such a marriage-merchant from the bazaar!'" The tempting offer seems to have been declined; and the wandering maidens returned home still rejoicing in their freedom from hymeneal bonds.

Turning to graver matters; we will accompany these adventurous travellers in some of their visits to that elder world, of which the wrecks are to be found in the desolated and long-buried cities of the East. They visit Thebes, and the Homeric student will be scandalized to learn that in the place of a hundred gates it never had so much as one; was never in fact enclosed by walls. The portals of the old poet "are now supposed to be those of a hundred temples; if indeed it was anything beyond a figure of speech." Yet it is believed to have been a great city even before the invasion of the hated race of shepherd kings, whoever they may have been, 1500 years before Christ. The Theban kings expelled the shepherds, and for a thousand years it was the capital of all Egypt. Cambyzes, the Persian conqueror, removed the throne to Saïs, in Lower Egypt, B.C. 525, and from that period the decline of Thebes began. The mud of the Nile, carried down year by year, gradually raises its bed; the water, in consequence, has slowly extended over the plain, depositing its sediment of earth, and thus, year by year, the herbs wave higher round the ruins of Thebes, and its two great colossi seem to be sinking gradually down among the young grasses of the plain. Thus the Nile accomplishes for Thebes what the sands of the desert have done for Nineveh and Babylon.

The stupendous grandeur of these ruins is something overwhelming. The fragments in the British Museum of more than gigantic proportions, and the exquisite engravings in the expensive folios which only the wealthy, or those who have access to our great libraries, are acquainted with, and even the eloquent descriptions—for they are truly eloquent—of our travellers, rather create an appetite than satisfy the cravings of our minds. What conception can we form of an avenue of twelve hundred giant ram-headed sphynxes which led from Luxor to the pylon or gate of the first temple of Karnak, each standing on its pedestal? Yet this is but the beginning of the wonders of Karnak:—

"Hundreds of these have been destroyed, but many, headless and broken, still border the empty path down which the long and gorgeous procession of priests, clad in panther skins, passed daily, carrying the ram-prowed barge containing the shrine of the god in whose honour the festival of the day was held, before whom burning incense was borne; several of these Sphynxes are at Turin—very many at St. Petersburg—some in Berlin, and one or two in England. Another avenue of Sphynxes led from the front of this Temple to the bank of the river, overlooking Gourneh, and a third led in a southerly direction towards Luxor.

"The first Temple reached at Karnak is a very complete and fine one, approached by another Sphynx avenue—but one cannot linger here in one's impatience to see the Grand Temple itself, a few minutes further on. Two giant pylons open into a large court, with columns on two sides, and an aisle of columns up the centre, leading into the famous hypostyle hall, which Fergusson calls 'the greatest of man's architectural works'; the centre aisle is formed of twelve columns, sixty-two feet high, the largest if not the tallest columns in the world, with sixty-one smaller columns on each side of them; a beautiful clerestory runs along the top of each first row of the lower columns, and may have supported a stone roof over the middle aisle, as in the Rameseum: the rest was probably hypæthral,—some suppose it to have been covered in with hangings either of stuffs or of palm-leaf matting, but as ample shade must have been found beneath the very closely placed columns, even had it been hypæthral, one cannot help hoping that the blue sky was open to the worshippers within,—so beautiful is the effect of the sunlight and the shade of the columns falling athwart the apparently innumerable pillars. This is the place to see what a complete tapestry the hieroglyphics formed—here not an inch of wall or column is left uncovered with closely sculptured figures, once of brilliant colours—as complete a covering for the stone as the marble inlay of a Damascene house, or the brocade pattern of a modern house paper,—strange to say, *every column* has the same set repeated in rings all round it! but though so subordinate a feature, their sameness probably adds to the feeling of infinite space, as the eye is not attracted by any change of object, and therefore wanders on indefinitely among the mighty forest of 6420 square yards. Behind this and the slender rose-granite obelisk, happily still erect, is the fine hall and adytum of this Temple: then comes, within the same outer enclosure, the palace of Thothmes III., where the hall is supported by alternate rows of square and round pillars with reversed capitals; in one of the many chambers behind it the valuable list of the sixty predecessors of Thothmes was found sculptured, which is now in Paris. Deeply interesting indeed are the splendid sculptures that cover the great walls throughout this pile of buildings, portraying the history of a thousand conquests,—among them that of the land of Palestine, with its name of *Canaan* and *Yooda Melchi*—the Judah kingdom, conquered by Shishak or Sheshonk in 971 B.C.

"Numbers of other ruins of great interest lie scattered around this great Temple, in strange but picturesque variety, among palm groves and verdant fields; and it is pleasant to wander from one to the other, and rest one's mind, oppressed with the stupendous ideas generated by

these ruins, so sublimely expressed in the stone and pictured in the sculptures, while listening to the evening breeze among the palms, and the melancholy chaunt of the fellah, and watching the flocks of exquisite tiny paroquets with shining green feathers and crimson bills, flitting about in the sweet air. And it is right to linger—for this is truly one of the grandest scenes that earth can show; Athens, with all the delicate refinements of comparatively modern days, stands smiling like a white dove pluming herself on the summit of her noble rock, a pean of war still echoing round her white statues,—Palmyra, far away in the silence and solitude of Nature's wildest and most impressive splendour, sings sweetly to herself the sad elegy of her own dead glory,—but Karnak, with no natural beauty save the ever cloudless sky and the delicious air over the fresh green palm groves and the yellow sand, closes down upon the mind with a grand and almost awful solemnity; and the feeling comes over one, that while in the others the chivalry and poetry of life were solidified in stone, you have here the expression of man's deepest religion. I have often thought since, that Athens told of the bright and hopeful ardour of the busy morning,—Palmyra, of the lovely tenderness of beauteous evening,—and Karnak, of the calm and holy night, in closer communion with all beyond this world." (i. 87—90.)

Near the ancient city are the rocks, from whence the stone was hewn for its construction. By what machinery was it transported? who were the architects of these wondrous edifices? what sciences had they studied? whence had they their exquisite perception of the sublime in architecture, their skill in mechanical art, their profound acquaintance with practical science? These are questions which receive no answer. At the head of the avenue one beautiful obelisk yet stands; there was originally another, which is now in Paris; it bears the name of Sesostris the Great, and is covered with engraved characters as clear as they were thousands of years ago. Perhaps, says our author, it stood there before Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, perhaps even before Joseph was brought into the land of Egypt by the Bedouin. This is not very probable, if we fix, as she does in a later page, the date of Sesostris 1800 B.C., at least a hundred years later than the death of Moses, and of course more than five hundred after that of Joseph; but still Thebes and Luxor remain to tell us what that mighty empire was, in the royal courts of which Moses had the grace and courage to proclaim the judgments of the one true and living God. What but the outstretched arm and mighty hand of God himself could have brought about the triumphant march of half-a-million of slaves, gorged with the spoil of their masters, from the midst of a nation whose power and grandeur are attested by these gigantic ruins?

The tombs of Thebes are quite as interesting and more instructive than its ruined temples. Yet modern travellers in general, and our author in particular, perversely insist on

drawing from them none but false inductions. They seem to be not awed but cowed in the presence of the mysterious symbols of a long defunct and utterly accursed mythology. They see with amazement that the religion of ancient Egypt had a philosophical as well as a popular aspect, an esoteric as well as an exoteric meaning; and with a fatuity which would seem incredible were not the facts before us, they, with the Bible in their hands, and professing some sort of reverence, be it less or more, for the doctrines it inculcates, set about the monstrous task of demonstrating that the system itself was good, or not bad, not so very bad as to deserve our contempt, still less our loathing and utter detestation. For example, there is said to be in every sculptured block, and in the vilest orgies of the filthiest idols, some traces of a primæval piety, a religion which came down from God. We have a soul after death weighed in the scales of the infernal deities, and herein no doubt a proof that the doctrine of a future judgment was not unknown to the Egyptians. Other emblems assure us they were not ignorant of the resurrection of the body. There may be enough to satisfy us that the gods they worshipped were, each and all, as our author says, supposed to typify some divine attribute: hence she concludes they were originally "considered sacred as types, not gods in themselves. Probably," she adds, "they were to the Egyptians the less perfect manifestations of the things typified, and thus truly divine in themselves; yet it was only that peculiar attribute found in each which united them to divinity or had a divine origin." Thus the crocodile was sometimes worshipped as the type of strength; and thus of every deity they worshipped. Their Khem or Amounra, the Aphroditè of the Greeks and Venus of the Romans, may have originally represented the creative power; their hero worship, the fact that God is the king of the whole earth, and earthly sovereigns His representatives. In short, let it be conceded that the whole mythology had a mystic meaning underneath. And now let us confront the system thus palliated, whether by ancient philosophy or by "modern schools of thought," with the appalling denunciations of Ezekiel on behalf of the one true God. That there was a vein of truth running through the heathen worship of antiquity, and especially that of Egypt, which, as the most ancient, had most of the traditional religion of the patriarchal world remaining in it, does not in the least excuse its horrible wickedness. Professing to be wise, modern writers, like the heathen themselves, have become fools in this respect. The fragments of truth they contain shed no dignity upon these abominable superstitions; nay more, they were the very cause of the righteous anger of a holy God. It is precisely upon this account that wrath came upon them to the uttermost. This was the very head and front of their trans-

gression. "When they knew God, they glorified him not as God." Then it was they changed His glory into a lie; they likened the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity to four-footed beasts and creeping things, under the pretence of setting forth His attributes. It was upon this very ground that vengeance was executed upon the gods of Egypt; an appalling vengeance, of which the desolations of Luxsor and Thebes are but a feeble image. The cities of the dead remain, but where are the dead themselves? We for our part are content to leave the question in that awful obscurity in which the word of God has left it, satisfied that the Judge of all the earth does right. But we are not to be told, either by "Egyptologists" at home, or travellers ill-acquainted with the spirit of their Bibles who roam abroad, that there is any thing to be admired in these hateful superstitions; and we are ashamed to read in the pages of an English gentlewoman, at the close of a chapter in which she has endeavoured to explain the philosophy, or "spiritual meaning," as she terms it, of the Egyptian mythology, such a sentence as the following:—

"There is but one method by which we can ever hope to attain to their spiritual meaning; the old Greeks—rude, untutored infants in the days of Egypt's glory—drew from her the first sparks of that fire which they afterwards refined and beautified into models for all the world; from the days when the little band of Egyptians left the mouth of the Nile to plant a new kingdom on the fair shores of Greece, down to the thirteen years that Plato studied at Heliopolis, every Grecian superstructure will be found to have its foundation in the Egyptian faith: and only by the light of those who taught the deepest and highest philosophy of the Greek school, can the parent principles ever be solved. The very gods bear all the same attributes and functions: Zeus is but Amoun-Ra, keeping, indeed, his Egyptian name; Seb turned into Chronos; Phthah in Hephæstos; Pasht into Artemis; Thoth into Hermes; while Athor, the lovely lady of the West, the Morning Star, became the queen of beauty, Venus-Aphrodite. True, the Greeks threw a poetic veil over them, and re-created them, as it were, with a new and fresh beauty, which made them peculiarly their own; yet not the less is every deep and holy idea of the Grecian mythology essentially and originally Egyptian." (pp. 103, 104.)

It is a monstrous thing that we should hear from female lips of "holy ideas" buried under heathen mythology, whether Grecian or Egyptian. Truly Baron Bunsen and his school have not laboured in vain, when English women have learned to apologize for the worship of Astarté, and to discover something "spiritual" both in Egyptian and in Greek idolatries!

We cannot attend upon our travellers while they visit the islands of the Egæan sea, nor pause with them at Smyrna or Beyrout; nor listen to their discoursing on the Maronites; though on all these matters our author has much to say which

possesses a certain interest for us as coming from female lips. We have also an account of a battle between the Druses and the Christians; and since the battle has been fought, we are glad that an English lady should have been there to witness it. We need scarcely say the account is spirited and graphic; nor that in the midst of it the historian and her sister displayed the calmness which English ladies generally display in the midst of danger when their minds are once made up to it. We quote with pleasure the following passage. Like many another great battle—like that of which we have heard the miserable tidings within the last month—it was fought on Sunday:—

“We had previously agreed with our English friends—there were two English gentlemen then at Beit Miry,—that we would read our Sunday service together; but now we earnestly hoped that they would not expose themselves to the flying bullets in order to keep the engagement; but, afraid that we might need their protection, they never thought of breaking it, and they happily arrived at our house in safety and unhurt. Our dragoman wanted us to immure ourselves in a room lighted only by a door opening on to the corridor, but the excitement and interest of the battle was far too great for us to resist watching it from this open corridor or from the windows at all sides of the house: we were assured, however, that this fighting might go on for many days, certainly till night, and as we could do no good by watching them, we agreed to read our Sunday service as usual: I do not think that any of us will easily forget that hour of prayer, and with what an unusual meaning the petition arose ‘from battle and murder, and from sudden death—Good Lord, deliver us,’ or how we thought of the same prayers rising at the same moment in hundreds of quiet churches in England, while our little congregation of five or six persons were assembled here, with the bullets falling thick and fast around us, and the voice of the reader frequently drowned in the sharp click of the muskets, the strange ring of the rifle balls, and the shrill screams of the women! Fear, indeed, none of us had ever thought of, nor had we any cause for it; we knew well that our being English ensured our safety among the Druses, and that their respect for us would not fail: a remarkable instance of which was afforded more than once during the battle, when one of us leaned out from a window, and a Druze close by stopped, even in the moment of taking aim, and, lowering his gun, made a salaam to the ‘Sitt’; and they called to our servants to know whether some buildings on our ground belonged to us or not,—of course we said they did, and no one entered them. There was a French family spending a few weeks in some miserable apartments under our house, whereby, happily for them, they were living *under our flag*, and that flag afforded them equal security and safety with ourselves. A number of Christian women, as well as our landlord and his family, rushed into our house when the battle began, the women bringing their gold ornaments, and took refuge in these lower rooms;—not one of them was touched.” (pp. 241, 242.)

Our historian tells us that she thinks the Christians were

wrong and the Druses right; but after the womanly confession that she admired the one and felt disposed to scorn the other, perhaps our readers may agree with us, that her adventures are of more importance than her political speculations:—

“I am afraid that the prejudices of some of my readers may be shocked at my confession that my sympathy involuntarily sided with the Druses throughout the day: of course, in this particular instance they were in the wrong and the aggressors; but apart from the *cause*, the bearing of the Druze, speaking generally, is so much more akin to an English mind than that of the Christians, that one cannot well help such a feeling; the latter were quick and active, but the Druze has a fearlessness and nobility about him—a proud, steady step—a lofty head and eagle eye—a bold athletic form, and a free, open, but perfectly respectful manner, that makes one feel always at ease and safe with them. During the battle it was curious to mark the difference of the ingenious hiding and dodging of the Christian, and the daring boldness of the Druze—it reminded me continually of a battle between a cat and a blood-hound—if such a noble beast would condescend to do battle with a mere cat. The Christians of the mountain are well made, and have a soft, sleepy kind of beauty, set off by gay-coloured dresses: but if ever you see a noble form both of figure and face, full of self-respect and native dignity, and a neatly put on, clean, quiet-coloured dress, be sure he is a Druze, or a Metouaalee (the latter, however, have but poor dresses): the dresses of the Christians are more costly than that of the Druze, but the Druze is much the cleanest of the two: numerically, the Maronites far exceed the Druses,—but the minority of the latter are more than compensated by their courage, coolness, and organization.” (pp. 244, 245.)

But we pass on to Tadmor in the wilderness, and its still wonderful ruins. It has often occurred to us, as no doubt it must have done to many of our readers, that here, if anywhere, we must look for that style of architecture which existed at Jerusalem when Solomon was king. There, if anywhere, we might hope to find some traces of that style of architecture of which the temple at Jerusalem was the perfect exemplar. “Solomon built his store cities, Baalath and Tadmor, in the wilderness.” These were the outposts of his kingdom when it extended to the banks of the Euphrates, and were built, no doubt, for the protection of his caravans bringing merchandise from India and Assyria. The Temple of the Sun, the greatest of the ruins of Tadmor, is an immense pile of gigantic masonry, inclosing a square of seven hundred and forty feet each way, being one-fifth larger than the court of the Temple of Jerusalem. Our author notices some points in which it evidently bore a resemblance to that sacred edifice. For instance:—

“Unlike the beautiful temples of Greece, which stood with all their charms of light and oft-repeated shafts disclosed to the first and most distant glance of every eye, those of Tadmor and Jerusalem were jealously enclosed in a double row of cloisters, with a high massive

wall, the Temple itself standing isolated nearly in the centre of this cloistered court; the whole structure is, like that at Baalbek, raised upon a platform of large stones, surrounded by a broad moat, now nearly filled up, but still distinct. It would be very interesting to ascertain whether there are the same, or any substructions formed beneath this platform, as there are under those on which both Baalbek and Jerusalem stand: so similar is the *idea* of all the three platforms, that it is probable they exist; but, from the filling up of the ground, the entrances are very likely hidden." (pp. 355, 356.)

The courts surrounding the Temple of the Sun may furnish some idea of that court of the Temple in which the Saviour taught. It now encloses the whole town of Tadmor. The miserable hovels fill up every portion of it; clustering in the corners, hanging on to the carved ornaments, and poisoning the once sacred enclosure with their indescribable filth. Into such a court were the sheep, doves, and oxen brought for sale, when our Saviour drove them out with the scourge of small cords. A hundred columns of the Temple of the Sun, forming a double cloister, still exist. Under such a porch or cloister must the Lord have taught. The Great Portal of the Temple of the Sun reminds us of the "beautiful gate of the Temple:—"

"It was thirty-two feet high, and sixteen wide, standing between two smaller doorways: the sides and lintel were each of a single stone, and all are exquisitely ornamented with bands of carving, in wreaths of fruit and flowers, quite as graceful and artistic as those of Baalbek, but not as deeply cut. One of the great sides of the central door has half fallen from its place, and leans like a tired giant against the Saracenic wall: all are blackened with the smoke of the fires which the Arabs, who make a dwelling-place of this portal, are constantly burning there. Above each doorway are two huge projecting brackets, which look very mysterious—possibly they once supported statues." (pp. 356, 357.)

Possibly, too, the lofty columnus of Tadmor, with their bronze capitals, may help us to understand something more than architects have yet been able to explain, of the "chapiters" on the top of the columns; of the "chains" on the heads of the pillars, and of the "hundred pomegranates which Solomon put upon the chains" (2 Chron. iii. 15):—

"Opposite the portal stood the Temple itself; the cella was surrounded by a single row of lofty columns with bronze capitals, all of which have of course disappeared, as the natives even now constantly throw down the pillars and friezes in order to wrench out the clamping irons between them. Parts of the beautifully carved entablature remain; the festoons of flowers held up by winged figures or genii are still quite visible; and when gilded by the rays of the western sun, with the bronze capitals shining in the light, it must have been a noble and striking picture,—even now it is one of the finest bits at Tadmor, when the sun sinks low enough to illuminate the lofty columns only, and the western wall throws the miserable wretchedness at their feet

into shade. Several fragments are left, both here and in two small temples at some distance, in which a row of short columns are mounted upon others of ordinary size, forming, in fact, a clerestory, like that in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, and, as is shown by Mr. Ferguson, like the House of the Forest of Lebanon (1 Kings vii.) at Jerusalem, and the Hall of Xerxes at Persepolis." (p. 357.)

As at Thebes so here, at the entrance of a magnificent colonnade, are monolithic shafts or pyramids of dark red granite, with capitals and bases of the ordinary stone. "This granite is said to be the Egyptian, and to have been brought here by Solomon at the foundation of Tadmor. The tradition may be false, but it is not a bit more extraordinary than half the facts appertaining to Tadmor and Baalbek."

There we clearly recognise the style of architecture displayed in "the pillars which Solomon reared before the Temple—one on the right hand, the other on the left," Jachin and Boaz; each having a capital five cubits in height; the shaft of the column itself being five and thirty. Josephus tells us that the splendour of the Temple was such that it appeared from the mountains to the traveller, as he approached Jerusalem, like burnished gold. Under the blaze of a setting sun it dazzled the sight. This has always appeared to us to savour a little of romance; but it may have been strictly true. One afternoon, our author tells us, that walking out after a changeable and stormy day, the sun-set came with its usual magnificent glow, and the stones of the little temple ("a little gem of a temple, called that of the king's mother, facing the Temple of the Sun") seemed *literally overspread with burnished gold*; contrasting with the crimson and pink splendour of the western sky. Yet, after all, the glory of Solomon's Temple, its material glory, was chiefly reserved for the interior:—

"There is no spot like this small Temple for obtaining a general idea of the immense proportions and mass of the Temple of the Sun, with the huge platform on which it stands; but it struck me still more here than even at Thebes and Baalbek how little these magnificent Temples were built for external beauty. Exquisite and splendid as they were, *the coup-d'œil* was always *after entering the doorway*, since, in every case, the temples were shut in by a wall, above which only the most lofty of the columns towered: with the Greeks it was exactly the contrary—the splendour of *their* temples was chiefly on the exterior; and we moderns strive more for external rather than internal effect. One would have thought that the Temple of the Sun above all would have been more open than any others; but perhaps the ancients knew best,—like the surpassing splendour and the golden lining to the House of the Lord in Solomon's Temple, the rays of the sun were collected in the Temples of Baal, between the shadows of the surrounding walls, and thus concentrated the attention of the worshipper on the immediate shrine of the Deity." (pp. 362, 363.)

The second volume contains a chapter on "Ancient Jerusalem," which has interested us much. The writer modestly introduces it by telling us that she makes no pretension to any kind of learning; her only aim is, "to give an outline of what appears to be the plainest and most nearly indisputable evidence towards the elucidation of the great whole; to assist those that are at home in the realizing what they cannot see, and perhaps to guide the traveller, who can give but a few days to his examination in the unravelling of the entangled knot." Yet it is not great learning that is wanted here. She herself justly remarks, that the most satisfactory method for a scholar would be to come here with only the Bible and Josephus in his hand, and to study the ground with these guides only. But even then the results would probably be far from satisfactory until a generation or two has passed away, "during which the building of one and another house, the clearing of this or that locality, may give from time to time glimpses of the foundations which lie concealed under the thirty or forty feet thickness of debris heaped over them—the seal on the long-closed book of the Past."

It is a question which can never lose its interest, whether the Rotunda or Round Church beneath which the tomb of our Lord is shown by superstitious Greeks, does really mark the hallowed "place where the Lord lay;" and whether the chapel of Calvary does really mark the site of the crucifixion. A great deal of angry feeling has been imported into this controversy, and a great deal of unnecessary prejudice. But we hope our author exaggerates a little when she says that, in Jerusalem at least,—

"Unfortunately no one now investigates the subject with a thoroughly unprejudiced mind: not merely must the 'true Protestant' avoid every place venerated by the Roman Catholics, but even the ancient sites of Jewish history must be dragged into the abysses of party feeling and garnished with party names; that much has been overlaid by a very grievous and blind superstition, is, indeed, too true—but is it any reason for sweeping away the whole fabric, that the pinnacles are ill-built, or may be formed of unworthy materials? I would not have an inch of ground taken up on tradition only, for it is better and best to have a reason for everything, and there should be no limit to honest and earnest inquiry; but it is more than melancholy, it is pitiful, to see reason and study laid aside because Protestantism has fixed on one thing, and it would be 'Romish,' and therefore 'superstitious,' to think anything else: people are mourned over in Jerusalem nearly as lost sheep, or brands in the burning, if they choose to think and study, to read and examine for themselves; if they will not throw themselves down with unquestioning faith before the Protestant idol, they are supposed to gulp down at once the whole draught of superstition—no *via media* is possible, or rather none is permitted—and if any one, great or small, hesitates to declare that

the site of the Holy Sepulchre could only have been within the Second Wall, he is at once believed to be lying under the deepest folds of such darkness as encompasses the Spanish or the Russian pilgrim."

With this prologue she decides in favour of the existing sites. A recent discovery has brought to light, at a depth of thirty feet beneath the surface, the foundations of what appear to have been the second or outer wall of the city. Assuming this to be the case, our author argues thus:—

"Supposing the line of the second wall to be identified with that of these ancient stones, I think that any unprejudiced observer must acknowledge the distance between that line and the site of the church of the Holy Sepulchre to be more than 'fifty yards' named in the Talmud as the prescribed distance from the walls of the city for the interment of criminals—a Talmudic yard being equal to two feet, the distance would be consequently only one hundred feet. It is true that our Lord was not buried in the place where criminals were usually interred, but in the tomb hewn for the 'rich man of Arimathea'; the bodies of criminals would probably have been removed further from the city than those of men less unclean and impure,—and the objection, that none could have been buried so close to the walls, must fall to the ground. The place chosen for the crucifixion of our Lord was certainly not the usual place of the execution of criminals; since it is not likely that in that spot a 'rich man' would have made a 'garden'; even though it were but a graveyard, he would have chosen some place he could visit without risk of becoming unclean. The usual place, the Talmud says, was to the south of the city; but this would have been too far to reach, hurried as they evidently were to get all concluded. The priests, as Dr. Barclay observes, were 'afraid of the voice of the people,' and would not have hazarded sending Him right across the city, as the path from the Judgment Hall to the Dung Gate would have led: it was not only 'nigh to the city,' but the priests, it is said, looked on, reviling Him while He hung upon the cross; and one need only mount on the roof of the Serai, or on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself, to see how well they could have seen all that took place on its site from the wall of the Temple, without leaving its precincts, and thus defiling themselves on the eve of the Passover, by approaching an execution, or entering an unclean place."

We cannot lay down these two volumes, and part from the something more than agreeable society of our author, without a word or two upon graver matters. She is evidently a lady of a religious spirit, and yet it is not spiritual religion. There is often a fine, warm tone of piety; but it is too much the piety of sentiment to be satisfactory to us. It is something to have got free from the Lady Morgan school of travellers. English women are no longer ashamed of their religion when they are abroad; and this is something. Nor is their religion so heartless and formal as it was once; and this is something more. But it is too often, as in this instance, the

loose theology of what we may term, when ladies have adopted it, the demi-semi-German school, — Vere-street theology *en deshabille*. We fear, in the present instance, that the seed of the Maurician heresy has fallen upon congenial soil. Having described a Mahomedan, for example, as in a state of darkness, she thinks it necessary to apologize for her severity in a long note, which, long as it is, we must transcribe:—

“I hope I shall not be misunderstood by using the word *darkness*, to wish to characterise the religion taught by Mohammed as darkness, save in comparison to that clearer light of Christianity which has been given to us by revelation; the Moslim knows not Christ as God, and therefore, however far he follows the light that he has, it will not bring him to the foot of the cross, wherefrom, as a glorious privilege of the sons of Christ, we have received complete salvation; he knows but in part, and can but see through a glass darkly; but in as far as a religious Mooslim has sought after God, be sure he will have found Him. ‘He who seeks me shall find me,’ saith the Lord; and He is near to *all* that call upon Him, yea all such as call upon Him faithfully. It is shocking to hear those Judo-Christians, whose hearts are full of anything but the infinite Love which alone unites us with God (the Love which *loves goodness before all*) condemning to eternal damnation all those who, not knowing the law of Christ, yet have ‘showed the work of the law written in their hearts,’ who have ‘done by nature the things contained in the law,’ (Rom. ii. 14), who have striven with self-discipline and self-restraint, with fasting and with prayer, with earnest humble sincerity to keep the truth as they know it. Are they to be eternally punished by a God of justice (not a God of vengeance) for not keeping a law they knew not? or rather, is there not to be ‘glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile?’ These unchristian Christians, who believe themselves far more enlightened than the inquisitors of old who condemned both body and soul, turn away their eyes from what is *good*, because forsooth it is not dressed in the costume in which alone they choose to see it, and which they call religion; as if good feeling, purity and self-denial, and devotion to a Supreme Being, when made a ruling principle of life, are not religion, even though the man who acts up to them may never have heard the name of Christ,—an incomplete religion, indeed, but true in its own integrity, whether it be of Osiris, or of Boudha, or of Muhammed. . . . ‘Faith,’ says one of the clearest-minded among our modern divines, ‘is no new, strange, peculiar power, supernaturally infused by Christianity alone,’ but the essence of the divine nature, implanted in *every* immortal soul (which may indeed be choked), without which we could have no part in the eternal salvation promised by God to *all* who serve Him faithfully, and without which our life can never be ‘hid with Christ.’ In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ; when the Pharisee who kept the law by the letter, and thanked God, ‘shall be humbled,’ and the Publican who kept the law by his heart, ‘shall be exalted,’ the God-fearing earnest Mooslim may be found ready for the wedding-garment, which the proud, unloving, so-called Christian will seek for his own shoulders, and will not find there.”

When ladies forget themselves and condescend to rail, the courtesies of life impose silence on those who have the misfortune to form their audience. We shall not violate the wholesome rule. Here, within one page, are crowded together some of the worst characteristics of the new theology—if new that may be called which is merely a repetition of the nonsense which Pope reduced into euphonious periods a hundred-and-fifty years since, when he taught us that the Eternal Father was with equal acceptance, if not with equal truth,

“In every place, in every clime adored
By saint, by savage, or by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.”

The careless quotation of some Scriptures, the flat contradiction of others, the rudeness and peevishness, and, in the midst of large assumptions of catholicity, the narrow, vulgar abuse with which the note closes, all these are the *pâtois* of the Broad party. The only difference is, that the leaders clothe their sentiments in well-smoothed periods; we have them here, as we said before, *en deshabelle*.

OUT-DOOR PREACHERS: BY REV. GEO. S. BULL.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Your reviewer's remarks on Dr. Shaw's somewhat eccentric *Travels in England* have led me to look a little into his book, and to conclude that he is a well-meaning gentleman, but a little warped against the Church of England by some Town and City missionaries who are not very scrupulous in their statements respecting the clergy of “The Establishment.”

May every malevolent remark urge us on in more zealous exertion, and draw from us more earnest prayers for those who have evil will against our Zion.

It is, however, useless to deny the fact, that in all our large towns, the propagation of the gospel does not keep pace with the population, and that thousands of precious souls, that ere long must pass away to a changeless eternity, have little more knowledge of Christ and his only way of salvation than the habitants of heathendom.

Will you permit one who has spent nigh forty years as a minister among “the masses,” to offer a few out of many thoughts on this subject?

I would view it practically, and refer to — 1st, the paucity of adult males especially in attendance on our public services. This is a complaint not more sad than true; and considering the vast numbers that pass through our Sunday and Day schools into adolescence and manhood, it seems all but unaccountable. How comparatively few of

the females are to be seen in our Lord's-day gatherings, and how almost completely we lose sight of the males! How is it; what are the causes?

First; I conclude that our vast parishes and small agencies prevent our keeping up a pastoral connection with the out-going scholars—a few become teachers, and a few settle with us, chiefly through Confirmation instruction, as communicants, and the rest disappear, never to meet again, except perhaps in the chamber of sickness and death! Another cause of this estrangement is the very rare and brief *opportunity* for any personal intercourse with our adult parishioners generally. In reference to the working classes, the male adult is at his work from early morn to dewy eve: we cannot see him before he leaves home—we dare not intrude at meal times—and when he returns at seven, eight, or nine at night, he is, if orderly, more ready for rest and for bed, than for visitors; and in too many cases more likely to be found, as soon as he has washed himself, at the 'Fox and Goose,' where we cannot follow him. As to the adult female, if not at work in a factory or warehouse, she is busy at home, washing, ironing, mending, scouring, and perhaps scolding amid a group of little children.

About two evenings in a week—Thursday and Friday—there may be some lull in the struggle, and husband may be at home, and the tall son and the womanly daughter; but on the whole, the practical opportunity for a quarter of an hour's talk upon the hearthstone is rare indeed.

Our Scripture readers or lay assistants can very seldom catch a glance of the father, or head of the family, or of the grown up children. From seven to eight there is tea or supper; from eight to nine seems to be the only hour, and that at most thrice in a week, when a family, as such, can be visited, and then there are often so many disturbing causes that you cannot always feel yourself welcome. For myself, I can say, that I have never had any but a kind reception; but I have carefully studied my best manners when in a poor man's house, where your coming in and going out, and your whole behaviour and discourse, are all very closely observed.

Then it should be remarked, that ministers of large parishes have many calls on their time and strength the livelong day; and the study, and the sermons, and schools; and much "serving of tables"—laymen's work by good rights—falls to our share: then there are evening schools, classes, and meetings public and parochial; so that if labouring John is ready to see us, we are too often unable to embrace that privilege.

From all these causes we see so very little of the adults at home or *at church*; and the education that has been gained (if it amounts to the ability of reading fairly) at our schools, is employed, for the most part, on the Lord's-day, in the perusal of political or imaginative publications; and the exciting novel, in which intrigue, seduction, and murder or suicide, and all the details thereof, are served up for a vitiated taste: the very highway to hell is thus strewn with the flowers of a morbid sentimentality.

"Then," you say, "is it a lost case, and can nothing be done?" Oh how much might be done, if well instructed and christian laymen would come forth to our assistance! and I would hope they might be more generally induced to do so, if parochial ministers and evangelists

would shew them a more excellent way, than has hitherto been trodden.

We read in the first days of gospel propagation, that "daily in the temple and in every house they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ."

Where they began we must begin, and so be able to say with St. Paul, "I taught you publicly and from house to house."

Of "Out-door preaching." Let me suggest that a system of house to house, court to court, street to street preaching, should be thoughtfully prepared for and arranged.

This, I think, might be done under proper episcopal sanction, and with due allowance of parochial ministers, with but few exceptions in such a vast town as this, and therefore in any other.

First of all, we require the preachers. These must be *picked men*. Pioneers are always picked men. Good health, a pleasant voice, an agreeable presence, a clear head, a ready tongue, and that versatility of mind or ready adaptation, which can pleasantly take up and turn away opposition—above all else, fervent personal piety and a yearning love for souls of immortal destiny, setting forth Jesus Christ in all his glorious offices—these are the men for the times. But you ask, where are they to be found? I believe they only require to be looked up, and somewhat trained for this work; for it is peculiar, and requires special agents. I will suppose one such evangelist duly licensed by our diocesan, to be ready for work in this town, and that five parishes contiguous to my own were prepared to accept his services.

In this case (I am all along only suggesting) let each incumbent nominate a christian friend, a layman, to act with himself and the incumbent as a *board of home missions*, to regulate the circuit of this evangelist. When weather and daylight permit, let three of the largest courts in three of these parishes be selected—let leave be obtained of the residents (it would seldom be refused); and, accompanied by a small choir, let the street preacher go to these stations, morning, afternoon, and evening. During six months of the year, with occasional suspensions from foul weather, this might be effected, and would give one out-door service to each parish fortnightly; or, if two evangelists were employed, one weekly on the Lord's-day, and the same in other localities on the week day.

On each of these occasions a free distribution of short tracts might be made, and a kind invitation given to attend the house of God. Can it be doubted that these court sermons would tell upon the house of God and its attendance?

Supplemental to this plan for preaching, I would form a goodly number of *evening schools*, generally in a part or in the whole of an ordinary dwelling house. Suppose what is called a three-quarters house, having four rooms, each capable of seating ten persons, and suppose but thirty on an average to attend for forty weeks in a year, (at least twice in a week,) the rent would be more than provided for by their weekly payments.

To these evening schools for male adults might be added afternoon schools for females (who can be best spared from three to five), or afternoon Bible classes, or both; and on Sundays these *school houses* might be occupied at the usual hours by adult Bible classes.

You inquire, where are the agents and where the funds?

The agents would be mostly voluntary: we must call out the volunteers; compel the volunteers to come out, that they may persuade the outsiders to come in.

We must go to the highways and hedges at last; and as, in our vast towns, the hedges have disappeared and the crowded streets and courts have taken their place, we must, and we cannot too soon, occupy these as our outposts. Again you say, where are the agents, and where the funds?

First, we could surely find some free agents from our elder Sunday-school teachers, and from our communicants. Perhaps, when a plan is carefully set out, some laymen may bethink them that it is high time to awake out of sleep, and to address themselves to the work of assisting to evangelize those masses who have aided them, or some of them, to turn over their capital profitably, and thus honour themselves as helpers, in Christ, to their minister. The napkin in which their long neglected talents have been wrapped up may serve them to wipe away their repentant tears!

Something at least may be done; and if not what we *would*, let us do all we can. "She hath done what she could," is a grand epitaph to earn.

Sir, I have been too long. My honoured father was a subscriber to the "Christian Observer" from the first, I believe, and I have been so for many years; but I never yet asked for the use of a column. Grant it me for once; and let me add, that we ought to take up this question in a spirit of deep seriousness and devotion. Think how the seeds of all that is earthly, sensual, and devilish, are being sown, and what a harvest may be expected! See the corruption of the imagination by the pestiferous and shameless novels that teem from the cheap publications, which you could not blame me if I should recognize as "the unclean spirits like frogs" pouring forth from the dragon's mouth! See in these all the details of intrigue the basest, of seduction the most heartless, of murder the most ghastly, for ever poisoning the imagination, and familiarizing the mind with the most fiendish scenes, till it ceases to shudder at murder, and inhales the very inspiration of demons. This poison is not confined to the penny and halfpenny periodicals. Many of our higher serials have caught the infection; for the fact is, that nothing will now *sell* in that line, as a man lately said to me, "that has not a spice of devilry in it."

But we have weapons lying by in their rust, that are mighty, through God, to the demolition of these strongholds; and if the gospel were well, fully, and earnestly preached in the streets and lanes of our crowded cities, the factors of this merchandize would soon see their occupation going, if not gone.

We have had many conferences that have come to nought, can we not have one for the home heathen? If so, may it be a fruitful one.

O that the salvation of Israel might thus come out of our Zion! When the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people, Britain shall rejoice and Christendom shall be glad: and so may God be merciful to us and bless us. Then shall our land yield a glorious spiritual increase, and God, even our own God, shall give us his blessing!

GEO. S. BULL.

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PROFESSOR JOWETT ON ISAIAH'S PROPHETIC MENTION OF THE
NAME OF CYRUS.

IN the Quarterly Reviewer's* elaborate notice of "The Essays and Reviews," we meet with the following passage:—"Mr. Jowett, amongst his complaints of the misinterpretation which the Scriptures have undergone from not being treated as any other book would be, remarks, quite incidentally, of the prophecy of Cyrus, Isai. xlv. 1;—'The mention of a name later than the supposed age of the prophet is not allowed, as in other writings, to be taken in evidence of the date.'"

Mr. Jowett would thus seem to insinuate, or rather assert, that the forty-fifth chapter of Isaiah was not written until after the conquest of Babylon and the overthrow of the Chaldean dynasty. We had occasion to study this particular subject a few years ago, and request the attention of the candid reader to the brief remarks which we here proceed to lay before him.

This assailant of scriptural prophecy overlooks the striking fact that Isaiah, who expressly mentions Cyrus by name, nowhere calls him a Persian; indeed he does not once introduce the word "Persian" into his predictions. It is true that formerly it was the general opinion of commentators that Elam was the appellation given to Persia in the Hebrew Scriptures until the time of Daniel. Accordingly, when the Hebrew seer said—"Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media"†—they understood him as saying—"Go up, O Persia, besiege, &c." But the deciphering of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions by Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Hinckes has proved this notion to be altogether erroneous. Elam was a separate nation, as distinct from Persia as from Media or Armenia. Hence it is plain, that Persia is not even once mentioned by name, either by Isaiah or Jeremiah. Perhaps Mr. Jowett may think that as Isaiah is the only one of the two who names Cyrus, it may be probably inferred that he is therefore to be regarded as having written after Jeremiah.

Yet is it not very strange and unaccountable, the reader may ask, that these two Hebrew prophets should so thoroughly have ignored the Persian name? What should we have thought if Herodotus had done so? We may reply, that it is only doing bare justice to Isaiah and Jeremiah to believe, that if they, like Herodotus, had been merely historians of the past, they would have been as little likely as the venerable father of history himself, to have been guilty of such an extraordinary omission. And were we for a moment to suppose that the prophetic announcements of these two seers were really forged after the fall of Babylon, their ignoring the existence of the Persian name would be altogether inexplicable.

Perhaps the following observations by the pious and able Auberlen, in his work upon Daniel and the Apocalypse, may assist us in the difficulty.

"It is worthy of remark, that we do not find Syria and the individual kingdoms mentioned by name (in Daniel) any more than Rome. *As yet these kingdoms lay*

* Quart. Rev. Jan. 1861. p. 265.

† Isai. xxi. 2.

quite BEYOND THE HISTORICAL HORIZON OF DANIEL; the angel therefore could not designate them by their names, Rome was separated from Daniel by space (its site was far distant towards the western coast of Italy); an independent Syrian kingdom by time (Seleucus did not become an independent sovereign until some two centuries and a half after Daniel). Syria, already conquered by the Assyrians, belonged afterwards as a province to the kingdoms of Babylon, Persia, and Greece successively, and was a very unimportant country in the time of Daniel. The angel designated the Syrian kings by the general appellation of the kings of the North. If the book of Daniel had been written so late as the time of the Maccabees, it would be difficult to assign a reason why Syria is not mentioned by name as well as Greece (Javan); nay, it might be expected that Syria should be mentioned even though Greece was not. This circumstance must be regarded as one of those minute and fine features which, because of their very insignificance and *secondary position*, are, to the unprejudiced student, the most eloquent* witness for the antiquity and authenticity of a book." (Auberlen's Daniel, p. 59.)

Now the Persians entered the domain of history with their illustrious leader Cyrus; nor is there any reason for supposing that their name had previously been heard at Babylon or Jerusalem. Herodotus does not bring them before us as a nation, until he has to record the career of Cyrus, though he had before spoken of them as one of the barbarous tribes subdued by the Median Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares. In fact, if we follow the chronology of Herodotus, we shall conclude that Persia continued to be a comparatively obscure province of Media, until circa B.C. 560. Hence, even so late as circa 595 B.C., when Jeremiah foretold the doom of Babylon, the Persian name was still below the historical horizon of the prophet, and remained as strange and unfamiliar to the Jewish ear, as it had been more than two centuries before, in the days of Isaiah. The name of Cyrus was revealed to the latter through the divine prescience of Him who knows the end from the beginning, and Jeremiah was subsequently moved by the spirit of prophecy to speak of the advance against the guilty city of the Medes, with their confederates of Ararat, Minni, and Aschenaz (Jer. li. 27); but the curtain of the future was not yet so far drawn aside as to reveal the name of the Persian nation.

When did the Persian name first appear in the Hebrew scriptures? In the interpretation† given by the heavenly messenger to Daniel of the vision of the ram and the he-goat; whence we may not unreasonably conclude that the Persians had only recently conquered Astyages and the Medes, when they thus first appeared above the political and historical horizon in the Jewish scriptures. It is very plain, from the contents of the chapter in question, that neither Elam nor Babylon had yet come under the Persian supremacy. It was, however, necessary that Elam should be separated from Chaldea, and become confederate with Cyrus and his Medes and Persians, before the fall of Belshazzar, in order that the Elamites might form a part of the besieging host, according to the prophetic injunction—"Go up, O Elam (against Babylon); besiege, O Media."

Now, when we consider the striking omission of all mention of the Persian name in the professedly prophetic books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and notice the familiar mention of that name in the historical records of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, it seems rather im-

* Auberlen's test would seem to be especially applicable in examining the claims of prophetic documents to be received as such.

† Dan. viii. 20.

possible than improbable that any forger of imaginary predictions of the fall of Babylon (whether subtle or unskilful) should, while speaking of Medes and Elamites, of the men of Ararat and Minni, neglect to assign, in the most express terms, a prominent position among the invading nations to the Persians. Grant that Isaiah and Jeremiah were really what they professed to be, and what Jews and Christians have alike believed them to be,—prophets inspired by the Most High God, who knoweth the end from the beginning,—and who, under such inspiration, delivered genuine prophetic documents in the Hebrew language to the Jewish nation, and that which is otherwise perplexing and unaccountable, becomes at once comparatively simple and clear.

G.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Tracts for Priests and People.—No. 1. *Religio Laici.* By Thos. Hughes, Author of *Tom Brown, &c.*—No. 2. *The Mote and the Beam.* By the Rev. F. D. Maurice, &c. Macmillan and Co. 1861.—It appears evident that the abettors of the “Essays and Reviews” are ill at ease. To prop them up against the censure of twenty-four bishops and 8000 clergymen of the church of England, not of one party, but of all parties save one, it has been determined to publish a series of apologetical supplementary Essays and Reviews under the title above quoted.

In this crusade, Mr. Thomas Hughes takes the van, and inscribes on his banner “*Religio Laici*,” as though there were one religion for a layman and a further or different creed for a clergyman. When an important Act of Parliament is issued from the Queen’s Printer, we always look with much interest to “the *interpretation* clause.” On this clause the effect and meaning of the Act depend.

These imitators (at a humble distance indeed) of the “*Tracts for the Times*” will never make themselves intelligible to any diligent and candid reader until they have published with each tract an interpretation clause.

Definitions of such terms as “faith,” “a faith,” “any faith,” “the old faith,” might have helped us to understand what Mr. Hughes really intends. If he had set out with a purpose to keep us in the dark as to anything more than a general apology for the Essayists and Reviewers, he could not have enveloped himself in a deeper cloud. In his first sentences (page 9) he says that the attempt of the Essayists to answer the question “whether there is a faith for mankind” “is wrong in principle.” Then why waste more ink upon these Essays? why set up a series of tracts to palliate what is “wrong in principle?” What confidence can be placed in such men?

It is astonishing to observe how far self-conceit and the love of singularity will induce the would-be new lights of this age to go. And how reckless they are when once upon the wing. Mr. Hughes sets out with a vaunting confidence that his peculiarity, his freedom from

all trammels of creeds or "faiths," will attract all the youth who possess mind or position, and not a few who have ere now been content to follow where a Newton, a Butler, or more lately a Magee, have led. Yet who can trust a leader who pounces upon you with such a sentence as this?—"We and *all worlds* are redeemed, and Christ is come." His confident and rash statements that all men may enter the kingdom of God and be saved whenever they please, betray an utter ignorance, or else contempt, of the doctrine of man's fall in Adam, and his spiritual death "in trespasses and sins," from which only God's infinite mercy and grace can raise him. Yet doubtless some young men may think him a very fine dashing writer, and a fit preceptor for the "Tom Browns" of the day, who are his special charge.

No. 2 is from the master of the movement, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, who takes care repeatedly to remind his readers that he is "a *London* clergyman." Mr. Maurice aspires to be a great leader.

To glance at Mr. Maurice's opening pages, one would imagine that he was about to censure the Essayists and Reviewers. He does not entirely agree with Dr. Temple or his "colossal man." He whips him for slandering the Mosaic dispensation and the Jewish people as "existing to teach monotheism to the world." (page 9.) Yet we are to thank Dr. Temple! Mr. Maurice permits us to do so.

Mr. Pattison's Essay is not to his mind; yet if Mr. P.'s argument "is a conclusion in which nothing is concluded" (p. 11), if some of his sentences "sound at first very sceptical and hopeless," we must not bear hard upon him; he is very passable.

But as for Mr. Jowett, his Essay "is the best and the worst in the series," (p. 12,) and occasions Mr. Maurice so much perplexity, that it leads him to ask himself, "Does the Scripture then mean anything, everything, or nothing?" This is somewhat strong, and yet he deems Mr. Jowett to be a tutor "who, probably more than any other in the University, has taught young men that they may find a friend in a clergyman, and in that clergyman's Master." Is he joking?

As for Mr. Wilson's Essay, he strangely remarks, "If since he (Wilson) has been a country clergyman, he entertains those who frequent his ministration, with discussions upon multitudinism, individualism, and ideology, I should think he has discovered an effectual and ingenious method of illustrating the worth and simplicity of prayers written centuries ago as compared with the most refined and advanced preaching of our own century." (p. 13.) If this means that our Liturgy is an antidote to Mr. Wilson's "ideology," the compliment is but a slight one. One of those prayers is, "From all false doctrine, heresy, and schism, *good Lord, deliver us.*"

Mr. Baden Powell comes next under review as one who, sympathizing with the Westminster Review, and as "an Englishman of science," regarded miracles "as departures from order, contradicting, in his judgment, the very idea of physical science, so that he could not reconcile them;" yet Mr. Maurice is persuaded that Mr. Wilson's faith "was a reality in him," which is almost as much as to say that Mr. Maurice's reason has departed from him. Strange that any man in his senses should deliberately write—"Let only a few men at Oxford declare that they believe in such a God, in whom peasants and scholars may trust, that they are sure His kingdom is established and

will have no end, and the voice will reach thousands of hearts." And is Oxford, then, so bereft of Christian men and Christian principles as to require to be thus evoked?

The Westminster Review troubles Mr. Maurice greatly, and its approval of the Essayists and Reviewers as the most advanced free-thinkers of the age, is almost too much for him, especially when the reviewer, demands as a matter of mere honesty, that the new lights should at once withdraw from the church. He tries hard to save them, and throws around them a cloud of mist about Origen, Augustine, and others, to allow them to escape, and is personally very thankful to the Essayists for raising so many doubts as to revealed religion! Then comes the National Review under his notice, as being ready to show, with these speculative modern gnostics before him, how utterly inconsistent all formularies and creeds are with "progress."

Mr. Wilson has startled the reviewer with a rather loose "theory" of subscription to the articles of religion, and he therefore explains what are his own notions of his engagement to take the articles in their literal and grammatical sense; and they seem to amount to this, that Mr. Maurice may adopt and hold as much that is repugnant to those articles as he pleases, and yet be an honest man and a good churchman, and therefore Incumbent of St. Peter's, Vere Street. He may sit down with Mr. Wilson's loose principles very comfortably, if only he feels "a reason and a will binding him to the church of his infancy." (p. 37.) Mr. Wilson facetiously asks, "Is not that a Freemason's sign that we should all recognize?" With Mr. Maurice as Grand Master of this New Lodge, who can doubt that the "Order" will extend and the "craft" increase!

An Inquiry into the Truthfulness of Lord Macaulay's Portraiture of George Fox. In Two Lectures. By John Stevenson Rowntree, Author of "Quakerism, Past and Present." London: A. W. Bennett, Bishopsgate Street Without. 1861.—The subject which Mr. Rowntree professes to discuss is one of considerable moment. Lord Macaulay, in the fourth volume of his History of England, sets before his readers a portrait of George Fox. "Glowing as this picture does with rich colouring, and sharp in its outlines (after the manner of the artist), it is marvellously different to that which has been transmitted from parent to son through six generations of Friends, and which, in its main features, has received the sanction of eminent historians; on which the questions arise, Is the veneration paid to the memory of George Fox merited? or has Lord Macaulay proved it to be undeserved? Is his picture a *likeness*, or a *caricature*?" (p. 3.)

Not a likeness, we answer at once, but a caricature. Lord Macaulay wanted that high reverence for truth which was necessary to chastise a brilliant imagination, a mind strong in prejudices, and an intellectual infirmity, for in him it was nothing less, which gave a sarcasm when it should have balanced a doubtful point, and led him invariably to depreciate the character of every man who represented a cause which, with or without reason, he happened to dislike. Mr. Rowntree does his work well; dispassionately as becomes a Quaker of the old school, and with much reading and research as

becomes a Quaker of the new one. George Fox advanced little, if anything, which had not previously, at one time or other, been maintained by various reformers, or innovators, in the church of Christ; so that Quakerism is but, as he expresses it, a new name for an old thing. "I maintain," he says, "that there was scarcely one doctrine or practice which distinguished the early Friends from their contemporaries in religious profession, which had not previously been upheld, either by isolated confessors, or by considerable bodies of men." The gravest moral charge against Quakerism has always been the fanaticism which displayed itself in the interruption of public worship during the early years of the existence of the body. It is only justice to hear Mr. Rowntree upon this point:—

"It is far from my intention to stand forth as an indiscriminate apologist for George Fox. I am laying before you reasons for believing his memory to have been greatly wronged by Lord Macaulay, and writers of that class; an error hardly less grave—and perhaps more mischievous—has been committed by those who have represented him as an embodiment of every virtue. This indeed was not the fact—his treasure was in an earthen vessel; he was a man of strong natural feelings, of great intensity of purpose, and of marked individuality of character; thus the very order of his mind led him to do some things, which we, surveying him in the calm perspective of two hundred years, think would have been better undone, and to say some things which had been better unsaid. I doubt not this would *now* be his own opinion; it is in perfect harmony with his feeling expression, 'We are nothing—Christ is all.'"

"Amongst the acts of the early Friends (principally occurring in the times of the Commonwealth), which must be regretted, was their interruption of divine worship. Yet to judge of this matter with perfect justice, is not easy; and I incline to think it is not generally known, how very much the customs of the age palliate some of these acts of apparent indecorum. The extreme disorganization of society, occasioned by the civil wars, the universal interest felt in theological subjects, and their constant discussion in public and in private, made the divine services of the Protectorate as different from those of our day as are the solemn rites of an English Sabbath to the oddities of an American fast-day. It seems to have been no uncommon thing for individuals quite unconnected with Friends to address the congregations when the minister had finished his services; and those who are familiar with the journals of the first Quakers will remember many cases when they asked leave to speak, or were actually invited to do so. With hardly an exception, whenever Fox was imprisoned for speaking in the churches, *it was for the doctrine he had preached*, and not for disturbing the services. Any one who will take the trouble to go through his journal, and note the causes of his various imprisonments, will find no warrant for the assertion that he was 'repeatedly imprisoned for disturbing the public worship.' In the majority of cases, when he entered the 'steeple-house,' he remarks that he spoke when the minister *had finished* his discourse. These facts, while not sufficient entirely to exonerate the early Friends from censure, do greatly extenuate and explain their conduct in reference to public worship. Let it not also be forgotten, that they were them-

selves again and again interdicted from meeting together in their own meeting-houses; these having been on some occasions even pulled down, and the desolated sites guarded by soldiers, who dragged to prison men, women, and children, attempting to worship on the ruins."

The Life and Letters of John Angell James, including an unfinished Biography. Edited by R. W. Dale, M.A. London: James Nisbet and Co., and Hamilton and Co. 1861.—The name of John Angell James is revered among orthodox dissenters as one of the great lights of non-conformity in later days. Far beyond the circles of dissent, he is known by his practical writings, which have been translated into many tongues, and read as perhaps those of no other writer on religious subjects were ever read during their author's lifetime. In his later years he was known as the esteemed friend and correspondent of many Churchmen, some of whom occupy distinguished posts. Thirty years ago, he wrote with some acrimony against the church of England; but though his principles remained the same, his feelings with regard to the established church were greatly altered, and "he longed," as he was heard to say in one of his most solemn and pathetic speeches for the Bible Society, "for that happy world where the very terms Churchman and Nonconformist should never be repeated." The life of such a man ought to be read; and we cannot say of this large octavo, from the pen of his fellow-labourer and successor, less than this: that it is written in a style, and with a degree of ability far superior to that which the public has hitherto been used to expect in similar biographies. If some parts of it are interesting only to personal friends and members of his own communion, there are others which all of us should read. The "autobiography," which occupies several chapters, is full of instruction; written, as it is, with great modesty, and with what appears, to those who knew him personally, a remarkable degree of self-knowledge, both of the strong and weak points of his own mind and character. His remarks on ministerial training and education, as they exist among dissenters, ought to suggest matter for grave reflection to college tutors and young clergymen, in some schools of learning more ancient and more renowned than those which owe their existence to Mr. James's exertions. Mr. Dale of course writes as a dissenter—at present a young and somewhat ardent one. But we have learned in the church of England to discuss our own faults so freely, that any criticisms from without are listened to, in these days, with great composure. Mr. Dale is at times a little sarcastic upon the church of England. He thinks our system of patronage a great blot: certainly it is not one of our strong points. "No minister of state," says Mr. Dale, "no patron, no ecclesiastical power, is permitted to interfere. Neither the trustees in whom the church buildings are vested, nor those seatholders who are not communicants, have any right to nominate a minister, or to place a veto on his appointment." Amongst Independents, "every church (by which is meant the society of communicants) appoints its own pastor." This reads well; but how does it work? Mr. Dale's book answers the inquiry. There are in Birmingham, at this time, two

large and wealthy Unitarian congregations; both were orthodox once; "but as vital piety declined, and lukewarmness prepared the way for errors of the judgment, Mr. Howell, an Arian minister, was invited by a majority of the people" to occupy the pulpit originally filled by one of the ejected clergy of 1662. A schism followed. The minority retired, and built the small chapel of Carr's Lane; a building associated for fifty years, in later times, with the ministry of John Angell James. This is not very promising. Nor was Mr. James's own appointment such as to make us enamoured of the Independent system of church patronage. He was a boy of nineteen when grave and gray-headed men summoned him to take the oversight of Carr's Lane chapel! He and they performed a long penance of seven years in consequence. Little fruit appeared, and no increase in a very scanty congregation. The boy pastor was all this while learning his profession, and that, too, at the expense of his hearers. At length, it is true, he surmounted his early trials, which few young men under the circumstances would have done; but he often expressed in later years—as, indeed, he does in this biography—his amazement at his own youthful presumption, and still more at the want of wisdom displayed by his early patrons. If there is one point in which, more than another, every church in Christendom falls short of the New Testament standard, or finds itself unable to discover and apply the New Testament precedents, it is that of patronage, or the appointment of the Christian minister to his post. Taken in its practical workings, the system, as it exists in the church of England, is at least as good as any other, though in theory it would, in many cases, be difficult to find authority for it on scriptural grounds. Mr. James's habitual modesty has led him to speak of his epistolary gifts as mean, yet his letters are sometimes not wanting in fire. We give one addressed to his friend, the Rev. Dr. Patton, an American minister. We make no comments; indeed, it needs none. He appears to refer to the Dred Scott decision, by which the free states were compelled to surrender a fugitive slave.

" . . . Beecher's name reminds me of the state of the anti-slavery cause, or rather, the negro's cause in the United States. This decision of your Supreme Court fills us with astonishment, horror, and indignation. It is indeed the most terrible outrage upon humanity that has been perpetrated for ages, and will do more to lower the moral character of your country than even the present system of slavery. All Europe, and the whole civilized world, will blush for you. It is the first time, that I know of, when a whole race was put without the pale of social life on account of the colour of their skin. Will your country submit to it? Can it be conceived that the descendants of the pilgrim fathers will bow to so horrible a rebellion against the precepts of Christianity and the dictates of reason? My dear brother, what are the Eastern States about that they do not rise en masse against this dictum of a few men upon the bench? However, there is one hope. It is so bad,—shews so clearly the advance of the slaveocracy in your country,—that it must help on eventually the cause of abolition. The American Union of the States appears to me to be becoming an idol before which your people are willing to make the most costly sacrifice of moral principle. Anything so that the Union be preserved. If it is attempted to be preserved in this way, God, with one of the thunderbolts of His vengeance, will by and bye shiver it to pieces!"

So wrote John Angell James from "Edgbaston," on the "9th May, 1857."

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE death of the bishop of Durham, after a short illness and a few days of intense suffering, has thrown a gloom upon the past month. He expired at Auckland Castle on the 9th inst., filled with the consolations of that gospel which it had been the business of his life to proclaim with so much success to others. He had just entered upon his work in his princely diocese, and it was fondly hoped that for many years to come he would fill one of the most important Sees in England greatly to the advantage of pure and undefiled religion. Referring to the only act of his public life of which it could be said that it did not reflect honour both upon the man and his principles, it is sufficient to repeat the remarks which appeared the next day in the *Times*:—"However incautiously he may have acted on the occasion to which we refer, he never lost the esteem of those who knew him best, and the strong interest which vast numbers of people, dissenters as well as churchmen, have taken in his last illness, is the most eloquent of all comments upon his life and character. Not only in his diocese, but throughout the country, in all the large towns, dissenters of every denomination have combined with churchmen to offer prayers for his recovery. Seldom are ecclesiastical dignitaries the object of such affectionate solicitude; seldom is their departure felt so universally as a great public loss." The *Record* and other newspapers have given full accounts of the funeral sermons and other testimonies of private regard and public sorrow called forth by the mournful event; but with these our readers are no doubt acquainted. It is consolatory to learn, we hope on good authority, that the deceased prelate is to be followed by one of kindred spirit with himself. It is reported that Dr. Baring, the excellent bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, will be translated to Durham; and Dr. Thompson, the preacher of Lincoln's Inn, it is rumoured, will succeed Dr. Baring. But all this may be premature; we repeat only what we read in newspapers. At such a time let us remember the Lord's command: "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into his harvest."

Parliament now stands prorogued, and the Queen, with the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, and other members of the royal family, is in Ireland. We hope rather than expect that her visit may be productive of beneficial consequences; for while popery, true Irish popery, is in the ascendant, the presence even of our beloved sovereign will wake up no lasting feeling of true loyalty. Even English Roman Catholics, the Low Churchmen of the papacy, do not affect to conceal their sympathy with the pope and the fallen dukedoms of Italy, and even with the infamous king of Naples. The Perugian massacre has not met with a word of reprobation from them. Sir George Bowyer, the English representative of popery, has, so far as his own audacity and the pent-up feelings of the House of Commons allowed him to proceed, defended the pope his patron, and justified the atrocities of his myrmidons; while Peter's pence have been collected, and even public meetings held, with the avowed

object of assisting Pius the Ninth in his merciless warfare against his own children. The only hope of Ireland is in the introduction of a purer faith; and we trust the time is not far distant when the protestant church in Ireland will assume its true position, which is or ought to be that of one vast, united, and constantly aggressive mission to Roman Catholics. It was instituted for this purpose; and we must remind our Irish brethren, with all conceivable respect, that this is their bounden duty, and that this only will save the Irish church. It was never meant that the established church in Ireland should confine its labours to Irish Protestants. The Ordination charge which we have received in England is no less binding upon them. "They are to seek for Christ's sheep who are dispersed abroad. They are to see that they never cease their labour, their care and diligence, until they have done all that lieth in them, according to their bounden duty, to bring all such as are, or shall be committed to their charge, unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among them, either for error in religion or for viciousness in life." On this principle Bedel bishop of Kilmore acted in 1630. He found his diocese, "saving a few British planters here and there, entirely popish;" he determined to attempt their conversion, and "as the readiest way to the hearts of the people, began with the priests," and in modern times his steps have been followed by "Peter Roe of Kilkenny," and since his day by many excellent men. But the Irish church at large has never addressed itself in earnest to this magnificent, though, no doubt, difficult and even perilous, task.

Speaking upon Irish affairs, we cannot pass by the address of the two archbishops and ten bishops of Ireland to the Queen. It is one consequence of the English convocation—a consequence little expected; and it may be destined to bring about changes the most important the church of England has witnessed in recent times. By the statutes relating to the union of the two kingdoms, the churches of England and Ireland are united in "one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called, the United Church of England and Ireland;" and the statutes provide "that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England." The Irish prelates, therefore, feel constrained to lay their anxieties before the Queen; and the proceedings of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, in attempting to repeal the 29th canon, and substitute a new one, are, taken alone, enough to justify these anxieties. And this is but the first of many steps which it has taken, all tending to disunion; or, in the words of the Irish prelates, "to disturb the uniformity of the Church, and violate the spirit of the Acts of Union." For instance: "steps," say the right reverend petitioners, "have been taken (as we have been informed) towards the preparation of new forms of divine service, to be used after harvest, and on other occasions, thereby adding to the services prescribed by the Acts of Uniformity. And the heads of a measure for regulating the discipline of the clergy have also been the subject of deliberation in that assembly." The Convocation of York has likewise asked for and received the royal license in the same terms in which it was granted to the southern Con-

vocation. Thus the Irish church must either follow in their wake and sacrifice its independence, or else expose itself to the charge of schism. We entreat our readers (those of them especially who think we are driving too hard in our frequent protests against the revival of English convocations) to weigh well the following considerations; bearing in mind, first of all, that the Queen's advisers have not yet ventured to recommend Her Majesty to put her hand to the new canon, which still awaits her sanction; for, in fact, they have gone too far already. They are now, we believe, fully aware that the sanction of parliament is necessary, and they flinch, as well they may, from bringing the discussion of such a question as the reformation of the canons before our House of Commons. The right reverend petitioners pray Her Majesty by no means "to refer questions in which all the provinces of the Church are equally interested, to the consideration of separate and independent Convocations, which have no sufficient opportunities for mutual conference and explanation, such as ought to take place amongst the prelates and clergy belonging to one and the same church, in reference to matters affecting the whole body. For if real freedom of action be conceded to each Convocation, there would be a risk of the unity of the Church being impaired and schism generated. Or if, on the other hand, equal freedom of action be not conceded to each Convocation, but all the provinces are expected to acquiesce in the decisions of one, this would be an assumption of authority for which there is no foundation in law or justice."

The prayer of the petition further is, "that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to refer all matters involving any alteration in the doctrine, worship, discipline, or government of the Church, to the consideration of a GENERAL SYNOD of the UNITED CHURCH of England and Ireland, in order that such measures may be framed as, if approved of by your Majesty, may receive your Majesty's royal assent, or (if the sanction of the Legislature be likewise needed) may be suitably recommended to Parliament."

We are not prepared, at present, to pursue the subject, nor shall we presume to express a hasty judgment upon it. Such an address, from such a quarter, cannot fail of receiving the most serious consideration. In the face of this protest, our English convocations cannot safely be revived; and we suppose the unwise attempt will not be repeated. A national synod is now the only alternative. It is that or nothing. We can only adopt the concluding sentence of the petition, and earnestly commend it to our readers; and "devoutly pray that, in all the affairs of the Church and kingdom committed by Almighty God to Her Majesty's care and government, she may be guided by the wisdom that is from above."

We have much to add on other subjects, did time and space permit. Continental affairs; New Zealand difficulties; the position of Australia, where an English constitution struggles hard for life under the throes of a feverish democracy; and the American civil war. All these afford matter for serious and profoundly interesting reflection. Information we do not profess to give: of that we suppose our readers to be already in possession.

Our christian friends in America are anxious to learn what we in England think of their proceedings. "The great battle," which we

were led to expect a month ago, was fought on Sunday the 21st of July, and ended, after a bloody contest, in the total defeat of the Northern States. The religious public of New York regret that it was fought on Sunday, and perhaps justly attribute the national disaster to this needless provocation of the Lord of the Sabbath. We go still further. We regret that it was fought at all. It seems to us to have been, on both sides, a senseless, and therefore a very wicked, slaughter. The North is not fighting to release the slave. They tell us so themselves. Let the South once more submit, and they will forgive the past and gladly fling them in the Missouri compromise and the Dred Scott decision; that is, they will legalize slavery in every slave state, and undertake to restore every runaway slave found in a free state without one moment's hesitation. The South, as we have all along said, has no sufficient cause of rupture with the North; certainly no *casus belli*. Beyond this, all England is impartial, perhaps we ought to say indifferent; except that we look upon the needless bloodshed with abhorrence. There is no exultation here in the defeat of the Federal army. Indeed our own newspapers afford as many and far better apologies for the panic which spread through the raw Northern troops,—taken by surprise, badly disciplined and worse officered,—than any which we have met with in the reports of Americans. Their defeat was the natural consequence of the presumption and incapacity of their leaders.

Yet out of all this a gracious providence is still educing good. Within two years at the utmost, England will be independent of America for her supplies of cotton, and the civil war of 1861 will have rung the knell of negro slavery.

As we conclude, the news of another fight, in which the Federalists were a second time defeated, has reached us.—But we have our own sins and our own sorrows to record. The railway which has so long been an audacious example of Sabbath profanation, has been the scene of the most awful disaster which ever happened in Great Britain, upon any line, since railways were known. Sunday, the 24th of August, will long be remembered as the day on which the Brighton excursion trains spread “lamentation, and mourning, and woe,” through hundreds of families. Is not the hand of God as visible here as in the chastisement of our kinsmen in America? If England despises the awful lesson, little need have we to wonder at the insensibility of less favoured lands!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have received a second letter from FIDUS; it is written with the courtesy with which all theological controversy ought to be discussed. FIDUS is dissatisfied with our comments on his first letter, and he appeals to our Christian candour to insert his reply in the present Number. But, in the first place, we are unable to do so, our space being already occupied; and in the second, we must confess we see no advantage in prolonging the controversy. We have already, we think, sufficiently shown our candour in permitting FIDUS, in our own pages, to controvert an editorial article; and the matter had now better be left to the judgment of our readers, who will decide for themselves. Indeed, we are sure that FIDUS would be answered by one or more of our correspondents; and we must decline to open our pages to the discussion.

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WALKING WITH GOD.

THE spiritual course of some of the most devoted servants of God is described in the simple but suggestive record, that they walked with God. "Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him." Gen. v. 24. "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God." Gen. vi. 9. The same expression is used, although with some variety of adaptation, in respect to the saints both of the Old and New Testaments. It will be interesting to trace out its full meaning, and learn from it the gracious condescension of Almighty God in coming down, as it were, to tread this earth with the children of men, and the close and spiritual character of that communion with their Heavenly Father to which they are invited.

We need not take up the personal history of the two patriarchs who are specially said to have walked with God, excepting to remark that their lives supply evidence of the active energy and diffusive usefulness which characterises one who walks with God. Walking with God is not to desert the ordinary paths of life, to renounce the claims, the duties, and the anxieties of our social relations, for the abstractions of solitude; Enoch and Noah lived and worked amongst their fellow men; not shunning intercourse with them, but endeavouring to make that intercourse conducive to the Divine glory. In the cities and amongst the multitudes of the antediluvian world their voices were to be heard, announcing the message which had been entrusted to them of God. Enoch boldly declared to an infidel and godless people the coming of the Lord with ten thousand of His saints, to execute judgment upon all; and Noah built his ark and preached of righteousness for the warning and instruction of a later generation.

Here would seem to be instruction and encouragement for those whose lot is cast in these days amidst the busier scenes of human life, and especially for those who, like Enoch and Noah, have to preach for God, and labour for God, in our large cities and towns, where "ungodly deeds are ungodly committed, and hard speeches spoken against God by ungodly sinners." They may have to be instant in season and out of season, and yet walk with God. God has nowhere taught that the busy and contemplative, and the active and devotional life are to be cultivated apart the one from the other; they are found in their most perfect developements in combination. Not only in the tracings and outlines which we have of such lives as those of Enoch and Noah, but in the fuller details of the apostle's life, in which journeyings, and perils, and labours, and the care of all the churches, did not exclude fastings, and keeping under of the body, and prayer without ceasing, and the very highest degree of spiritual union and communion with God.* The same point stands out in the character of the Great Exemplar. After His busiest days, He rose a great while before day, for retirement and prayer, or spent the whole night in devotional converse with His Heavenly Father; so in the last stage of His life, the day was devoted to instruction in the temple, but at night Jesus refreshed His soul at the Mount of Olives.†

In considering somewhat fully this walk with God as constituting the highest privilege and dignity of our earthly state, our attention is first directed to the NATURE of this walk. In what does it consist? what kind of life does that man lead, of whom the Holy Spirit, were He recording his character, would say,—He walks with God? Every phase of life has its marks and peculiarities; the student's life is marked by diligent pains and untiring effort in the pursuit of knowledge; the worldling's life is devoted to pleasure and personal enjoyment; the business man rises early and late takes rest, and eats the bread of carefulness in the prosecution of his schemes. We have no difficulty in classifying our fellow men by the characteristics which their daily lives present. They propose to themselves certain objects; in the pursuit of these their very existence centres. Now, we would be as real and practical in spiritual things as in earthly; a man proposes to himself to walk with God, what should we expect to be the nature of his course. The very term *walking* with God helps us to decide this.

There must be, first, *the realization of God's presence*; we may think of an absent friend, or write to an absent friend, but we cannot walk with him unless he is present; he must be at our side, going out and coming in with

* 1 Cor. xi. 23—28; 1 Cor. ix. 24—27; Gal. ii. 20; Phil. iii. 7—14.

† Mark i. 21—25; Luke vi. 12, xxi. 37.

us, sitting down and rising up with us. Now, in how many cases similar to those of Enoch and Noah is this view of the believer's privilege most precious. They lived in hard times, times of ease and prosperity, and worldly indulgence, and utter forgetfulness of God. They looked round in vain for one like minded with themselves, one with whom they might take sweet counsel, and walk to the House of God, and in the ways of God as friends; they found none such amongst their fellow men, but they found it in God. They realized God in nature, in providence, and in grace; they saw His works, they felt His presence. He was to them a God at hand and not afar off, filling heaven and earth with His glory and goodness. Herein is the very essence of the walk with God, to think of God, not only as manifested in majesty in the highest heavens, but here, actually dwelling in the hearts of His people by the Holy Spirit, "as God hath said, I will dwell in them and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." Another feature in this walk with God is the *communication of God's mind and love*. There is no satisfaction in walking with a dumb person; we can look back upon many a pleasant walk in our youth or later years, but the pleasure of such walks consisted in having a companion to our own taste. The sensualist would select one who could detail the indulgences and excesses of a life of sin; the worldling, one who could depict the giddy round of gay and fashionable life; the literary man, one who could improve his mind and traverse with him the intricate and abstruse paths of science; without congenial converse the walk would be dull and irksome, for communion of thought and feeling gives life and reality to social intercourse. Let us apply this, then, to the believer's walk with God. God has graciously condescended to use this figure of His relation to His people, it is not for them to decline the privilege or forego the comfort herein implied. We may expect, then, that one of our chief enjoyments in this walk will be to listen to the thoughts, purposes, and depths of the Divine mind. These Enoch and Noah might derive from spiritual revelations, the saints of latter days from the written record of the Bible; in other words, he who seeks to walk closely with God will be a very diligent and prayerful student of His word; he will read it as though God therein was actually speaking to himself individually; at one time he will be raised to holy adoration, as the divine friend unfolds the mysteries of His own glory and attributes, proclaiming Himself, "the Almighty God, the Great I AM, the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty." At another time the discourse will be of man's lost and miserable estate

the heart will be laid open and shown to be deceitful above all things and desperately wicked, so that none can know it, save He that searcheth the heart and trieth the reins. The believer would be confounded and dispirited did he not know that he who has thus conversed with him is one who heals as well as wounds, who binds up the broken-hearted, giving the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. God converses too with him who walks with Him of His purposes of grace and mercy in Christ Jesus to sinful man; revealing to him the mysteries of the covenant well-ordered in all things and sure, and assuring him of his own individual interest therein. He sets forth the personal privileges of His people, their spirit of adoption, their peace and joy in believing, their lively hope; and He unfolds something of their future glory, when, seeing their Lord as He is, they shall be like Him, and have their place before the throne for ever and ever.

Moreover, in a close walk with God the believer will be privileged to receive something in the way of special and confidential communication from God; not new revelations, but such a particular application by the Holy Spirit of the written word, as to make it a voice from God to the individual soul. A very faithful servant of Christ remarks:—"I had a somewhat remarkable instance of Divine guidance last Friday, in a private case of conscience, which had troubled me for some time. It was as if I had seen, with my bodily eyes, my own adorable Saviour pointing out the particular passage, and shedding a flood of light on the sacred page."* So Simeon found it, when, on one occasion, he was more than usually depressed by the contempt and persecution which he often had to bear; human companions shunned him, and he had literally to take his walk with God. He went forth with his Testament in his hand, and lifting up his heart in prayer that God would speak to him a word of comfort and encouragement, opening the book his eye rested on the words: "They found a man of Cyrene, Simon (or Simeon) by name; him they compelled to bear his cross." (Matt. xxvii. 32.) "When I read that," he remarks, "I exclaimed, Lord, lay it on me, lay it on me; I will gladly bear the cross for thy sake; and I henceforth bound persecution as a wreath of glory around my brow."† There is no more marvellous property of God's Word than its adaptation to the particular cases and necessities of man under every possible variety of state and circumstances. The contents of Holy Writ have been the common property of the church from generation to generation; its precepts and its promises stand recorded on each page of the holy volume; but the power of these sacred

* *Mission Scenes in Burmah*, by Rev. J. Baillie, p. 287. † *Simeon's Life*, p. 67.

truths is only fully realised, when the Holy Spirit so operates upon the individual mind as to enable it to comprehend the meaning, and feel the power, and receive the teaching of one passage or another with an appropriation which is as though God himself were speaking to the soul, for instruction, for guidance, for assurance, for comfort.

A third point in this walk with God, is *the expression of our own thoughts and feelings*. This is an essential part of that communion and fellowship expressed by walking one with another. Such association implies interchange of thought; the confidential communication of the hindrances and difficulties which lie in our pathway in life; the relation of our plans and prospects, our hopes and fears, and all those other matters affecting our temporal or spiritual welfare which one feels it a relief to unbosom to a loving and kindred heart, with a view to counsel, assistance, and sympathy; especially if our friend be our superior in position, in intelligence, in wealth, or in influence, we then feel it to be a privilege to seek his advice, and to ask his help. These are the two definite forms which the expression of our feelings assumes in walking with God. We are ignorant and short-sighted, weak and irresolute, with little command even over ourselves, and no power to control the ever varying circumstances of this earthly state. Our Heavenly Friend is the Almighty God; how great the privilege, then, of being able to advise with Him upon every thing which concerns us. And this we have the fullest opportunity of doing. The Holy Scriptures, in one point of view, are the written and infallible advice and counsel which God has given to the children of men for their direction through the perplexing mazes of their earthly course. Hence the Psalmist speaks of the blessedness of "the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful; but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law doth he meditate day and night."* And again: "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto according to thy word. With my whole heart have I sought thee: oh, let me not wander from thy commandments. Thy word have I hid in mine heart, that I might not sin against thee." In walking with God, then, the Bible will be carefully consulted with a special view to find therein the true standard of a holy life; the principles which should guide the servant of God in his intercourse with the world; the measure of honesty, and integrity, and truthfulness, which should characterize him in even the smallest matters no less than in those of greater comparative importance. Hence we find the analogous expressions of walking in the ways of

* Psalm i. 1, 2.

† Psalm cxix. 9—11.

God's commandments, and in God's laws; in the statutes, judgments, and ordinances of God. The contrast in this respect is well defined between Jehoshaphat, who walked in the first ways of his father David, and sought the Lord God of his father, and walked in His commandments, and Jehu, who took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart. Thus, walking with God involves a state of soul corresponding to the aspiration of the Psalmist: "Oh, that my ways were directed to keep thy statutes! Then shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect unto all thy commandments." No doubt there is a solemn responsibility, as well as a blessed privilege, in thus advising with God, and submitting ourselves to His direction. Many an imagination will have to be restrained, many a scheme renounced, many a purpose changed, because the plain and written counsel of the Divine Word runs counter to human wisdom; but then this absolute surrender of self is just what all must come to who would serve God aright, and find His service perfect freedom and perfect happiness. We may be long in coming to this point; there will be severe conflicts with self; in one form or another it will claim some reserve and some exception; but so long as any such claim is allowed, spiritual peace and strength, and closeness of communion with God, will be impaired. There must come a time when the soul shall have no will but God's, and its chief desire shall be to discover that will, in order to perform it and to conform to it; then, as the believer walks with God through the sacred pages of His Holy Word, he will ever be taking counsel with the Most High, and the continued aspiration of his heart will be, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth."

In the walk of friendship with one on earth, we not only seek his advice, but ask his help. We have special need, and the fullest opportunity for doing so in our walk with God. Earthly plans are, for the most part, dependent upon the ability and energy of human agency; but when we enter upon that which is spiritual, we are immediately sensible of the need of some power greater than our own. The conversion of the soul, a justifying faith, the renewal of the will, the mortification of self, growth in grace, and the entire process whereby the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, is put off, and the new man put on, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness: these operations are beyond the limit of human power, but he that walks with God can bring his need to the Almighty One, and ask and obtain His all-sufficient help. The study of the Divine Word is the posture of the soul seeking instruction in the counsels of God: prayer enables it to ask and plead for help and succour. These two acts of the soul are closely connected, although each has its own distinct

sphere of operation, and by them we may give full expression to the thoughts and feelings of our inner man. But the exercise of prayer, which enables us thus to commune with God, must be free and full; it must be the language of the soul giving unrestrained utterance to all its inmost workings; it must express that confidence in God which the child feels in making known its wants to an affectionate and tender-hearted parent. Two or three extracts from Brainerd's life may illustrate such exercise of prayer:—

"This morning enjoyed a most solemn season in prayer; my soul seemed enlarged and assisted to pour out itself to God for grace and for every blessing I wanted for myself, my dear Christian friends, and for the Church of God; and was so enabled to see Him who is invisible, that my soul rested upon Him for the performance of every thing I asked agreeable to His will. It was then my happiness to continue instant in prayer, and I was enabled to continue in it for near an hour. Felt the same Divine assistance in prayer sundry times in the day. My soul confided in God for myself and for His Zion; trusted in Divine power and grace, that He would do glorious things in His church on earth for His own glory."

Again:—

"In the morning spent an hour in prayer with great intenseness and freedom. Prayer was so sweet an exercise to me, that I knew not how to cease lest I should lose the spirit of prayer. Felt no disposition to eat or drink for the pleasure of it, but only to support my nature and fit me for the Divine service. Could not be content without a very particular mention of a great number of dear friends at the throne of grace."

Again:—

"About nine withdrew to the woods for prayer. In prayer I was exceedingly enlarged, and my soul was as much drawn out as ever I remember it to have been in my life. I was in such anguish, and pleaded with so much earnestness and importunity, that when I rose from my knees I felt extremely weak and overcome. Thus I spent the evening, praying incessantly for Divine assistance. What I passed through was remarkable, and indeed inexpressible. All things here below vanished, and there appeared to be nothing of any considerable importance to me but holiness of heart and life and the conversion of the heathen to God. All my cares, fears, and desires, which might be said to be of a worldly nature, disappeared, and were in my esteem of little more importance than a puff of wind. I continued in this frame all the evening and night. While I was asleep, I dreamed of these things; and when I waked, the first thing I thought of was this great work of pleading for God against Satan."

In such fervent exercises of prayer the whole soul is unburthened to a present God, every feeling expressed, every want made known; and as the Holy Spirit helps the believer's infirmities, and makes intercession for him with groanings

which cannot be uttered, he experiences and manifests to all who come within his hallowed influence the dignity and blessedness of walking with God.

We have endeavoured thus to sketch the nature and character of the believer's walk with God, howbeit these mysteries of the inner and higher spiritual life must be felt in order to be understood; there is something in them which can scarcely be communicated by language; as we endeavour to embody the glory and the blessedness of them, we are sensible of conceptions too weak and words too feeble to express what in the spirit we have heard and seen and looked upon and our hands have handled of heavenly things. There is a second point, however, connected with this walk with God, which we desire to speak of in this Paper. It may be brought before our minds by an extract from a letter from Judson when consecrating himself to the Lord's service in the missionary work in Burmah. He writes:—

“Blest, who far from all mankind,
This world's shadows left behind,
Hears from heaven a gentle strain
Whispering love, and loves again.”

“But oh, that strain I have hitherto listened in vain to hear; or rather I have not listened aright, and therefore cannot hear.” And he adds, “Have either of you learned the art of real communion with God? and can you teach me the *first principles*?”*

What then are the PRINCIPLES from which this close walk with God proceeds? They appear to be mainly two, simple and elementary, but yet too much overlooked and very imperfectly developed in the spiritual life of most believers. The first of these principles is *a thorough and entire change of heart through the indwelling power of the Holy Ghost*. “Can two walk together,” asks God, by the prophet Amos, “except they be agreed?” Absolute unity, then, of disposition and purpose with our Heavenly Father is the main element of this high state which we are endeavouring to depict. Now, it is not too much to say that, so far as we can judge, the greater number of those of whom we hope well stop short of this thorough change of heart. The evidences of this are, that they come to the House of God in a wrong spirit, either feeling little interest and enjoyment in the Word and prayer, and ordinances, or making the ground of any interest and enjoyment the personal gifts of the administrator of such ordinances, or the mode of their administration, rather than God, His service, His glory, and His praise, in the means of grace which He has given to His servants. Religious duty is more attended to in its outward acts, which bring us into contact with, and under

* Baillie's Mission Scenes in Burmah, p. 212.

the notice of our fellow men, than in the private work of the family and of the closet ; so that spirituality is lost sight of in bustling activity. We rarely meet with Christians who breathe that unction, and give forth that radiant brightness of peace and joy, which closer communion with God in the mount of meditation and prayer would impart. This imperfection and low standard of Christian life does not correspond with the fulness of the promise, "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you ; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh ; and I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them."* There is a test of our state in this respect, which many must have been conscious of. They are reading the biography of some one of those bright and shining lights which God has given to the church in later as well as in former times—such men as Brainerd, or Henry Martyn, or Payson, or M'Cheyne, or Hewetson, of whom it may of a truth be said, that they "walked with God" ;—how are they affected in the perusal of such lives ? They are filled, it may be, with admiration ; they glorify God in them ; they are conscious of something like awe as they tread ground which they feel is holy ; but do they really desire to be like them ?—do they close the book, and kneel down and pray, from their very inmost souls, that there may be wrought out in them every measure of grace, of deep spiritual change, of absolute consecration, of unflinching self-denial, which was wrought out in these and other like men ?—that they may follow them even as they followed Christ, and be so transformed by the renewing of their mind, that they may prove what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God. If we are conscious that we hold back from an entire and complete conversion of heart and soul, fearful almost to ask for it lest it should be too unearthly and spiritual, or lest it should involve changes and sacrifices which we are not prepared to make, we are clearly erring in respect to one of the fundamental principles of the walk with God.

But there is an error in respect to the manner of this change of heart no less than in respect to its measure or degree ; and the two errors are closely connected the one with the other. The measure of the change is altogether scanty and inadequate, because its nature and method is not accurately comprehended or distinctly kept in view ; that is, because the Holy Spirit is not sufficiently recognised and honoured as the paramount and sole effectual agent in this change. It is a melancholy thought, how, in the very Church of Christ, and under that which is preeminently the dispensation of the Spirit, the work of the

* Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.

Holy Ghost is, to a great extent, ignored and disregarded. Many would be shocked at the bare supposition of their faultiness in this respect, who are nevertheless depending more upon human agency and personal effort for the carrying out of God's work within them, than upon the free and effectual operation of the Holy Spirit. In the place of earnest pleadings for the indwelling power of the Spirit, are substituted resolutions and strivings, and specious forms of self-dependence, which issue only in failure and disappointment. There is no real victory over sin; no satisfying enjoyment of the Word or of prayer; no nearness to God; nothing which can be called walking with God; the soul is depressed, and its inner life stunted and undeveloped. Just in proportion to our acknowledgment of the Holy Spirit, and to our participation in His life-giving and controlling operations, will be our attainments and advance in true godliness. Thus, that which, under the Old Testament, was called walking with God, is by the apostle expressed by the terms, "living in the Spirit," "walking after the Spirit," "walking in the Spirit," "being led by the Spirit."* When we study the records of the apostolic churches with a view to trace out the operation of the Holy Spirit in the souls of the believers of those days, we see a condition to which the state of our own churches presents a painful contrast. Many were then to be found "*full of the Holy Ghost.*" The apostles charged the multitude of the disciples to select seven such men as the first deacons, implying that there would be no difficulty in finding many so gifted; and Stephen is afterwards twice described in the same terms as a man "*full of the Holy Ghost.*"† The same expression is used of Barnabas; and this abundant measure of spiritual influence, and the faith which was a necessary result of it, seem to be stated as the causes of his great ministerial success, it being next written, "*and much people was added unto the Lord.*"‡ The believers of Antioch, in Pisidia, are spoken of in a body as "*filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost,*"§ as it had been before recorded of the churches of Judea, and Samaria, and Galilee, that they, "*walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost,*" were multiplied.|| This, in fact, appears to have been the normal state of the apostolic church. The kingdom of God was to them righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. The love of God was shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, which was given them; they abounded in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost; the fruit of the Spirit was seen in them in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth; God anointed them, and sealed them, and gave them

* Rom. viii. 1, 14; Gal. v. 16, 25.

† Acts vi. 3, 5; vii. 55.

‡ Acts xi. 21.

§ Acts xiii. 52.

|| Acts ix. 31.

the earnest of the Spirit in their hearts. The exhortation given to the Ephesian Church was in accordance with this high tone of spiritual life: "Be filled with the Spirit."* We must trace out these good old paths, if we would walk closely and happily with God; we must rise above cold and formal conceptions of the Holy Spirit as a matter of doctrine, to the higher region of the Spirit's living, moving, animating power; we must begin, and carry out and perfect our new life by His indwelling power, looking up to Him, resting upon Him, acting through Him in all things, as a necessity and reality, and most merciful provision for our state of weakness; for it is by Him alone that, through the Lord Jesus, fallen man can have access unto God.

The second great principle of this walk with God is *faith*;—faith, that is, not in the restricted sense of that grace whereby, being justified, we have peace with God through the Lord Jesus Christ; but in that larger meaning of the word, according to which the apostle says, "We walk by faith, not by sight." The Epistle to the Hebrews shows how, in various forms and degrees, faith has been the great principle directing and supporting all who have walked with God. It lies at the foundation of all intercourse with an unseen world and an invisible Being; so that "without faith it is impossible to please God; for he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." Faith opens up the heavenly inheritance for which the believer is content to renounce the things of this present world; and living here as a stranger and pilgrim, and having tastes and pursuits which his fellow men can neither appreciate nor understand, he feels no sense of loneliness, because Faith realises God as ever near. By the operation of this principle, food and clothing, and the comforts of life, are gifts coming directly from God's love; the mingled lot of sorrows and of joys testify of God's wisdom; deliverances from difficulties and dangers are the effects of God's power. The believer has an enjoyment of this world such as none other can know, and he alone can use the means of grace so as to feel their power and exalting influence. Judson illustrates this point. "The Burmans have a word," he writes, "which means 'to set before our eyes.' I want a faith which will set before my eyes all the great things which the Word of God contains, that they may be as real to me as though I had seen them with my eyes, and they were continually present with me." A corresponding passage from the letter of a fellow-labourer bears upon prayer: "In prayer I feel a greater nearness to God, and sometimes seem almost to see Him face to face; to order my speech before

* Rom. xiv. 17; v. 5: xv. 13; Eph. v. 9; 2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. v. 18.

Him, and to plead with Him as a man pleadeth with his friend." Thus the life and vigour of our spiritual frame, whether in our ordinary occupations or devotional exercises, depends upon the intensity and perceptive power of the principle of faith. This will give reality and distinctness to our walk with God ; and walking with God in holy and close communion, we shall leave behind us the low and unsatisfactory attainments of ordinary religious profession, and evidence that our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ.

W. C.

YOUNG'S ITALIAN REFORMERS; PETER MARTYR.

The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario ; or, a History of the Italian Reformers in the Sixteenth Century. Illustrated by original Letters and unedited Documents. By M. Young. 8vo, 2 vols. London : Bell and Daldy. 1860.

THE sixteenth century will be regarded with a peculiar interest to the end of time. It was a period of intellectual progress, and still more of religious emancipation. In some countries (thank God ! in our own) that emancipation was national ; in others it was only won by a few individuals under difficulties and discouragements, and it soon provoked the violence and cruelty of spiritual tyranny against them. Some were terrified into conformity with the corruptions which had so long borne undisputed sway ; some were scared from further inquiry, and simply silenced their misgivings ; some kept on the outward garments of the old religion, and clung in secret to the truth as it is in Jesus ; some took flight into countries where they might walk in the path to which God had called them ; some fell victims to the persecutors' fire and sword.

Mind was not asleep in Italy. Many were groping their way to a purer faith ; and the general history of the times, and the personal history of several whom God's grace had enlightened, provide the interesting subjects of these two well-filled volumes. Paleario is but one of many ; but he occupies the most conspicuous place, the chapters dedicated to his story filling nearly a third of the whole work.

At the present time, when spiritual oppression has again made itself hateful in Italy, when the Scriptures are eagerly purchased, when many are known to be inquiring, when some at least are impressed with the falsehood of popery, and when all of our countrymen, zealous for the truth, who have visited or who sojourn in that land, are speaking and writing in the

language of hope and encouragement, there is much to invite us to look upon this book in its purely Italian aspect, and to seek for present guidance and wisdom through a study of the past.

But we have a home interest in this work. One of these eminent Italians performed an important part in relation to the Reformation in England; and, singular to say, it has remained for this author to collect for the first time the records of the life of that distinguished person, known amongst us as Peter Martyr, but whose proper name was Peter Martyr Vermiglio.

We intend to devote a few pages to a sketch of his life. It affords a fair sample of the trials which befel every one in Italy who sought to escape from the mental and spiritual bondage of the dominant apostacy; and when it carries us to our own shores, it shows that he whom ecclesiastics hounded out of Italy became a blessing to England in her search for true religion. If Italy had previously coiled around us the bonds which held us so long in spiritual subjection, Italy at least helped in the end to cut them asunder, and to set us free to serve God after a more acceptable manner.

Peter Martyr Vermiglio was born at Florence on the 8th of September, 1500. The day was memorable as the anniversary of the birth of the Virgin Mary, and likewise of the fall of Jerusalem. Sages reckoned that the boy who had such a birthday was likely to attain to eminence. His parents, Stefano Vermiglio and Maria Fumantia his wife, were members of ancient families, much esteemed in the city. They had lost several sons, and in the hope of preserving this new gift for their comfort, they had dedicated him, even before his birth, to Peter Martyr of Milan, one of those who for his constancy to the true doctrine had been put to death by the Arians. By that name he was christened.

His mother had been highly educated, and was able not only to instruct him in the rudiments of Latin, but to guide him to a just appreciation of the authors whose works she read with him. He was trained to diligence and perseverance. No expense or pains were grudged in providing him with the most accomplished teachers, and many boys who lived to be famous in literature were amongst his companions and competitors in study. He was endued with a quick perception, a retentive memory, and an ardent thirst for knowledge, which greatly assisted the efforts made for his instruction. With these qualities was combined a genuine modesty, which endeared him to all with whom he had intercourse.

The time came when his profession in life must needs be selected, and to the disappointment of his parents, especially of his father, he resolved to enter a monastery. His motive

was the persuasion that such a life was most free from temptation, and most acceptable to God. He was young at that time, and little knew how easily sin could enter into the solitude of the cell and the cloister. The strictness and learning of the order of St. Augustine attracted him to that community, and at the early age of sixteen, behold him a novice, at the monastery of St. Augustine, at Fiesole, near Florence. His only sister, Gemina Felicità, followed his example, and entered a nunnery associated with his name, that of S. Pietro Martire.

We have mentioned his father's disapproval of this step. It was not without reason. He would have been glad that his son should marry, and continue the family line; but he also had learned from the preaching of Savonarola, and from his own observation, that the church needed to be purified, and that the monastic orders partook of the general corruption. The consequence was, that at his death he only bequeathed to his son a yearly income of fifty crowns. The young and ardent student was happy in the leisure which the rules of the monastery secured to him. The very system of the house prepared the way for his rising up to a better christian state. The young monks had to commit to memory certain portions of the Scriptures; some learned to repeat whole epistles of St. Paul, the book of Proverbs, and the Psalms; they were also required to practice elocution. How good a preparation both for coming to a knowledge of the truth and for being a successful preacher of it to others!

After three years, the authorities of the convent sent him to another of their houses, near Padua, for the purpose of affording him an opportunity of following the studies of that University. Here about eight years were spent, carrying our young student forward to the age of five-and-twenty. He attended the lectures of distinguished professors. He examined carefully for himself the opinions which were propounded to him. So well did he acquit himself, that the professors, who called him their Florentine, invited him to take part in their public discussions. The ethics and rhetoric of Aristotle proved to him an interesting study. Dissatisfied with knowing them only through a Latin translation, he devoted himself to the study of Greek, and so persevering was he, and his fellow-student Cusano, that often the morning light dawned upon the library before they closed their books. When he had mastered the Greek language, he possessed the master-key to fresh stores of literature, and now a new set of orators, philosophers, and poets contributed to the cultivation of his mind.

In all this we cannot fail to observe the providential ordering of a preparatory work, which was ere long to bring him forth into the world a faithful and able preacher, to whom the word of God had already unfolded many of its precious and hidden treasures.

His twenty-sixth year was to witness his first essay in the pulpit. The Dominicans preached all the year round. The Augustines and other orders were only to be heard in the seasons of Advent or Lent. But because their opportunities were few, their audiences were great; for one reason, their most accomplished men were selected for their preachers. Hence it was a great distinction to Peter Martyr to be entrusted with this office; and the honour was increased by his being made at once a doctor of divinity. Dr. Peter Martyr preached first at Brescia; then in succession in Rome, Bologna, Venice, Mantua, Bergamo, Pisa, and Montserrat. At the earnest request of friends he lectured in various places on the Greek language, on Homer, on philosophy, and on the Holy Scriptures, which were now the study of all the hours which he could possibly devote to them. Here therefore again we trace the means which were blessed of God to his eventually emerging out of papal darkness into the light of a purer faith. He also, with very little help beyond his own diligence, acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew language, so as to be able to understand the Old Testament in the original. There appears to have been a thoroughness in the way in which he devoted himself to whatever he saw it good to attempt at all, which it would be well to imitate as well as to admire.

At the beginning of these studies he appears to have chiefly sought to know his religion by aid of the Fathers; but after being constantly perplexed by their contradictory statements, he turned to the word of God, which he understood and loved the more, the farther he carried his studies.

His character was appreciated, and his superiors judged him to be qualified for a place of trust and authority. His first appointment of that nature was to the abbacy of Spoleto. To a reputation for learning he now added that of wise discipline and good government. Laxity of morals and luxurious living had brought dishonour upon the convents and nunneries of the town. He effected a reformation of these institutions; and whereas factions divided the people of the place, he was the means of restoring them to concord.

After three years more, he was appointed prior to the convent of S. Pietro ad Ara, at Naples. About the same time he became acquainted with certain books which exercised a considerable influence over his gradually expanding mind. These were, Bucer's Commentaries on the Gospels and on the Psalms, and shortly after them, the treatise of Zuingli on "True and False Religion." These he read at a time when, by the honest study of the Holy Scripture, his mind was receiving an increasing light of truth, and was consequently detecting for itself the corruptions which had grown into the church of Rome. Other writings of the Reformers came into his hands. He read them with avidity, and sympathising with their aims, he began

to desire that the church might be brought back to the original simplicity of Christ's religion. Others, like himself, were studying the Scriptures in Italy. Some of them were his friends. Amongst them were Benedetto Cusano, and Marc Antonio Flaminio, the poet, with both of whom he had much conversation on the most important of all subjects.

A candid enquirer, believing that there was to be found in Scripture much vital truth which he had never been taught, he attended the exposition of Juan Valdes* (secretary to the Viceroy of Naples), who was then reading and explaining portions of Holy Scripture in his private apartments, for the benefit of his friends. He grew in knowledge. The blessed truths of the Gospel became the joy of his heart. His great grief was, that in all which concerned the salvation of souls, the church of Rome had either corrupted or obscured the doctrine which the Spirit had revealed.

While his mind was filled with such thoughts, he began an exposition of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, at S. Pietro ad Ara, and such was the impression produced on his congregations, that crowds assembled to hear him, including several bishops, and other persons of distinction.

Learning, genius, and eloquence were now combined in explaining and enforcing the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, and not by our own works or deservings, and many of his hearers, even some of the first nobles of the land, were brought to the earnest inquiry,—What must we do to be saved? The names of Caserta, and Caracciolo are mentioned amongst these Neapolitan noblemen.

These lectures appear to have been delivered in 1541, in which year Valdes was no more.

The Neapolitan monks were excited to indignation by the preacher's doctrine; they whispered a charge of heresy, raised the suspicions of the viceroy, and noted down the preacher's words.

At length a crisis came. He had reached the 3rd chapter, and preached on verses 11—13: *Other foundation, &c.* He spoke cautiously, and yet plainly enough to awaken a suspicion that purgatory had ceased to hold a place in his creed. He cited the ancient Fathers to prove that the *fire* mentioned in v. 13, and again in v. 15, was a figure of the destruction of error, including all pretence of human merit, and that the apostle taught by that passage, that those who added anything to the only foundation, which is Christ, as aids to the work of salvation, exposed themselves to the greatest danger, and if saved would be like persons who escaped from a fire with the loss of all things but their lives.

His interpretation deprived the church of Rome of the only

* Of Alfonso and Juan Valdes a very interesting history is given in the 6th chapter of the 1st vol. of the work now under review.

scriptural passage on which she can rest her doctrine of purgatory. This was not to be endured, and so he was forbidden to preach. But he had friends in Rome, and therefore he appealed to the Pope, and the prohibition was cancelled. Amongst those who are described as his friends in Rome, may be noticed the name of our Cardinal Pole. They knew not to what lengths these things would grow, nor how differently they would soon be treating those who took God's word for a lamp to their feet and a light to their paths.

Again Peter Martyr preached as before, and no further interruption was offered to him; but before his three years' station at Naples was completed, he was laid low by fever, and obliged to resign his post, for his health's sake.

We next see him visitor-general of his order, travelling throughout Italy, and correcting abuses, sometimes with a necessary severity. When his discernment and decision in this service had conferred great benefits upon his order, he was once more fixed in a local sphere of usefulness, being appointed prior of S. Frediano at Lucca, where he improved the discipline of the monastery, and stimulated all the members to the love of study and the practical following of religion. He earnestly promoted education, and in doing so called to his aid the talents of men who, besides being eminent instructors in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, were lovers of the truth, and well-acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. The prior himself gave daily lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul—those great helps to the reformation in all the lands in which its influence was felt. Our own Ridley wrote, in his Farewell to Pembroke Hall, "In thy orchard, (the walls, bricks, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness,) I learned without book almost all St. Paul's epistles." In places not so dissimilar Peter Martyr had perhaps done the same, certainly had studied those epistles, and meditated on their sacred treasures, until he had made them his own. At Lucca, before supper, he explained one of the Psalms in presence of the whole community, and many of the citizens and nobles were glad to be permitted to be amongst his auditors. Every Sunday he preached in public. Many, through him, came to know the Holy Scriptures, were made wise to salvation, and came to be united together in the bonds of Christian love.

In 1541, the emperor Charles V. and the pope Paul III. met for political purposes at Lucca. Cardinal Contarini, one of the friends of Peter Martyr, became his guest in the monastery. He was fresh from the diet at Ratisbon, convoked by the emperor in the vain hope of reconciling the Protestants and the Romanists. He reported what he had heard from the German reformers at that conference, and the two friends had many discussions on the subject. The manly mind of Martyr

was only confirmed by what he heard in the opinions to which study and reflection had thus far conducted him.

The friends of Martyr boded evil to him from this visit of the Pope and his attendants to Lucca. Nor were they altogether mistaken in their apprehensions. A report of his doings was carried to Rome. The bishop of Lucca wrote to the municipality about conventicles being held in the convent of St. Augustine, and about doctrines being published there without hindrance or even remonstrance, such as the church did not sanction. Certain of the priests were to be arrested, and especially the vicar, who was charged with teaching doctrine at issue with the church concerning the Lord's supper. He urged that all the persons who had shown any such heretical tendencies should be sent to Rome for trial.

It was known that in Rome preparations were being made for the erection of the barbarous and brutal Inquisition, to the eternal disgrace of the apostate church. In Lucca one arrest at least was made ; but the nobles of the city burst open the prison, rescued the accused, and setting him at liberty, bade him fly for his life. Unhappily, in attempting to escape, the poor fellow broke his leg, and was after all sent a prisoner to Rome.

The friends of Peter Martyr perceived that he too, though passed over for the present, was nevertheless in imminent danger. Influential friends could not always avail to protect him. If taken and tried, the law would have its course. What was he to do ?

The persecutors of the truth had their eyes upon him. Those whom his righteous discipline had curtailed of their pleasures were far from being his friends. The irritated monks sought occasion against him. They wrote secretly to Rome. They watched his conduct and his words. They noticed the books which he read, and laid snares for him in conversation. The fear of the people alone kept them under restraint, for by his preaching he had won the people's hearts, we may hope for Christ.

But it was resolved to break up the community of those who worshipped God in the Spirit, and rejoiced in Christ Jesus, and had no confidence in the flesh. The old Romanists, haters of reformation alike in doctrine and discipline, called together an assembly at Genoa, to consider the threatening aspect of affairs, and to this meeting they invited Peter Martyr. Here was a forewarning of danger ; his friends urged him to regard it in that light ; and he resolved, though with much reluctance, to follow their counsels, and to depart from Lucca in a different direction, securing his safety by flight. He entrusted a selected number of his books to the care of Cristoforo Brenta, a Lucchese nobleman, to be forwarded to him in due season in Germany. The rest he left where they were, for the use of

the convent, committing them to the care of the vicar ; and he departed, accompanied by three friends, who were united to him by the blessed bonds of the gospel,—Paolo Lacisio, Theodosio Trebellio, and Giulio Terenziano,—the latter his faithful attendant and companion through the remainder of his life.

He rested for a while at Pisa, but in concealment, only embracing the opportunity of assembling the little band of the faithful for the celebration of the Lord's supper, in accordance with its original institution. Here too he left letters, to be delivered a month after he had reached a place of safety, addressed to Reginald Pole, and to his religious friends at Lucca, informing them that he was fleeing for his life ; but also declaring his conviction that the Roman Church was in doctrine seriously in error, and that the corruptions prevalent amongst the monastic orders were such that he could no longer conscientiously continue to belong to them. He reminded his flock of his zeal for their salvation, while he expressed his regret at not having done more for their instruction and edification. With these letters he sent to the convent the ring which he had worn, according to custom, as the badge of his office.

From Pisa he travelled onward to Florence, where he met his friend Bernardino Ochino, a fugitive like himself. Ochino had not been able to satisfy himself that it was right to forsake Italy. Martyr, on the other hand, was resolved that it was his present duty, and advised him not to remain within reach of the power of the pope, reminding him of the counsel of our blessed Lord : "When they persecute you in one city, flee unto another." This advice prevailed, and the friends parted to meet again ere long in a land where they might dare to breathe freely, and to commune without peril on the things of God. Ochino took the way to Sienna, Martyr to Bologna, Ferrara, and Verona. Everywhere he was kindly received by friends, so widely had the love of scriptural truth been diffused. He crossed the Alps, and in Switzerland he settled for a season at Zurich. That town, still famous for having been the refuge of reformers in that generation, when troubles threatened them in their native lands, numbered at that time among its parochial pastors the eminent names of Bullinger, Pellican, and Gualter, who hailed the coming of Peter Martyr amongst them with the greatest cordiality. He would gladly have taken up his abode with them, but not in idleness ; and as there was no office vacant for him to fill, he proceeded first to Basle, and then to Strasbourg, where he was invited to undertake the professorship of theology.

Having thus followed him to a place of security and a sphere of usefulness, we may return for a moment to the faithful amongst whom he had ministered at Lucca, and to whom he soon afterwards sent assurances of his tender solicitude in

their behalf. His absence seemed to have pacified the enemies of his doctrine and labours, and the little flock continued to assemble for the worship of Almighty God, without being molested. This quietness, however, was only for a season, for within a very few years Lucca became the scene of a severe persecution, and of the energetic repression of what was stigmatized as heresy.

Settled at Strasbourg, he wrote a letter which he thus addressed,—“To the faithful of the Church of Lucca, saints by calling, grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.” He gave them some account of his travels, and explained his motives for going to Strasbourg, telling them that in that city he had been welcomed by Bucer, who entertained him in his house for seventeen days. He gave them an interesting account of the home life of that good man, especially mentioning that the Holy Scriptures were read daily, both before and after their meals, so that he left that table always “a wiser man.” He next described the work which he had himself undertaken. He delivered daily an exposition of some part of Holy Scripture. He was now concluding the prophet Amos, which he expounded from the Hebrew text. His labours, he said, were well received, and he had already gained the affection of the students. But he had not forgotten Lucca, and to his friends there he wished to write a word of encouragement and consolation.

“Although ye should be altogether destitute of ministers of the word, to whom the preaching of the Gospel is committed, (which God forbid,) yet the Spirit of God will never be wanting, to speak to your hearts instead of preachers. Moreover there are among you those who, by the grace of God, are so truly illuminated with the light of the truth, that they can also impart light to others, and give testimony to the truth. And besides those whom the Lord has already filled with grace, He will continually stir up others. Wherefore from this I gather that my departure has not inflicted much real damage on you.”

He added, that his sermons, lectures, and conferences could not have continued much longer, unless he had consented to clothe the truth in some disguise, which his conscience would not allow him to do, for he even reproved himself now for not having spoken more openly and boldly. He told them that the growth at Lucca of what Rome called error was laid especially to his charge, and that he was regarded as the more culpable, because it was believed that he could recall the people from their wanderings, by his sermons and private influence. He had foreseen that he would soon be silenced, and even probably lose his life. He took occasion to declare, what he must have written with thankfulness to the God of all grace, that before this crisis came he had by sermons and lectures set

forth those principal points of the christian faith which are necessary to salvation.

"You will perhaps say," he went on, "you should have continued, waited until the most imminent dangers had actually come upon you, and suffered them with a patient mind, the which, in the end, would have greatly furthered the building up of the church. Your example would have animated others to constancy. We can least of all allow it to be right for you to flee away before necessity required. But time and necessity are revealed to those who in adversity wholly commit themselves to God's protection. I was so persuaded that the right moment for me to depart was come, that I doubt not this persuasion was inspired by God. Although by my departure I avoided some bitter troubles, yet I did not escape [had not escaped?] entirely free. At Naples I suffered great vexation, and also in your city. You yourselves know what anxiety and torment I endured during the last year. These, though not to be called grievous calamities, were yet the messengers and tokens of them. It seems to me that I have not preached the Gospel without affliction. I did not therefore refuse to provide for my safety."

We quote this paragraph, not under an impression that his departure out of Italy, to await, as he presently told them was his hope, a future opportunity of returning to preach the Gospel amongst them, required any vindication, but rather as affording some insight into the real character of his mind and heart.

He further explained that his mind had become harassed by scruples respecting the monastic life, and various of the duties of his office; and that he had arrived at the conclusion, that he could no longer "govern the church as christian truth required." His letter ended thus:—

"Hereafter I will write more often to you, but will not write anything but christian doctrine and spiritual consolation. I thought it good first to inform you what place of the world I am in, and how I am occupied, and give you a reason for my departure. I make mention of you all in my prayers, and earnestly beseech you to do the like for me, commending me in your prayers to the mercy of God. Grace and peace through the spirit of Christ be daily multiplied to you all. Amen. Given at Strasbourg, 25th Jan. 1543." (Vol. i. pp. 415—418.)

We have entered thus fully into the history of the early portion of Peter Martyr's life, partly because it is that which is least known, partly because it gives a just view of the character of one whose knowledge and talents exercised so much influence on the Reformation in England, and partly as an instance of the process which was occurring in many minds at the same time in Italy, as well as in other parts of Christendom. He read his Bible carefully; that was his great teacher. He prayed that light might be vouchsafed to his mind. To a great extent he had such help as might be derived from the Fathers,

and from other writers of earlier days, and of his own; to some extent he was helped by the fruits of the labours of other enquirers after divine truth; and while thus employed, he was making continual progress from the errors in which he was brought up towards an agreement in doctrine, and in his estimate of personal religion, with many in all lands, who about the same time had put themselves under the same guidance, and were conducted to the same conclusions.

Many years after, he passed in review the progress of his growth in the knowledge of Christ's true religion, and excepting that his history would testify that his first taste of the principles of the reformed faith was due to his study of the word of God, rather than to any human writings, it may be accepted as an accurate representation of the mercy of God towards his soul.

"When my heavenly Father, through the merits of Christ, had compassion on me, I began to see through a cloud, and as trees walking, the truth of the Gospel; nor, though I understood as yet but darkly, could I keep silent. I communicated it to others, and the light was increased, and both measure and means being enlarged, I taught more openly: and things were brought to such a pass, that I could no longer live in Italy without extreme danger. Wherefore, dear brethren, I came into Germany, that from whence I had by letters tasted the first principles of the reformed truth, I might there receive abundantly a more fruitful and perfect doctrine. I desired, also, personally to behold certain reformed Churches, lest I should imagine the reformation of the Church to be like the commonwealth of Plato, which may indeed be apprehended, but hath nowhere any existence. This, then, I earnestly sought first at Zurich, and thence I turned my steps; God directed my journey, and gave me a happy success in that which I had taken in hand. When I was come hither, I perceived that godly and sincere divinity was here taught, and that the church was reformed with pure and apostolical ordinances. Not a little did their bountiful courtesy increase in my mind the desire which stirred within me. For those two days, wherein I tarried here with those who belonged to me, I was so delighted with the godly, learned, and sweet communication which I had with Doctors Bullinger, Bibliander, Gualter, and Pellican, of blessed memory, and with others which I cannot now rehearse by name, that I thought those most happy who could live with such persons. I rejoiced even at my exile, since Almighty God had brought me to the comfort and consolation of having knowledge and speech of such excellent men. Believe me, I could never afterwards forget this church, those two days, and that entertainment. What shall I say more? I was taken hence against my will, as at that time there appeared no occasion for tarrying."

Peter Martyr spent five years at Strasbourg. His public lectures were on various books of the Old and New Testament. He was a master of the art of lucid teaching, precise in his use of terms, and logical in his definitions. His lectures were in

Latin. In exhorting to repentance, and in setting forth the happiness of God's service, his eloquence was most touching. Around him were gathered many other Italian refugees. Amongst these were no less than eighteen monks from his own convent, and some members of noble families in Lucca, who may be said to have owed to him even their own souls.

During his residence at Strasbourg he married Catharine Dammartin, a lady of Metz. The author attributes this step to the advice of his friends, but we are inclined to think that he was perfectly competent to judge and act for himself. She is described as having been gentle, kind, and retiring, and an excellent companion to him while she lived.

The five years of his service to the cause of the Gospel at Strasbourg terminated with his removal to England, from which time forward his history is better known, and therefore may be passed over with more rapidity.

After the death of King Henry VIII., those who exercised chief authority in this realm desired to draw hither some learned and godly foreigners, to assist our own reformers in the establishment of true religion amongst the pastors and the people. In 1547, the imposition of the Interim unsettled Peter Martyr at Strasbourg, and the invitation of our archbishop Cranmer attracted him to England. A yearly pension of forty marks was secured to him, and he was appointed to the peculiarly important office of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. The selection was deliberately made, and implied the greatest confidence in his intellectual powers, scriptural knowledge, and soundness in the faith of the Gospel.

From this time onwards there is probably nothing to be told which may not be known from other books. With promptitude and diligence he lectured in the University on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. His lecture on the 11th chapter of the first Epistle excited the indignation of the papists, whose proceedings threatened tumult. He was suddenly challenged, on the morning of one of those lectures, to a public disputation. He answered that he was ready to meet his adversaries for discussion, under proper arrangements, but that his present duty was to deliver his lecture. With calm countenance and firm voice he proceeded to fulfil that duty. The lecture over, he was vehemently assailed, because he still declined a disorderly debate; and when symptoms of rioting appeared, the vice-chancellor took him under his shelter, and conducted him to his house. Here meeting his adversaries, the terms on which a discussion should be held were arranged, and the 4th of May was eventually appointed to be the day. Four days' debate ensued, the propositions maintained by the Professor of Divinity being to the effect that—1. In the Eucharist there is no transubstantiation; 2. The body and

blood of Christ are not present under the kinds of bread and wine ; 3. The body and blood are only united to the elements sacramentally. His argument may be seen in Fox, A.D. 1549-52. Later in the year his house was assailed by a furious mob of papists, and his friends thought it necessary to remove him and his wife for a season to other places for safety. The young king evidently felt for him, granted him an audience at Richmond, received him with great respect, and promised him the next vacant canonry at Christ Church, to which he succeeded in about a year. He assisted Cranmer in preparing the code of Ecclesiastical Laws, which was published several years after under the title of *Reformatio Legum* ; and in the revision of the Liturgy, the fruit of which is commonly known as King Edward's Second Service Book. He also rendered assistance towards drawing up the Forty-two Articles.

In the winter of 1552-3 he suffered from a severe illness. On the 15th of February, 1553, he lost his amiable and beloved wife. She was buried in Christ Church cathedral, to be dug up and treated with disgusting ignominy by the papists, in the following reign. In July of the same year the young king died, and England became too hot for the foreign reformers. For six weeks Martyr was detained a prisoner in his own house, and eventually, after difficulties and dangers, the particulars of which are related by the author, he was permitted to leave the kingdom, and arrived safely at Strasbourg, with his constant friend Julius, on the 30th of October, 1553, to the joy of many friends whose anxieties on his account must have been intense. After two months he was reinstated in the professorship of divinity, which he had so ably filled before, in the schools of St. Thomas, at Strasbourg.

Of the remaining nine years of his life we must needs take but a very brief survey. Many of the English exiles were drawn to Strasbourg by the estimation in which they held Peter Martyr. Amongst these may be especially mentioned Jewel, then a very young man, whom Martyr invited to come to him from Frankfort, and then entertained him in his house. But the eucharistic controversy between the Lutherans and the other reformers made Strasbourg an unhappy place of abode to Martyr, and to many besides. While feeling unsettled, he was invited to Zurich, and thither removed, accompanied by Jewel, in 1556. He there filled the chair of professor of Hebrew, and in that his first resting place after his retreat from Lucca, he ended his days, an exile from his native land, but suffering in a good cause. At Zurich he married a second time, and had several children.

After the accession of queen Elizabeth, he was again invited to England. Jewel, in 1559, desired his return to the divinity professorship at Oxford. But advancing years warned him that

he was less able than formerly to cope with difficulties, while also the Providence of God had given him a useful field to cultivate. He therefore resisted all such overtures. But of his continued lively and intelligent interest in the progress of religion in England, his correspondence (not scanty, in the Zurich Letters, published by the Parker Society) bears conclusive testimony. One great journey he made in 1561, namely, to Poissy, near Paris, to take part in a conference appointed to be held between Romish priests and ministers of the reformed religion, with a view to a reconciliation. The particulars of his interviews with the queen-mother, and of his behaviour in the conference, are given at some length by our author, but we cannot transfer them to these pages.

The following year was to witness the close of his valuable life. He was seized by fever on the 5th of November; he soon saw that his hour of departure drew nigh; and just seven days after the commencement of his illness he calmly and peacefully breathed out his spirit. Bullinger and other friends received his testimony, when he believed that he was a dying man, maintaining deliberately the faith for which he had laboured and suffered. They rejoiced to notice that his hopes appeared to brighten as he felt himself nearer to the moment when he should be with Christ; and so gentle was his transition from time to eternity, that the friends by his bedside "could not believe he was dead, but thought he was still looking at them." When convinced that all was over, Bullinger closed his eyes, and performed the last office of wrapping his body in the grave-clothes.

So passed one away from earth to heaven, whose outward life was not such as his natural heart would have chosen, but that which his Lord had marked out for him, and along which divine consolations and guidance had supported him. Though he lived in an atmosphere of controversy, it was by necessity, not by predilection. God had opened his eyes to see the truth, and he accepted the obligation imposed upon him to defend and diffuse that truth. How painful the struggle proved, how humiliating to himself his own part in it must often have been, we may easily conjecture; but we must rejoice to know that he was a godly man as well as a controversialist, and that his chief controversy was with sin and falsehood, undertaken for God and as a solemn duty, in dependence on promised grace, and not without evident tokens that the Lord was with him.

The chief interest of the book to which we are indebted for the foregoing account of Peter Martyr's life is, that it is full of the like histories, suggestive of hope for Italy, now that there is liberty, never before enjoyed in that country, for diffusing the Holy Scriptures amongst the people, the learned and the unlearned alike. May God raise up many a Peter Martyr in that land, and grant them to surpass him in the

qualities for which he was most eminent—faithfulness, scriptural knowledge, forcible reasoning, persuasive eloquence, love of the truth, diligence in preaching and teaching, and charity and meekness, even towards those who opposed themselves.

DR. VAUGHAN'S CAMBRIDGE SERMONS.

Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, May, 1861. By Charles John Vaughan, D.D., Vicar of Doncaster, and Chaplain-in-ordinary to the Queen; late Head Master of Harrow School, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Macmillan and Co. 1861.

THESE sermons were preached, as the title indicates, before the University of Cambridge, in May last, on Ascension Day and on the three Sundays following, the Sunday after Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, and Trinity Sunday. They deserve to be known beyond the pale of the University, to the members of which they were addressed. "A word spoken in season, how good it is." If we are not misinformed, their delivery was blessed by God in bringing some young men to decision for Christ, and in leading others to consecrate themselves to the work of the ministry. We hope that they may now do good in a wider circle. Many discourses, preached under the pressure of pastoral engagements and parochial work, are earnest, and therefore impressive in the delivery, but would be, if committed to print, tame and lifeless. There are others of a different type belonging to a class that reaches beyond the passing occasion: sermons which are equally forcible in the hour of delivery and in the quiet perusal of the closet; and to this class these of Dr. Vaughan belong. They are thoughtful; the tone is evangelical, the style is transparently clear; and they are well adapted in style and manner to the auditory to which they were preached, and to that large class of cultivated minds beyond the Universities, unhappily infected with the scepticism or semi-rationalism which filters through the periodical and other literature of the day.

In these discourses Dr. Vaughan has addressed himself to the task of combatting this spirit of doubt, or—what is still worse—indifference. Though the "Essays and Reviews" are not named, he has clearly had them in view, and writes as one who measures and appreciates the dangers to which their readers and admirers expose themselves. The four sermons are closely connected with each other, and we do not think that we

are mistaken in recognising this as their purpose and aim. We shall review them under this aspect, and endeavour to illustrate them from this point of view.

The peculiarity of the infidelity or semi-infidelity of the age is its *indeterminateness*, and this indeterminateness constitutes a source of grave, because subtle peril. Minds that would be repelled by the coarse, positive, dogmatic form of unbelief which formerly prevailed in this country and in France, breathe insensibly, and without consciousness of danger, an atmosphere of uncertainty and doubt in regard to the vital question of God's revelation to man in the Bible. It is true that this coarser form of infidelity exists in England still. If we only descend low enough in the strata of society, we find that Voltaire and Tom Paine are not quite forgotten yet; and every clergyman or evangelist who has laboured among working men, knows that Dr. Vaughan is right in his statement of the mischief done by hired emissaries of infidelity among the operatives of our great manufacturing towns. (p. 78.) Moreover an equally bold, though not quite so coarse a type of infidelity, is advocated by the Westminster Review. But this is not the peril to which educated young men are exposed. The forms of disbelief which prevail among ruder minds repel and disgust them. They shrink too from the open and avowed unbelief of more polished and educated infidels. Their peculiar danger is that spirit of doubt which hazards no denial, but makes no assertions. They are in danger of falling into a state of mind in which nothing of "those things which are most surely believed among us" seems certain, but an air of dubiousness is spread over every historical fact and every distinctive truth of the Holy Scriptures. A dim haze covers the whole field of revelation, so that they scarcely even see, as the half cured blind man did, "men as trees walking." Those truths which are the ground of the church, the sole justification of her existence, and the very life of the individual believer—the fall, the Trinity, the incarnation, the atonement, righteousness by faith, the work of the Spirit—are regarded as questionable and doubtful—as not perhaps exactly capable of being proved false, but as incapable of being proved true—as sharing in the general uncertainty which attaches, as they suppose, to the authority of the Bible, not merely as the inspired word of God, but as even a truthful record of historical facts. Dr. Vaughan has well described this unhappy state of mind in his sermon on "suspense":—

"Suspense in matters of religion begins oftentimes in a mere excess of candour. 'There is so much to be said on both sides of everything. All evidence is so doubtful: all motives are so mixed: all conduct is such a compound: it is so difficult to arrive at certainty in things ancient, in things resting on written testimony, in things largely mingled with miracle, in things involving suspensions of ordinary laws by

Divine interference and interposition. It may be true; I hope even more than I fear that it may be true. I admire the character of Christ: I love His tenderness towards human infirmity, His condescension towards the young, the ignorant, and the sinful, His unwearied patience, His holiness of life, His expansive and inexhaustible charity. Perhaps He was more than this: perhaps there was something in His death beyond the mere example. Yes, I can imagine something of a propitiation, something of a sacrifice: not a substitution, but still something which human language, in its necessary imperfection, might style a mediation and an atonement. Yes, it may be so: sometimes I can almost trust in it. But, on the whole, it is safer perhaps to take a slightly different ground: I will rely upon God's mercy: I will hope that He who made us made not so many of us for naught: I will cherish the hope that, if I do my best, if I am kind and generous and serviceable to others, if I do what I can to live a good life, if I am a useful member of society, and if I look, all along, to God's providence and protection and guidance and mercy, all will be well with me at the last; I may lay me down in peace and take my rest; I will enjoy God's gifts and trust him with the future.' " (pp. 28, 29.)

Well may Dr. Vaughan say that "such views may be the religion of a shut Bible, but they are not the religion of a Bible opened"! Such views of religion and of life, and of their mutual relations, are the more dangerous, because the man who entertains them virtually renounces the authority of Christ as his Redeemer and Lord, without *seeming* to do so either to himself or to others. Standing aloof as "a spectator rather than a follower," and criticising instead of believing and obeying, he is in fact "counting himself unworthy of eternal life"; but the very fact, that he does not take avowedly the position of disbelief, but retains some amount of reverence for Christ and for Christian institutions, blinds him to the guilt and peril of his condition. It is probable that were such a man to avow to himself the purpose of deliberately rejecting Christianity as untrue, he would be shocked and alarmed at his own state of mind, whereas a simple state of suspense scarcely strikes him as placing him under an equally grave responsibility. There is One who refuses to tolerate neutrality, who will have us for or against Him, cold or hot; He claims the allegiance of every man, and the devotion of his whole being to Him. His requirements will not admit of this dubious treatment. And to continue to think and to live as though the balance were evenly adjusted between the validity and the nullity of His claims, must be the most serious and fatal of crimes, unless indeed it be true, that there is no preponderating evidence of any kind in favour of the Gospel.

But, in fact, this state of dubiousness is as logically indefensible as it is morally wrong. And it is so, because Christianity is not a matter of opinion, but a matter of fact. On the face of it, it is an historical religion taking its place in the world like other

historical events. The evidence by which it is supported is evidence strong enough to produce conviction in its favour as high as the nature of historical evidence will allow. The phenomenon is the appearance in our world of a person, whose advent was prepared by a long series of antecedent events, whose self-manifestation was spiritually and supernaturally unique, and followed by results which reach down to our own day, and this phenomenon, bearing upon the very face of it the stamp of Divinity, is supported by historical documents which have abided the test of the keenest hostile criticism, and which in weight and number far excel and exceed those upon whose testimony other historical facts are received without hesitation. Is it not idle to say that educated men can attain to no certain, definite conviction on a subject like this? We cannot but regret that the tone which defenders of the faith too frequently take is much too apologetic, making in their excess of candour so many concessions and seeming to admit that there is so very much to be said on the other side, as rather to confirm the impression that men may safely live and die in doubt of the claims and authority of Christ. Of course it is possible to err on the other side too,—it is possible to fail in candour in the advocacy of truth, and to substitute vituperation for argument; and this is the more injurious error of the two. The tone in which Dr. Vaughan writes is equally removed from both these extremes. It is the tone of one who is at the same time sympathetic and firm,—of one whose heart bleeds for the doubter, whose mind comprehends his case and feels his difficulties, yet of one whose own conviction never wavers, who knows what and whom he has believed, and who with this unwavering personal conviction seeks to guide others out of irresolution and doubt into decision and faith—out of the foggy marsh-land of scepticism, into the bright, clear atmosphere and solid footing of definite, assured belief.

The festivals of the church upon which these discourses were preached, are significant of the strength of the Christian argument. Ascension Day and Whit Sunday commemorate the two great events in the history of Christianity which corroborate the Incarnation, the sacrifice of the cross, and the Resurrection; and in the present day we feel more deeply than ever how wise has been the arrangement of the services of our church in thus keeping in perpetual remembrance the facts upon which our faith is founded, and that it is founded upon *facts* which remain unchangeable amidst all the fluctuations of opinion. Dr. Vaughan takes his stand upon the great Christian facts.

“Let us be thankful,” he says, “for a Bible that records, and a church that commemorates, facts that link together, as it were, earth and heaven; things done or borne in the body by One who *came from*

God and went to God; One who first descended to bring God to man, and then ascended to raise man to God." (p. 17.)

"It is a remark," he observes earlier in the same sermon—The two departures of Christ, "old but never unseasonable, that the doctrines of the gospel all spring out of its facts. Not only do its facts prove its authority, and give it a right to be listened to when it professes to reveal: far more than this! the revelations of the gospel are deducible from its facts; or, if not deducible—for we dare not, even in appearance, disparage the value of any one page or sentence of the inspired word—yet at least provable out of them, insomuch that when we know who Christ was, and what He did, and what befell Him, our acquiescence, our acceptance, our gratitude, is already secured for the revelation of the meaning and the purposes of all: the mind of God is disclosed to us in deeds more expressive than words; and instead of being left with verbal assurances, however emphatic, or verbal exhortations, however persuasive, we are enabled to say, 'I know that this and this is God's truth and God's will, for this and this hath God wrought.'" (p. 4.)

The principle indicated in these extracts is the right one for meeting and counteracting scepticism. The question is—Are these facts ascertainable? May their import be placed beyond reasonable doubt? If it be so, the position of every man who possesses sufficient knowledge to enable him to discuss such questions and who voluntarily remains in uncertainty about them, is a false and culpable one. We have already given an extract from the sermon on "suspense." This is the second sermon in the series, preached on the Sunday after Ascension Day, the season in the Christian year which recalls the interval between the departure of Christ to His Father, and His return in the presence and power of the Holy Ghost. During this interval the disciples were awaiting the fulfilment of "the promise of the Father," and "all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication." This was an attitude of "suspense"; but the suspense of which Dr. Vaughan speaks, is of a different kind from theirs. Theirs was the suspense of faith. The suspense described in this sermon is the suspense of doubt. And the preacher grapples closely with this indeterminate, dubious, uncertain mental condition of those persons, numerous in our own age, "whose whole life is passed in this balancing, floating, wavering state of mind as to the truth of God, as to the revelations of the Bible." (p. 22.) In language of great power and eloquence, he unfolds the characteristics of this mental state. He shows how it affects intellect, life, and character; how it is in fact an obstacle to the attainment of religious truth, instead of a help to inquiry; how it cuts the sinews of action, and unfits for the work of life; how it distorts every true, earnest view of the infinite significance of human life and of its relation to God and eternity;—how it is always a state of spiritual indolence;—how it hinders prayer, making communion with God a burden

or a mockery ; and how it is frequently nothing but cowardice, "the worst sort of cowardice: fear of consequences; fear of that to which decision of doubts might possibly summon you in the way either of opinion or of conduct."

Dr. Vaughan has scarcely dwelt sufficiently upon the sin of unbelief, of comfortable acquiescence in a state of suspense about the vital questions of Christ and eternity. We could have wished that he had dwelt more fully upon the thought which he touches in passing, that it is not "a fit state for a responsible and immortal being to be living in, to be practically uncertain whether he has a Saviour, or where, if so, he is to be found." (p. 34.) Certainly the causes of scepticism are various. We do not presume to confound them, or to attach an equal measure of guilt to all who may be for a while involved in the shades of doubt. There are real difficulties in the way of belief. The shadow of infinite mystery falls upon the Bible and the world. The form in which God has been pleased to give His revelations to man, is not without its stumbling blocks. We do not believe that He ever meant to give it as a religion made easy, yielding no scope for the exercise of a humble, docile, patient spirit. Where there is no room for doubt there is no room for faith. And it is plain that Dr. Vaughan has addressed himself chiefly to the minds that are baffled by real perplexities and struggling with real difficulties. But we cannot blind ourselves to the fact, that there are other causes of scepticism besides these, and that there are cases in which the mysteries and perplexities of revelation are but the excuse, not the cause of doubt. Among the multitude of young men who listened to these sermons (and to this on "suspense" in particular) we fear that there must have been some at least whose scepticism is but a blind to shade them from the direct and piercing rays of the truth that summons them to the renunciation of sin and the service of God. We have known painful instances of real perplexity. Such instances need all the tenderness and sympathy of the Christian teacher. But we have known, too, still more painful cases of a different kind;—young men, alienated from the faith of Christ by sensualism, glad to discredit the word of God, because they felt it at war with their sinful inclination;—others affecting doubt through mere intellectual frivolity and vanity;—some standing aloof from "the multitude of them that believe" in the pride of singularity; and many, the slaves of worldliness, professing uncertainty about things divine, as an excuse for devoting themselves "to the world and the things of the world." And it will be well for the Christian teacher not to ignore such cases as these in his laudable anxiety to help those whose faith is for a while under a cloud.

The considerations, however, adduced in this sermon of Dr. Vaughan's are quite grave enough to startle young men out of

this state of acquiescence in doubt. As we have already intimated, continuance in this state is as irrational as it is wrong. The doubter may soon find, if he seek candidly and earnestly, a basis of fact upon which to found a sure and certain faith. There are things which are not doubtful,—which are not open to reasonable doubt. Such a thing is the fact of “the Christ of history.” The question—“What think ye of the Christ?” is *the* question of our day. This question claims a decisive answer. It cannot be evaded or safely postponed. There is but one answer to this question, the answer which the Church in every age has returned in her doctrine of the Person and Work of the Lord; and the right answer to this question will infallibly carry with it the entire orthodox creed. Let any young man, whose mind is harassed by doubt, resolutely set himself to answer this question. Let him grapple with those questions which Dr. Vaughan proposes in regard to “the Scriptural doctrine of the Person and Work of our Lord Jesus Christ. Is Jesus Christ the Son of God? Is He one with the Father? Did He come from God and return to God? Did He bear my sins, in such sense that for His sake all sin can be forgiven? Is he now alive? Does He hear prayer? Does God for His sake give His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him? Do the Gospels contain a true record of His life and of His death, and the Gospels and Epistles a faithful account of His teaching? Did Christ in a true and real sense bring to us a revelation?” (pp. 24, 25.) Let him honestly strive to answer these questions. Let him without subterfuge or evasion propose to himself the inquiry and seek the reply to the question—Who and what, is Jesus Christ? There is no doubt of what the answer will be. There is a Holy Spirit whose office it is to guide into the whole truth, whose function it is to glorify Christ, and who never fails to guide the inquirer to Him. Only let the inquirer remember that this is not simply a question of intellectual assent, but of self-surrendering trust. The assent to the proposition will be but small gain without the trust in the Person. But when the evangelical doctrine of the Person and Work of the Redeemer is apprehended alike by the head and the heart, difficulties melt away, or are absorbed in the growing light of Christ.

In reviewing this book under this one aspect, we have scarcely done justice to its many excellencies. In the first discourse Dr. Vaughan has some able remarks on the nature and structure of prophecy; remarks especially seasonable when clergymen of our church would eliminate the predictive element from Scripture altogether, and reduce the utterances of holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, to the level of the ravings of the Delphic Pythoness, or, at most, of the rhapsodies of some sincere but uneducated preacher. In the

sermon preached upon Whit-Sunday there are powerful passages on the Holy Ghost as the giver of knowledge, which we should have liked to quote. Still we feel that something more is wanting, that something which brings out the sinfulness of unbelief; the point on which Dr. Vaughan is most defective. We have borne our willing testimony to the many excellencies of these sermons. With equal candour we must note their faults. To one we have briefly alluded; the preacher had too much in view throughout one class of minds—the conscientious doubters. Alas! who that knows the university—who that knows anything of human nature, especially as it exists amongst undergraduates, is not aware that the doubts of those who doubt at all are too often the mere expression of thoughtlessness, or the slight apology for sin. How could Dr. Vaughan look round on that vast assembly, when preaching, for instance, his second sermon on indecision or suspense, without making one fervent appeal to his hearers, living in what they know to be a criminal neglect of God and holiness, to flee from the wrath to come. Why did he not charge upon an audience the most ingenuous he can ever address, that in too many instances they care for none of these things; that pride, pleasure, ambition, science, are excluding eternity from their view. And why did he not insist more fully on the doctrine on which he touches in the Whit-Sunday sermon—that the great remedy for unbelief is, after all, the teaching of the Spirit of God. “If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not.” If there be difficulties in the Bible, God is the author of the Bible, and He promises to explain His own words to those who ask for His instruction. This is the only method which He has encouraged us to pursue; the things which are hidden from the wise and prudent are revealed unto babes; and it is to the Father’s glory that it should be so. No man has a right to say that he has investigated the truth of Scripture, who has not complied with these conditions, and prayed fervently to the Father of lights to illuminate his soul, that while he reads he may understand. For this is the method, and the only method, by which the Author of the book has led us to expect that we shall arrive at a successful result, however laborious and painful our studies may have been.

The same remark applies, to some extent, to the sermon on the choice of a profession. It is in many respects an effective appeal for dedication to the work of the ministry. Many solemn things are said, much excellent advice is given; but after all, the question that troubles, and often discourages, the most hopeful of our candidates, needs a fuller and a simpler answer. Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost? To answer this question satisfactorily, the can-

didate must be taught of God. Circumstances may have combined, providential openings may have contributed, the advice of pious friends may have confirmed the wavering decision; but not all these suffice when days of trial, heart-searching trial, come. The minister of Christ will then fall back, not upon these, but upon some such reflection as that of the Psalmist, where he says, "I sought the Lord and He heard me." "I made it my constant prayer that I might not be deceived, and I was confirmed in my decision. My expectations of success may have been exaggerated, my qualifications for the ministry vastly overrated, my knowledge of my own heart may have been insignificant; but I have no reason to doubt my call to this office and ministry, and herein is my consolation and joy. The head of the church has placed me here, and under every conceivable discouragement I know that I am one whom he has designated for the work, and herein I do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

NAPOLEON THE FIRST: "THE MAN OF THE WORLD."

WE endeavoured, not long since, to bring into light an important lesson, taught us in the life of one of the most celebrated of the sons of men. The misfortunes and sufferings of Christopher Columbus, flowing in the plainest possible sequence from an error of his own, seemed to furnish a perpetual beacon-light, holding up to all future ages the warning given to Baruch, "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not, saith the Lord."

The world's history furnishes few such warnings;—few warnings of an equally explicit and intelligible kind, and written in so legible and conspicuous a character. One, however, there is, the most striking, perhaps, of all; and claiming our attention the more imperatively, inasmuch as it is a lesson of our own time. The records of the past contain no more remarkable name than that of Napoleon Bonaparte; and they afford us no plainer or more emphatic lesson than that which is legible in the life of that greatest conqueror of modern times. To "aim high" is the counsel of an eminent English philosopher. "Not to have aimed high enough" was the chief cause of the ruin of Napoleon Bonaparte. He strove, and almost successfully, to be the master of the world. If he had ever seen, he had disregarded the testimony of one who had thus recorded his experience:—"I was great, and increased more than all that were before me.... and whatsoever mine eyes desired, I kept not from them; I withheld not my heart

from any joy : then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do ; and behold, *all was vanity and vexation of spirit.*”* And unquestionably, the question propounded by the Lord Jesus, “What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?” never reached his heart, if indeed it ever entered his ear.

There is, however, in the life of Napoleon Bonaparte, a third lesson discernible,—a lesson not distinctly expressed in our Lord’s question, nor in the testimony of Solomon. The words of Christ assume, for the moment, that a man *may* “gain the whole world ;” the declaration of Solomon testifies that even that full success would bring no real happiness. But there may be—there has been—a result which differs considerably from that pointed out in both of these warnings. A man may devote himself so earnestly to the unlawful purpose of “gaining the whole world,” as to break his own heart in the effort. A man whose mental power and force of character might have secured for him the fullest amount of enjoyment that this world was capable of affording, may fail even in this temporal and sublunary pursuit, from a want of the true wisdom. A consciousness of power may excite arrogance ; an unbroken tide of success may lead to inordinate self-confidence ; and while the conquering autocrat exclaims, “Is not this great Babylon which I have built !” the word may be heard from heaven, “The kingdom is departed from thee ; and they shall drive thee from among men.” Such was the fate of Napoleon Bonaparte. And there are few more instructive lessons to be learned in the annals of the different states and kingdoms of the earth than that which is taught us in this eventful history.

The early life of Napoleon exhibits to us at every step a youth of vast energy, enterprize, and personal ambition. He eagerly acquired the knowledge which was necessary for his views ; readily applied that knowledge to practical purposes, and was ever on the stretch for an upward flight. While in his 25th year, a young officer, poor, and seeking employment in Paris, he could talk of his plans for a visit to the East, and exclaim : “How strange would it be if a little Corsican soldier should become king of Jerusalem !”

He had exhibited both skill and enterprise, before this, at the siege of Toulon ; but it was the service rendered by him to the National Convention at Paris on the 4th of October, 1795, which placed him at once on the road to fortune. The greater part of the citizens of Paris disliked the Convention, and were resolved to deprive it of power. The Convention resolved to maintain its authority, but it had but 5000 men to oppose to 40,000 national guards united in revolt. In its alarm it gave

* Eccles. ii. 9—11.

the command of its forces to Barras, one of its own members; and he exclaimed, "I have the man you want,—a little Corsican officer, who will not stand upon ceremony." The defence, therefore, was virtually committed to this almost unknown man, who had for weeks been soliciting employment in vain, and submitting to half starvation in the garrets of Paris. He justified the character given him by Barras, that he "would not stand upon ceremony." Sweeping the streets of Paris with grape-shot, he put down ruthlessly what was unquestionably a popular rising, and established the authority of the Convention and the Directory. He soon received his reward; being named to the command of the army of Italy. "Advance this man," said Barras to the other Directors, "or he will advance himself without you!" Thus, at the age of 26, the energy and talent of this aspiring spirit had exalted its owner to a position which experienced and famous captains would have naturally coveted. Already he was a distinguished man. One of the Directors remarked to him, "You are very young!" "In a year," he replied, "I shall either be old, or dead." To a friend he added, "In three months I will either be in Milan, or back in Paris."

We are not writing the history of Napoleon's wars, and shall therefore only say, that in two campaigns he subdued Italy and effectually humbled Austria. The treaty of Campo Formio was one of the greatest humiliations that an emperor of Germany had ever endured. The French general returned to Paris, the victor of Lodi, of Arcola, and of Rivoli. Already he had taken his place among the first of living generals.

The very next spring, a plan suggested by himself was adopted by the Directory, and an expedition to Egypt and the Mediterranean was sent forth under his command. At the head of 40,000 men, he sailed in May, 1798, for Malta, which island surrendered to him in June. Egypt soon fell under his power, but in the bay of Aboukir Nelson destroyed his fleet. In various engagements with the Turks and Mamelukes, the French were constantly victorious; but Napoleon soon saw the fruitlessness of all his efforts, and he was disquieted by the news from France. The Directory was becoming more and more unpopular; its Italian campaign had been unfortunate; all men began to anticipate another change, and the aspiring young Corsican could not be satisfied to remain in the sandy plains of Egypt, while new openings to power might be occurring in the capital of France. Handing over the command of the army of Egypt to Kleber, he embarked on the 23rd of August, 1799, at Rosetta, and on the 16th of October was again in Paris.

It is now doubted by no one, that the governing motive in this desertion of his army was personal ambition. Thus his eulogist Thiers says, "It was one of those rash acts by which

great and ambitious minds tempt heaven." The throne of France was the object to which his sleeping and waking thoughts now ceaselessly turned. He treated the Directory with courtesy, but with coldness; and "upon him," says Thiers, "all eyes, all wishes, and all hopes were immediately fixed."

His brother Lucien had been elected President of the Council of Five Hundred, and with him, conjointly with Talleyrand and Sieyes, were all Napoleon's plans concerted. In less than a month his arrangements were completed. On the 10th of November he ordered three regiments of dragoons to meet for review; the Council of the Ancients was assembled in the Tuileries; and a decree was proposed and adopted, declaring General Bonaparte commander of all the troops and national guards of the capital. The Directors themselves, haughtily upbraided by this new military dictator, resigned their offices; and the next day, the Council of Five Hundred, meeting at St. Cloud, and surrounded by Napoleon's troops, were, after a struggle, dispersed by a few companies of grenadiers, and the French Republic came to an ignominious close.

A few partisans of the Bonapartes assembled soon after, under the presidency of Lucien, and declared the adjournment of the two councils until February of the next year, and the installation, meantime, of three Consuls, Napoleon, Sieyes, and Ducos, in whose hand all the powers of government were placed. In December the farce of a "New Constitution" was performed; and Bonaparte was named Chief Consul, Cambaceres second, and Lebrun the third. On the 19th February, 1800, the "Chief Consul" took up his abode in the palace of the Tuileries, the ancient abode of a long line of kings.

He was now in reality the master of France. Immediately putting his armies in motion, he himself, in May, departed for Italy, where, on the 14th of June, he achieved the splendid victory of Marengo. By that one battle he regained all that the Directory had lost in their unfortunate campaign of the preceding year. Again Austria yielded, and by the treaty of Luneville, in 1801, acknowledged the First Consul, yielded Tuscany and Flanders, and gave to Napoleon Bonaparte once more the *éclat* of having dictated the terms of peace to the Emperor of Germany.

In 1802 England concluded peace with him, which, however, was merely an armed truce, lasting little more than a year. During this period Napoleon's Chief Consulate was declared to be for life; and soon afterwards the power of naming his successor was conceded to him; so that nothing but the name of royalty was wanting. This was soon added; for on the 18th of May, 1804, he openly assumed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, the style and title of Emperor of France.

Less than ten years had sufficed to raise him from the rank of a junior officer of artillery, to the highest throne in Europe. In October, 1795, he was an unemployed and almost starving officer, lounging about the streets of Paris; in May, 1804, he was the monarch of France, the object of trembling alarm to all the sovereigns of Europe, the lord and the master of twenty palaces, and the commander of the finest army in Europe. Scarcely can the annals of the world furnish another instance of so rapid and so vast an ascent.

Nor did the world lay to his charge any remarkable crimes in his eager rise to the pinnacle of power. He had privately murdered no master and benefactor, like Hazael; he had assassinated no rival, like Bruce; he had dethroned and slaughtered no sovereign, his relative, like Henry of Lancaster. His worst actions, the alleged poisoning of his sick soldiers in Egypt, and the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, were regarded as measures of policy by his admirers, for which some plausible pretexts might be advanced. A student and admirer of Plutarch, he lived for history; and having no legitimate title to the throne, he sought popularity and a glorious name. Hence he was not needlessly cruel or wicked; but Barras's description of him held good through life; and whenever a political object was to be gained, "he never stood upon ceremony."

We find him, then, the sovereign of one of the greatest kingdoms of the earth. "Never before," says Mr. Gleig, "since the world began, had circumstances, and his own marvellous genius, raised an individual so wondrously as Napoleon Bonaparte rose, from a private station to a throne; never before had such vast power, wealth, and resources been committed to the keeping of one man." But they were indeed "committed" to him, by the Great Ruler of the universe, for the wisest ends; and when those ends had been accomplished, they were as wondrously withdrawn.

Being raised up, however, chiefly as a scourge, and not as a benefactor of mankind, it did not please God to change his heart, or to alter or modify his natural character. His aim never rose above mere secular power and dominion, and the fame which naturally followed them. From Plutarch he had learned to admire and to covet fame and glory; but beyond this, he seemed never to have a single aspiration.

Mr. Emerson, when selecting a series of "representative men," each being specimens of a class, names Napoleon Bonaparte as "THE MAN OF THE WORLD." And truly he was "of the earth, earthy." So far as we can gather, no kind of religion ever gained the least hold upon his mind. His natural sagacity preserved him from that senseless atheism which had besotted myriads in revolutionary France; and when a knot of

"philosophers" had declaimed, in his hearing, against the very idea of a God, he could reply with the acuteness of a practical mind, by pointing to the starry heavens, and exclaiming, "Tell me, then, who made all those?" But he was truly "the man of the world;" and the men of the world usually reject atheism, and take refuge in deism. Like them, he never pretended to be a saint;—to use his own words, "he was no Capuchin." He would fain lead a decent and respectable life, like the best of Plutarch's heroes, and had no fondness for crime, or for the grosser vices; but if a crime appeared to be necessary, "he was not the man to stand upon ceremony." He always kept the Italian proverb in mind—"If you would succeed, you must not be too good."

Such was the man who had, in about seven or eight years, fought or scrambled his way to a throne, and that throne one of the highest in Europe. Let us now enquire how he conducted himself in that high position. This part of his history, viewed apart from that of his fall, is but brief. It extends over no more than eight years. In May, 1804, he became Emperor of France, and in May, 1812, he set forth on his march for Moscow—the first of those terrible failures which ended in his ruin.

He had been formed and prepared, in the counsels of Divine Providence, as a scourge for Europe. A scourge, equally for the papal kingdoms of Italy, and Spain, and Austria, and southern Germany, and for the now semi-infidel realms of northern Germany; and the seven years on which we are now entering, were years of victory and "glory" for Napoleon and France, and of defeat and shame for every other power in Europe, with but one exception.

Placing the Imperial crown on his own head, and receiving the papal benediction, in December, 1804, he repeated the ceremony in May, 1805, at Milan, as king of Italy. That same autumn witnessed the third chastisement of Austria. The surrender of Ulm, with 20,000 men, and the battle of Austerlitz, which cost Austria more than 50,000, brought on an immediate submission; the emperor again surrendering whole provinces, and Bonaparte creating three kingdoms, for dependents of his own, out of the spoils.

Prussia, with absolute fatuity, had stood aloof while Austria was being crushed; but in the very next year her own turn came. At Jena her noble army of 150,000 men was scattered, and the monarchy of Prussia was laid in the dust.

Such was the work of 1806. In 1807, Russia, the only remaining continental power of the first rank, was similarly humbled. The battle of Friedland brought on the peace of Tilsit, by which Russia and Prussia were once more admitted to external amity with France,—Prussia, however, only with the sacrifice of half her territory.

The whole of central and northern Europe had now suffered a terrible chastisement at the hands of this "scourge of God," and the southern kingdoms were next to receive their share. For his past wars with Austria, Italy, Prussia, and Russia, Napoleon might easily have found some plausible justification; but his assault on Spain and Portugal, which commenced in 1807-8, was wholly destitute of all pretext or reasonable plea. He invaded Portugal almost without taking the trouble to assign a reason; he then inveigled the whole Spanish royal family to Bayonne, and there forced from each of them in turn a formal abdication of the throne. He poured 300,000 men into the devoted country, and resolved to bestow its crown on Joseph, one of his own brothers. These enormous acts of reckless and tyrannous aggression alarmed all Europe, and they were, finally, the substantial cause of his ruin. So he himself confessed, in his exile at St. Helena: "*It was that unhappy war in Spain which ruined me. The results have irrevocably proved that I was in the wrong. That unfortunate war in Spain proved a real wound—the first cause of the misfortunes of France. Had I known at the first that the transaction would have given me so much trouble, I would never have attempted it.*"* His eulogist, Thiers, confesses the same fault, saying, "He was drawn on from chicanery to perfidy, and came to affix to his name a blot which has for ever tarnished his glory."†

For nearly two years, 1808 and 1809, Europe seemed to stand in terror and aghast, while he was overrunning and subjugating Spain. But in the latter year, Austria, again alone, was permitted to call down upon herself a fourth chastisement. Contrary to all the plainest dictates of common sense, without any attempt to gain the aid of Russia or Prussia, or of the minor powers of Germany, she rushed once more into the field, and after an indecisive contest at Aspern, was utterly defeated at Wagram, and again made peace, sacrificing 45,000 square miles of territory, and giving up one of her princesses to the sad fate of marriage with Napoleon Bonaparte.

This marriage took place in 1810; and that year, and in the following spring, "the fortunes of Napoleon, and of the French empire, may be said to have reached their culminating point. He gave the law to the whole of Europe, England and Russia alone excepted: his empire now comprising all that portion of the continent which is skirted by the German ocean on the north; by the Lower Elbe, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Adriatic on the east; by the Mediterranean on the south; and by the Gulf of Genoa and the Pyrenees on the west. But the power and influence of Napoleon extended far beyond this.

* Las Casas, iv. 204, 205.

† Thiers, viii. 658.

Bavaria was his submissive ally ; and the smaller states east of the Rhine acknowledged him as their protector. A new kingdom—that of Westphalia—was presided over by one of his brothers ; while Prussia, reduced to a state of the third order, existed only by sufferance ; and Austria, having given Napoleon a wife, gave him also her fealty, and paid him tribute. Spain and Portugal still resisted ; but the resistance of states so feeble scarcely affected the stability of an empire, of which Europe had never seen the equal since Augustus from the Roman Capitol controlled the destinies of the civilized world.”*

In little more than twelve years, then, from his first emergence from obscurity, and in only seven from his recognition as Emperor, had this remarkable man secured for himself a place in the Temple of Fame not inferior to that of Alexander, of Cæsar, or of Charlemagne. It is while he occupies this elevated place, that we must try to form an estimate of his character, his peculiarities, and his moral rank.

He was truly described by Emerson, as a leader, pattern, and representative of the men of the world. He did not desire or intend to be worse than other men, and so to excite a general abhorrence ; nor did he ever dream of setting himself up as “better than other men,” and so to disgust their self-love. He could commit crime when it seemed necessary, but he would not willingly rush into it ; for he had read Plutarch, and coveted fame. He himself says : “Men of my stamp do not commit crimes ; I have always marched with the opinion of great masses, and with events ; of what use, then, would crimes be to me ?”

Yet he had either ordered or approved the murder of the duke d’Enghien, of Toussaint l’Ouverture, and of Palm the bookseller,—all unquestionable crimes. These, however, were probably of too insignificant a character to dwell in his memory. But what save self-delusion could blind him to the true character of the proceedings at Bayonne ; proceedings which even his admirer Thiers characterizes as stained with “chicanery and perfidy,” and which led to the slaughter of half-a-million of human beings ? Into these transactions, however, he was, as he says, “drawn ;” his purpose was simply “to filch a kingdom,” the long and bloody war which followed his attempt being merely a disappointment and a disaster. Carlyle, himself scarcely a professor of Christianity, quotes Scripture in speaking of him, and says, “The man was given up to strong delusion, that he should believe a lie.”

Yet was he truly “a representative man,”—a just representative of men of the world,—of the men who follow the old counsel—

* Gleig’s Campaign of Leipsic, p. 2.

Get wealth and place, if possible, with grace;
If not, by *any* means, get wealth and place.

"Bonaparte," says Emerson, "was the idol of common men, because he had in a transcendent degree the qualities and powers of common men. There is a certain satisfaction in coming down to the lowest ground of politics, for we get rid of cant and hypocrisy. Bonaparte worked, in common with that great class he represented, for power and wealth, but *for Bonaparte specially*, without any scruple as to the means. He renounced, once for all, sentiments and affections, and would help himself with his hands and his head. With him there is no miracle and no magic. Men give way before such a man as before natural events. Such a man was wanted, and such a man was born; a man of stone and iron, capable of sitting on horseback for sixteen hours together; of going many days without food or rest except by snatches, and with the speed and spring of a tiger in action; a man not embarrassed by any scruples, nor to be balked or misled by any pretence."* Such was the man whom God had needed, and whom, for a great purpose, God had raised up. "This capacious head, revolving and disposing trains of affairs, and animating multitudes of agents; this eye, which looked through Europe; this prompt invention; this inexhaustible resource."

But the "one thing" was wanting. He could raise his eye, and prosecute his designs, up to the earth's highest place; but *no higher*. Beyond this world's wealth and power, he never had an aspiration. And this grand defect decided his whole character, and finally led to calamities which broke his heart.

"I am sorry," continues Emerson, "that this brilliant picture, of great talents and great successes, has its reverse. The mere pursuit of wealth is treacherous, and is bought by the breaking or weakening of the moral sentiments; and we find it so in the history of this unscrupulous champion, who proposed to himself simply a *brilliant* career, without any stipulation or scruple concerning the means."

"The highest-placed individual, in the most cultivated age and population of the world, he has not the merit of common truth and honesty. He is unjust, egotistic, and monopolizing. He is a boundless liar."

"He was thoroughly unscrupulous. He would steal, slander, assassinate, drown, or poison, as his interest dictated. He was intensely selfish; he was perfidious. In short, when you had penetrated through all this immense power and splendour, you found you were not dealing with a gentleman at last, but with an impostor and a rogue."†

We have, then, a great engine of punishment, raised up for

* Emerson, pp. 168, 169.

† Emerson, p. 190.

a specific end. No moral excellencies were needed, and none were given. The only kind of admiration we can award to Napoleon, is that which we award equally to Nebuchadnezzar, to Alexander, and to Alaric. All these men were well fitted for the work they had to do, and neither of them was *too good* for his mission.

A striking portrait of a scourge of this kind was given us, above two thousand five hundred years ago, by inspiration of God, and by the pen of the prophet Isaiah :—

“O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff of mine indignation ; I send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so : for he saith, Are not my princes altogether kings ? and shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols ?

“Wherefore, it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith ? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it.”*

An English poet of our own day has applied the same description to Napoleon in four very simple lines :—

While he his own arm trusted,
God wrought his purpose high ;
Then, like a sword-blade rusted,
Cast him dishonoured by !

The year 1811, as Mr. Gleig remarks, was the culminating point of his history. In that year he swayed all Europe, with the small exceptions of the far-distant Russia, the little isles of Britain, and the city of Lisbon, where Wellington lay cooped up within the lines of Torres Vedras. Yet we can now see, without the least difficulty, that the hour of his greatest pride was also the hour of his commencing ruin.

Heathen writers borrowed of old, from the descriptions of Holy Writ, the idea, that whom the gods mean to destroy, they first deprive of reason. The records of God's ancient people give us many instances of this. Thus, when crafty and wise counsel had been given to Absalom by Ahitophel, a more vain-glorious and foolish policy was suggested by Hushai :—“For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom.” In like manner, by evil counsel, was Rehoboam

* Isaiah x.

lured to his ruin ; and after him, Ahab. And in all these cases it was generally pride that went before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.

And precisely in this manner was Napoleon's ruin brought on. The years 1810 and 1811 exhibited the climax of his power ; and the climax also of his haughtiness, and the commencement of his decline. Nothing could exceed the arrogance of his language and his demeanour at that period. In his addresses to the legislative body at Paris, he was accustomed to vaunt himself in such terms as these. "In a few days I shall set out to place myself at the head of my army, to crown at Madrid the king of Spain, and to plant my eagles on the towers of Lisbon." "As for the English armies, I will chase them from the Peninsula." "When I shall shew myself beyond the Pyrenees, the Leopard, in terror, will plunge into the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat, and death."

In fact, he was already, in his own eyes, a deity upon earth. Writing to his brother, the king of Holland, he says : "Never forget, that in the situation to which MY political system and the interests of MY empire have called you, your first duty is towards ME,—your second towards France. All your other duties, even those towards the people whom I have called you to govern, rank after these." Thus, "to his own mind he was the source and centre of duty," and his "political system" became the standard of morals. His devoted and affectionate wife, who had stood by him in poverty and danger, was discarded the moment his "political system" rendered it necessary. His brothers were used as his tools, and disgraced whenever they shewed the least desire for independence. His mother was not permitted to sit in the presence of her arrogant son !

But with highmindedness of this description practical wisdom never dwells. There could be no plainer dictate of common sense, than that which warned him to crush, if possible, the rising power of Wellington. Here was a commander who had defeated every general that Napoleon had sent against him, and had routed the French armies at Vimiera, Talavera, Barossa, Sabugal, and Fuentes d'Onor. Was it not his first business to clear the Peninsula, if he could, of this dangerous antagonist, and to drive the English army back to its own shores ? Yet, with a wonderful infatuation did Napoleon adopt the idea, that "it was good policy to let the English exhaust themselves in the Peninsula ;" and hence, instead of putting an end to that struggle, he turned his back upon it, and madly engaged in a new and deadly strife at the other extremity of Europe.

In 1811, when he ought to have been terminating the Peninsular controversy, Napoleon remained at home, adding, by edict after edict, new provinces to his immense dominions ; and commencing a fresh quarrel with Russia, the only unbroken

and really formidable power on the continent of Europe. Two hundred thousand fresh troops poured into Spain might have forced Wellington to quit the Peninsula. But Napoleon overlooked the opportunity, and in the next spring he carried more than 450,000 across the Vistula, to leave their bones amidst the snows of Russia. He had gained a throne by the exertion of great practical wisdom and sagacity; he was now beginning to lose it by the commission of astounding blunders.

He insulted and outraged the Northern emperor, and carried the greatest army ever seen in modern times into the inaccessible empire of Muscovy. He had lost half of this army before he reached Moscow; and had heard, at that enormous distance, that the insignificant English force in Spain, which he had despised, had won the battle of Salamanca, had entered Madrid, and now threatened the expulsion of his brother, and the overthrow of the French power in the Peninsula.

He had, in his pride, attempted the impossible, and had failed. Leaving the bodies of 400,000 soldiers on the Russian wilds, he escaped out of Poland with fewer than 50,000 men, and had next to fight for the preservation of his ascendancy in Germany. Another of Wellington's victories, at Vittoria, united the three sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia against Napoleon, and the winter of that year saw him fairly driven back into France. His pride and arrogance still clung to him, and rendered it impossible for him to stoop. In the negotiations of 1813, at Dresden, the Allies offered to leave him a great empire; in 1814, standing on his own soil, they again offered to give him all France. But he could not bend, he could not recede; and thus he lost all, because he would not consent to lose anything. A mind which has placed its whole happiness in having no equal, feels the thought of descending to the level of kings to be intolerable. He "could not wear," he said, "a tarnished crown." "Refusing to take counsel of events, he persevered in fighting, with a stubbornness like that of a spoilt child, who sullenly grasps what he knows he must relinquish, struggles without hope, and does not give over resistance until his little fingers are one by one unclenched from the object on which he has set his heart. So fell Napoleon."

The same burning ambition, the same restless pride, and the same unscrupulosity as to engagements, led him to cast himself again upon France in 1815, and forced the allied powers once more to defeat and to apprehend him, and to consign him this time to a safer prison. They sent him to St. Helena, and there he ended his days.

The last six years of his life were mournfully instructive. He had been "a man of the world" all his days, and all his reverses, being unaccompanied by Divine grace, did nothing to

soften his heart, or to elevate his views ; hence year after year passed in fretful lamentations over his lost glory, in ill-concealed aspirations after new contests and victories, and in bitter quarrellings with his watchful gaoler.

Thus had Europe seen "an experiment, under the most favorable conditions, of the powers of intellect *without conscience*. Never was such a leader so endowed, and so weaponed ; never did leader find such aids and followers. And what was the result of this vast talent and power ; of these immense armies, burned cities, squandered treasures, demoralized Europe ? It came to no result. All passed away, like the smoke of his artillery, and left no trace."* "Napoleon's working,—what was it with all the noise it made ? A flash as of gunpowder wide spread ; a blazing up as of dry heath. For an hour the universe seems wrapt in smoke and flame ; but only for an hour. It goes out ; the universe with its old mountains and streams, its stars above and soil beneath, is still there."†

And the poor man himself, what a spectacle of earthly greatness does he present, and of earthly folly and self-delusion ! "His notions of the world, as he utters them at St. Helena, are almost tragical to consider. He seems to feel the most unaffected surprise that it has all gone so ; that he is flung out on the rock here, and the world is still moving on its axis ! His astonishment is extreme. But alas ! what help now ? He had to sink there, mournfully enough, and break his great heart, and die."‡

Yet, so far as restless energy, unrivalled genius, and unscrupulous decision were concerned, this terrible failure was not Bonaparte's fault. "He did all that in him lay to live and thrive without moral principle." It was "the eternal law" which balked and ruined him, and the result in a million of experiments would always be the same. Every experiment that has a merely sensual and selfish aim will fail."§

His design, the great business of his life,—his design against the independence of nations and the liberties of the world, has been justly described as the most nefarious enterprize recorded in history. He knew distinctly the price which he must pay for the eminence which he coveted. "He knew that the path to it lay over slaughtered millions ; over the putrifying heaps of his fellow-creatures ; over ravaged fields, smoking ruins, pillaged cities. He knew that his steps would be followed by

* Emerson, p. 191.

† Carlyle, p. 890.

‡ Carlyle, p. 892. The ostensible cause of his death was cancer of the stomach : on which Dr. Arnott thus writes :—"If it be admitted that a previous disposition to this disease did exist, might not the depressing passions of the mind act as an exciting cause ? It is more than probable that Napoleon's mental sufferings at St. Helena were very poignant."

§ Emerson, p. 892.

the groans of widowed mothers and famished orphans; of bereaved friendship and despairing love, and that with this misery he would create an equal amount of crime." On the fields of Spain he left half-a-million of French soldiers, whose bayonets had been dyed with the blood of a still larger number of murdered peasants, with their wives and children. In his Russian campaign of 1812, he lost not fewer than 400,000 of his army; while the ravages and murders committed on the inhabitants of the country defy computation. And the sole object of all this bloodshed,—the Moloch to whom these millions were sacrificed, was nothing else than "MY political system," "MY glory."

It was the bright and cheering feature in his great rival's history, that from first to last he always recognized an obligation, a *duty*, by which he was bound, and to which he paid a loyal obedience. To say that Wellington had no selfishness, would be absurd; but it is certain that he never allowed it to become his dominant motive, or his rule of life. Bonaparte, on the other hand, lived transparently *for himself*. No higher or purer aspiration ever stirred his breast than such as had reference to his own power or "glory." It was for this sole end that he lived, and it was to conduce to this end that he would fain have made all other men live.

"There are different orders of greatness. Among these, the first rank is unquestionably due to moral greatness; to that sublime energy by which the soul binds itself for life or death to truth and duty; espouses as its own the interests of human nature; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; reposes an unfaltering trust in God; and is ever "ready to be offered up" on the altar of its country or of mankind. Of this moral greatness, which throws all other greatness into obscurity, we find not a trace in Napoleon."*

As to the will or the commands of God, it is quite clear that these "were not in all his thoughts." Hence he performed the work assigned to him, of punishing and scourging guilty nations, and then he was cast upon the rock, "to break his heart and die." So far as he himself was concerned, his life was one long crime, and, of necessity, it was also one long and ruinous blunder.

What lesson, however, some thoughtless reader may exclaim, can there be for us in this story? Which amongst us is likely to rise to the command of an empire? Or what instruction can we gain from the study of the fall of a great military autocrat? He who so speaks must have overlooked the just remark of Emerson, that Bonaparte was the type or representative, not of emperors, or military despots, but of

* Channing's Character of Napoleon, p. 62.

"the men of the world." Each man who lives for *himself*, and covets and obtains wealth and power and the gratification of his selfish ambition, is one of whom Bonaparte was the leader and pattern. His motto was *Eccelsior*, and his ceaseless aim was self-exaltation. A thirst for dominion ever burnt within him,—a thirst which nothing could quench. He gratified it in a higher degree than almost any other of the sons of men; yet still it consumed him, and he died with dreams of conquest and of glory filling his whole soul. And if you covet wealth and power for selfish objects, you follow in the track of Napoleon. "He had no element of character which others do not possess. He is not to be gazed at as a miracle. He was a manifestation of our own nature. He teaches us on a large scale what thousands teach on a narrow one."

He died defeated, frustrated, and an exile. Yet, unless that thirst could have been quenched or taken away, he would have deserved pity no less had he died an autocrat. His broken heart may speak more plainly; but not the fullest success could have rendered him less the object of compassion. Between the boastful conqueror on his throne, and the captive exile on his death-bed, the only difference is in outward circumstances; the disease which ruined him was the same in his prosperity and in his downfall. An archangel, looking beyond those outward circumstances, would pity the delusion, as much in the conqueror as in the captive. And so, now, the substantial thing, the *reality*, is the disease, and not this or that phase of it. You follow him, perhaps, at an immense distance, vainly imagining that a millionth part of the wealth and power which he enjoyed would richly content you. But if you are really following him,—if you have the same burning thirst, the same heart-disease, you may reckon on the same fate. If apparent success be permitted you, you will still have to cry out with Solomon, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit!" but if, as in Napoleon's case,

Vaulting ambition overleaps itself,
And falls on the other side,

your error will be more seen, and your fate more pitied; yet the difference will be more in outside show than in substantial reality. The practical lesson to all "men of the world," from the merchant craving after gain to the conqueror at the head of his armies, is the same: "Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread, and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live."

CLERICAL EDUCATION AT CAMBRIDGE AND OXFORD.

OUR readers may probably have heard that it is in contemplation to found a college, upon a scale of considerable magnitude, for the education of young men for the ministry in the church of England. A large sum has been offered by one munificent subscriber; and various sites have been proposed for the new institution in the neighbourhood of London or in one or other of our universities. It has been more publicly announced that the bishop of Exeter is prepared to endow a theological college, in connection with his own cathedral, with the sum of ten thousand pounds, on condition that the new dean, Dr. Ellicott, shall undertake the management of it. We cannot but regard the selection of such a head for the proposed institution as a proof that the venerable prelate, in his extreme old age, has adopted more moderate, and, as we, of course, who have been so long in conflict with him, think, more sound and scriptural views than those against which Mr. Gorham had to contend; and so far, each of these projects will commend itself, though still perhaps in different degrees, to the favourable consideration of sound-hearted churchmen.

That there are serious objections to the education of the young clergy in colleges exclusively theological, we feel strongly. We are afraid of a forced and hot-house school of discipline of any kind; most of all when it professes to be a discipline of piety. We distrust the vigour which has never been assailed, and the opinions, however strongly rooted they may seem, which have stood no conflicts. Dr. Vaughan has stated the question fairly, in the last of those four sermons, preached before the university, to which we have already called attention: "And shall I be pardoned if I presume to say here how important I deem it that clerical education, so far as it consists in learning, should be carried on in our universities rather than in smaller and more special training fields? We do not want—which is the very best that can be hoped from such methods—to see one man's mind stamped whole upon a section of the clergy. The freer intercourse, which a university offers, of mind with mind; the larger choice and mutual correction of instructors; not to mention the ampler gifts of learning and ability which such a place affords in its teachers, are invaluable aids in the study of a true theology. Other systems may have their advantages—I doubt not that it will be so—in peculiar cases; there are men for whom the temptations of college life have been too strong, and who need to be taken aside from it to learn truth, and to practise duty in what is for them a safer atmosphere; but the university, in my

opinion, would prove herself most unfaithful to the work with which God has entrusted her, if she allowed it to be said that her best students must turn elsewhere for their theology, because she refused to them either opportunities of instruction, or a stimulus to their use."

But this is only one side of the question. If we ask what is the theological training at either university, the answer is very discouraging. Cambridge is at present the great theological school of the church of England. Of the three hundred candidates ordained on Trinity Sunday last, rather more than one half were Cambridge men. Oxford sent one fourth; and the remaining fourth was supplied by Durham and the provincial theological colleges; with the exception of a few *littérates*, that is, self-taught or privately educated persons.

The only theological instruction which Cambridge affords to undergraduates is confined to the Greek Testament, and, in some colleges, Paley's Evidences. We should be ashamed to say anything of the sermons in college chapels, if we were obliged to pass a judgment on them from some specimens which have recently been published. Of course, they vary much; and some, no doubt, are excellent; but these, we fear, are rather the exception than the rule. The *Theological Examination* is now held a few weeks after the Bachelor's degrees have been conferred. It was established some twenty years ago, and was at first *voluntary*. It retains the name; but now that all the bishops insist on their candidates for orders producing a certificate that they have passed its ordeal, the name is no longer appropriate. It has become a serious addition to the studies of Cambridge men intended for the ministry, and a more serious addition to the expense. For a large proportion of those Cambridge undergraduates who are designed for holy orders are the sons of clergymen who can ill afford the already heavy cost of a university career. Those who are unacquainted with the Cambridge system will be surprised to learn, that for this important examination the university affords to undergraduates no assistance or facilities whatever. No lectures are given by the college tutors to prepare them for it. They must read up the subjects for themselves, how they can, and when they can; and we believe that, pressed as they are with other studies, they generally contrive to scramble through them in the short interval between the Bachelor's examination in January and the May term, at the beginning of which the *voluntary* takes place. It is no unusual thing to obtain a private tutor, at an additional expense, for this last ordeal. Yet, after all, the results are very unsatisfactory. At the Easter examination of the present year, about one hundred Bachelors succeeded in passing the examination; of these, not one of the "commencing Bachelors" attained to the honor of a first class, two were in

the second, and only one in the third. Of "middle Bachelors"—that is, of gentlemen who had postponed their appearance several months longer, and, we may suppose, prosecuted their divinity studies at an additional cost of time and money—one only obtained the first class, seven were in the second, and three in the third; and on the other hand, it is rumoured that a very large number were rejected altogether, as not sufficiently qualified; these will have to present themselves again, or to forego the ministry of the church of England. Now, that a university which sends out thirty to forty Wranglers, and nearly as many *first class* men in classics, every year, should not find one commencing Bachelor qualified for a first class in theology, reflects, of course, on some party a great disgrace. Upon whom does it rest? Chiefly, we believe, on the university itself; and this we know is the opinion of many of its most learned members. It is so easy to carp at an examination paper, that we are extremely unwilling to enter into any details. But we cannot say less than this: that having in view the circumstances under which the examination is held, and the total want of previous assistance on the part of the colleges, the examination is in some respects far too difficult, and in others vexatious. We go further: the difficulties and vexations are of a kind which are altogether needless; they are mere obstructions; and if the student surmounts them, all the praise he deserves is that of displaying a sort of unusual mental agility. He has shown himself a theological Blondin; and his exploits, as he will find to his cost when he enters on the grave duties of his profession, were learned and practised at a cost utterly disproportionate to their value.

On the paper, for instance, in a recent examination on "the Liturgy," consisting of thirteen questions, the tenth is this:—"Explain the terms, Rubric, Quinquagesima Sunday, Octave, Reading, Saying, Singing, Vigil, Dominica in albis, Rogation days, Chrism, Chrisom." But what if the commencing Bachelor should know nothing in the world about any one of these grave matters—or what if he should know all about them? Is this theology? Are these things worthy of a university in which reformers once taught, and Whitgift and Cartwright once disputed? The next question is one which we should be ashamed to propose to a well-educated candidate for confirmation; it might be very proper for the children in a national school: "Write out the Collect for Easter Day, and illustrate it from Scripture." This is a mere exercise of memory. What if the candidate should have forgotten the Collect? Is it expected that a Cambridge Bachelor shall commit the Collects, one and all, to memory? The paper on "The Reformation in England" contains the following question, one of six: "Mention some of the books which were precursors of the Refor-

mation. Make observations on the 'Bishop's book,' and Pole's book 'De Unitate Ecclesiæ.'" But what kind of observations, and what sort of books? and of what importance were these books, any of them, or all of them, and more particularly Pole's book, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*?—or of what importance was Pole himself, except as a hinderer and slanderer of the Reformation? The cousin of queen Mary, the prompter of her cruelties, her evil genius through life, in death her companion to that awful judgment-seat to which they passed on the same day to confront the martyrs who stood waiting to arraign them before that dread tribunal! It is easy, we think, to perceive that questions such as these can only harass and annoy. Young men, sensible young men, will direct their reading, by an instinct, to the few great points, whether of science or theology; they will not waste their time and distract their minds with trifles; and if so, we wish them joy of the Cambridge voluntary.

We are anxious to avoid details, but we must protest against the method of examination pursued on the Thirty-nine Articles. It is more properly an examination on Professor Harold Brown's book on the Thirty-nine Articles; and the ground of our protest we cannot express better than in the words of Dr. Vaughan, already quoted: "It is a resolute endeavour to stamp one man's mind whole upon a section of the clergy." The Articles are the common property of the church; and we should equally object, were any other expositor (whose views might be in more exact accordance with our own on some not unimportant points of doctrine) substituted for Professor Harold Brown. What would be thought, in these days, of an examination on the Greek Testament, in which the candidates were given to understand that the Commentaries of Thomas Scott on the one hand, or of D'Oyly and Mant on the other, were the sources to which their reading must be directed, and in accordance with which their views of a doubtful passage must be fashioned? Who would not protest against it? Nor do we quite like the tone of the questions on "the Liturgy." In one of them the candidate is required to shew the *futility* of the objections, made by the non-conformists at the Savoy conference, to certain expressions in the Marriage, Burial, and other services. This is not so easily done. Many, if not most of the passages objected to, are in themselves objectionable. They are felt by the great body of the clergy, who have had long experience, to be a constant source of disquiet to many honest minds. They are the blots which disfigure our Book of Common Prayer. They might have been conceded without the slightest inconvenience; and the trouble they have never ceased to give, and the mischief they have done, we can regard only as a wholesome rebuke to the pride of obstinacy; and a caution, descending from age to age, against the repetition of similar transgressions against the law of charity.

Meanwhile, the complaint of the bishops is, that few young men of the highest class of mind present themselves for orders. The complaint of the parochial clergy is, that few young men, even of humbler attainments, really qualified by the grace of God for the work before them, are to be met with to fill up their curacies. The university of Cambridge acts as an obstructive to both alike. Young men of high capacity are disgusted, and with them the office of the Christian minister has fallen into disrepute. Those of moderate attainments, and a humbler estimate of their own abilities, are deterred by the difficulties thrown across their path. And yet this is the class which supplies, not merely the most numerous, but the most hardworking, and, not unfrequently, the most successful of our parochial clergy. Shining abilities are the talent committed to the few; competent learning, and a heart devoted to God, these are the grand requisites; and to encourage, and not to hinder, those who are thus distinguished, is the bounden duty of our universities.

In short, we are almost disposed to conclude, in words in which an eminent clergyman of great experience lately answered a Cambridge examiner, who had sent him a bundle of examination papers, requesting to be favoured with his candid opinion of them: "I am glad that I am not obliged to undergo your voluntary, for I am sure that you would *pluck me*; and if this be a specimen of your theology, I am glad that you are not a candidate for my curacy, for I am afraid that I should be obliged to *pluck you*."

With regard to the state of things at Oxford, it may be well to place the question before our readers in the light in which it appears to the younger members of the University. The letter we subjoin has been for some months in our possession; for it is with much reluctance, and after much hesitation, that we force ourselves to join, even in appearance, in the cry which is raised against both our ancient universities. We do not quite agree with our young friend on every point. Experience will modify some of his conclusions. His wealth and leisure do not fall to the lot of all theological students. Still, some of his suggestions are important, and all of them deserve consideration. Nor will the seniors be displeased to see the question of clerical education from the point of view in which it appears to an accomplished scholar and gentleman, who has just completed his education, and who, we trust, will long be an ornament even to that sacred office to which he aspires.

SIR,—In the May number of the Cornhill Magazine there was an article headed "A few words about Sermons," very suggestive and practical; words which a young clergyman would do well to keep in

remembrance. I acknowledge that I am a fellow-patient,—I too am suffering from sermons, and patience is dearly learnt by listening Sunday after Sunday to discourses which teach little else.

This is a great grievance to individuals, a real injury to the church, and, what is more important, very detrimental to the interests of religion. But the evil which lies at the root of it all, and to remedy which would go far towards doing away with the defects and deficiencies which the author of the article to which I refer points out, is not dealt with by him. I purpose to show that they are to be attributed almost entirely to the very imperfect preparation for their profession which English clergymen receive.

The public is not generally aware how very slight that preparation is; and whilst sermons and clergymen are severely criticised, those with whom the responsibility really rests, to whom, inasmuch as they have the power to remove them, clerical deficiencies are principally due, escape without any animadversion.

Let the righteous indignation of the lay world be brought to bear upon the responsible quarter, and a remedy will soon be found.

The universities are the great nurseries from which the church of England recruits her ministerial staff; and, so long as a university degree is all but necessary to a candidate for orders, it will hardly be thought too much to ask that the latter should find at his university facilities for preparing himself for his profession at least equal to those enjoyed by students in medicine, law, and the sciences.

Let others set their own houses in order, and I will consider particularly the case of my own university.

Oxford sends her sons year by year to fill the rich benefices and important ministerial posts of the country, the patronage of which in many cases is in her own hands. It would be supposed that she trained them carefully for the duties which they are called upon to discharge; the intellectual training, at all events, she might be expected to give them.

Their relation to her is, rightly or wrongly, accepted by the public as a guarantee that they are qualified for their position as clergymen.

It would be thought the extreme of folly for a man who had gained a first-class in the history and law schools, to set up immediately as a lawyer on the strength of the Justinian and Blackstone in which he had distinguished himself.

Yet it would be less presumption in him to do so than it is for young B.A.'s to present themselves as candidates for orders on the strength of their university degree, *the necessary study for which has in no specific way qualified them for the clerical office.*

A moderate amount of biblical knowledge, and a still more moderate acquaintance with the Greek Testament, is all the divinity that a student is required to be possessed of during his undergraduate career: if he is looking forward to ordination, he attends in addition two courses of divinity lectures; one, say of 12, another of 18 lectures. Just escaped from the anxieties of examination, he no sooner puts on his gown than, as if it were the mantle of departed generations of theologians, he is considered by admiring friends to be fit for all the duties of the parish and the pulpit.

To do him justice, he often has some misgivings on the point him-

self; and retires, perhaps to the lakes, or to a Theological college for a while, to undergo a furnishing and whitewashing sort of process,—shaking off old associations, and exercising himself in new spheres of study, thought, and action, more in unison with the sacred office he is about to assume. But if the pressure of external circumstances, or an ignorant confidence in his own powers, induces him to take orders at once, either he remains for ever an ill-trained, ill-educated man in a clerical point of view, or his clerical duties are for a time more or less neglected, whilst he is applying himself to the studies which ought to have preceded his entrance upon his profession.

No one will say that classics, mathematics, or natural science, are studies to which a young man should devote himself *up* to the time of his ordination; and yet we have seen that, with the exception of attendance for thirty hours upon the lectures of two divinity professors, Oxford does not offer a more special or appropriate clerical preparation.

The weak point about these lectures is, that they are not backed up by any examination; so that, whilst *attendance at them* is necessary, *attention to them* is not secured.

Again, the quality of the lectures themselves is endangered by the fact that they do not form part of an organised course; the audience is perpetually shifting, and in *most* cases consists only of the students themselves.

But granting that the lectures *were* of the highest possible order, what effect can thirty lectures have upon a divinity student, except to overwhelm him with a sense of his helpless and hopeless ignorance?

This may be met by the objection, that if young men choose to remain at Oxford for a twelvemonth after graduating, they may attend the lectures of three or four divinity professors during three successive terms.

To this I reply, that, as a fact, young men do not stay to avail themselves of this privilege; and further still, that if they did, the advantages of such a course would not be sufficiently great to repay the expenditure of time and money. For, in the first place, under the present system a man is in all probability not far short of three and twenty when he completes his undergraduate course, and he cannot, or will not, delay his ordination.

Secondly. Since the certificates required by the Bishop are given after attendance upon two courses of lectures, this further attendance would be a work of supererogation, and the lectures would have to be of a very high order before men would devote themselves to such a work.

Thirdly. However superior they might be, few young men would have the resolution to remain for an additional year at their university, voluntarily attending lectures for which they would not receive any acknowledgment, any benefit in fact, save the information they gathered from them.

Fourthly. However good and useful lectures may be, they will not take their right place, as part of an educational system, unless they are backed up by examinations in the subjects lectured upon: both the lecturer and the student require the prospective stimulus of an examination, and the present stimulus of feeling that they are taking part in an organised and acknowledged system.

Again; I must suppose it objected that, as a matter of fact, the

ordination examinations are severe, and therefore that somehow or other those who pass them must have scraped together a certain amount of theological information. I can fancy Pater- or Materfamilias forwarding to you, sir, lists of the books which the Bishop's chaplain sent the other day to their "dear boy."

They would tell you how that their "dear boy" was so overwhelmed at the amount of learning which it seemed necessary that he should get up, and of the very existence and nomenclature of which he was not previously aware, that he at once proposed becoming a backwoodsman, a tea planter, or a cotton grower, sooner than run the risk of reviving the pangs of his "Little Go," and of being turned back with the advice to "read a little longer and come up next time;"—that, however, consoling himself with the assurances he heard on all sides that there were many fools in the church, he plucked up his courage, and not only was not plucked himself, but, in an inconceivably short space of time, passed a very creditable examination. The solution of this is, that the bishops are making praiseworthy exertions to raise the standard of clerical intellect and attainment, but with, I suspect, too often this result, that however high the standard which they propose, they are obliged practically to lower it to the level of the men who present themselves for ordination. A young man of respectable character, with a good knowledge of his Bible and of the Greek Testament, would think himself hardly used, and an exceptional case, if rejected on the ground that he was deficient in other branches of theological learning. It is scarcely necessary to point out how all this bears upon the particular defect of bad sermons. The author of "*A Few Words about Sermons*" truly says: "To transform sleeping truths into waking truths, we have only to recast them." And this remark strikes at the root of the matter, for it is the absence of originality in the expression of them, that robs all the truths preached of half their force.

But this recoining of old truths in our own mint requires that we should think them out for ourselves; and this again involves the devoting of much time and much labour to reading, reflection, and writing. As matters now stand, candidates for orders are not obliged to bestow the labour, and cannot give the time. How then can they write sermons? Can they create without material? Exacting public,—you expect them to make bricks, and do not provide that they should have straw!

The Bible, being the only source of religious truth, is the great mine from whence sermon material is to be obtained; but the mine must be assiduously worked by *each*, there must be no mere turning over of the heaps which bygone workmen have accumulated; for these contain more rubbish than ore.

Few men have the moral courage to subject themselves to labour on principle. The generality at least of young men will do anything to shirk the effort of hard and independent thought. Hence, the shelf is full of commentaries, skeletons, and lithographed sermons. The latter are altogether objectionable, being, in fact, though not in intention, impostures. The skeletons are only useful when made each man for himself: you cannot breathe life into another man's dry bones. The commentaries it may be advisable to read after you have written one

for yourself,—which, if divinity students would diligently do, they would amass by the way an immense amount of sermon material.

I do not wish to maintain that every clergyman must be a theologian, in the conventional sense of the word; but I do maintain, that two years of more or less exclusive preparation for the ministry is absolutely necessary in these days to furnish the most humble aspirant for a quiet country charge with mere elementary professional qualifications.

This, too, should be secured without sacrificing the advantages of a general education (which it is now more than ever expedient a clergyman should have), or the great social advantages of a university career. I cannot now do more than allude to it, but it would be a great evil, if theological colleges took the place of the universities in the education of the clergy. Much of the good feeling that exists between the higher classes of the laity and the clergy is to be attributed to the collegiate sympathies which they have in common; and to isolate earlier than necessary from the general society of their equals the class which is afterwards to supply the guides and instructors of the community, would have a most pernicious influence upon both.

Is there, then, anything in the constitution of our Oxford university that renders it impossible for her to give those of her sons who intend to take orders a special preparation for the ministry?

Let the Dublin university receive her meed of praise. Before her Divinity Testimonium can be conferred, two years must be spent in attendance upon divinity lectures, and two examinations have to be passed!

It would not interest your readers to have discussed the different modes in which some system similar to this might be carried out at Oxford; but, though I could name many, I should be hard put to it to find a good reason for the fact that we are without *one*.

Even supposing that the present curriculum remained unaltered, yet if men who looked forward to the church as a profession would make a point of going early to the university,—not later, say, than eighteen,—they could go through the ordinary course in three years, and a supplemental divinity course in two; or, they might be allowed to keep their first divinity year whilst preparing for their “second schools,” which, as regards the length of their residence, would come to the same thing, but which would give them more leisure for their general studies. But if five years’ residence at the university was thought to be too long, some modifications might be introduced into the present system of examinations which would bring the ordinary course, and a divinity course as well, within the compass of four years.

In conclusion, there is, besides the matter of sermon writing, a subject which is exciting just now a great deal of attention, and which, from its close connection with the deficiencies of clerical education, I must not leave unnoticed: I mean, the spread of what are called rationalistic opinions. Those who maintain them will hardly need to be persuaded of the theological ignorance of the great mass of the clergy; for they have, it is said, built largely upon the assumption of it in their writings. But it is those who think these opinions to be dangerous and erroneous who ought to awake to the fact that the

absence of sound theological knowledge is the most favourable condition for the promulgation of error.

If it is the exception to find a clergyman capable of philosophically defending the truths to which he yet considers himself pledged; if he can too often only bring broad assertion and sweeping denunciation against those who so subtly assail the foundations of his faith, to what is it to be attributed, if not to some defect in his training? Truth surely does not emasculate the intellect? Is heresy only to be distinguished by calm argument and courteous logic? Are orthodoxy and ability to be apparently scarcely on speaking terms?

The great secret of the success of heresy is the indolence of the orthodox. If the heretics of history were passed in review before us, we should see subtle logicians, deep thinkers, calm philosophers; and if they triumphed, it was because they did not meet antagonists of their own calibre.

Oh, Alma Mater! why send your children, untrained and unarmed, to fight the fight of faith; to discharge arduous duties without preparation, and to meet strong and subtle enemies protected only by the innocence of ignorance?

The scandalous defects in our theological training too surely point out where the fault of our clerical deficiencies lies. I love my university, and hope that she will anticipate the public in finding a remedy.—I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
OXONIENSIS.

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL CODE

AN educational minute issued from Whitehall, embodying a new code for the management of schools and the administration of government aid, has spread consternation amongst the friends of education throughout the country. For the last fortnight the public prints have been crowded with the reports of public meetings, protests, and remonstrances. We have endeavoured to view the matter calmly on both sides; for there is one view of the subject which we think has not had justice done to it; the view taken, we presume, by Lord Granville and the Privy Council of Education. It should not be forgotten that the educational grant, which originated only about twenty years ago, has gone on increasing from year to year, especially during the last ten years, until it now amounts to about a million sterling. Even in the expenditure of a nation this is a large sum. And the advocates of the system as it now exists maintain, and truly maintain, that the work is far from being accomplished, and consequently that the annual grant will have to be increased, perhaps doubled; for we have seen two millions stated as the sum which may probably be required some few years hence. Now, it is in vain to close our eyes to

the reluctance with which even the present amount is granted. It is, no doubt, a serious addition to our national expenditure; and the feeling is a growing one, that it has been somewhat profusely, and in a great many instances very unwisely, spent. The capitation fee hitherto paid is a *bounty*; a bounty, in too many instances, to those who least require it,—the upper class of our well-paid mechanics and operatives. The really poor scarcely derive any benefit from it; it is given for regular attendance, and the attendance of *their* children is and must be broken and irregular. Thus, two or three hundred pounds have been paid, in many wealthy parishes, from the national purse, to educate in schools and school houses, more costly and far more imposing than the parish church and its modest mansion, the children of those who, making proper allowance for their station in life, are more competent to pay for their instruction than the tradesmen of the district, the poor curate, or the probably still poorer incumbent. The same profuse expenditure has prevailed both in the style of the colleges for the national schoolmasters, and in the style of their education. It has for some time been evident to those who looked beneath the surface, that this was a state of things which could not last; and it was without surprise we learned, more than eighteen months ago, that the government had resolved upon retrenchment, and had indeed officially stated that they intended to reduce their grants to training colleges. Our own hope and expectation, as repeatedly expressed in the *Christian Observer*, has been, that the education scheme might be made more solid and less ambitious; that schools for the really poor might share in the national bounty, from which they are virtually excluded; and above all, that the only ground on which a national bounty on education can be justified should be more steadily kept in view: namely, to teach the child his duty towards God, and his duty towards his neighbour.

So much, then, may be said on behalf of government as represented by the Council of Education, and so much, for our own part, we feel bound in justice to concede. They have gone forward rashly, but they had to learn experience. As experience was gained, it was reasonable to expect they should revise their code. But now, with a precipitation unworthy of a national board, and even with something which wears the appearance of harshness and injustice, they all at once begin, not merely to retrace their steps and amend their errors, but to abandon those whom we can describe only as the victims of their own policy. In their haste to cure the defects of the old system, they introduce a new one still more objectionable.

We have said before, and we are prepared to abide by it, that the only ground on which government interference in edu-

cation can be justified at all, is the same on which a national church depends: the dissenter who accepts government aid for his school, and declaims against government aid to religion, conducts a suicidal argument. If the latter be wrong, the former is utterly indefensible; except indeed on the principle of the Communists, which makes the nation one grand workshop, and the government the managers of the concern.

Mr. Miall regards the new code with favour, as tending to do away with all aid to education. Let us do Mr. Miall justice: he is a consistent dissenter; this is the legitimate result of the voluntary system; not only a fair but a necessary inference from it.

On what principle can we justify the levying of a tax on the small tradesman, who, struggling hard, pays for the education of his own child out of his own purse, in order to educate gratuitously the child of the mechanic who lives in the adjoining court, except it be the moral and religious one? It is for the interest of the state that its population should be virtuous and diligent, and therefore they must be brought under the restraints and influences of religion; and assuming that the mechanic aforesaid cannot provide this education for his child, it is at once sound policy and an imperious duty in the state to provide it for him; just as it is the duty of the state, for the same, as well as for much higher reasons, to provide a spiritual education out of the public purse, for the child's parents. With this, however, the duty of the state begins and terminates. With the higher branches, the luxuries of education, she has no concern. Schools in which these mental accomplishments are taught, are a misuse of the public property. So far, then, is it from being a question whether the government ought to insist on a religious education, it seems to us that, without religion, the government has no right to educate at all. Hence again it follows, that the poorer the parent the higher should be the bounty for the education of the child; till, in the case of the well-to-do mechanic, it should almost, if not entirely, disappear. He should be compelled to educate his own child; and compelled he may be by a very simple process, which we are happy to learn is beginning to find favour with educational theorists. It is, that no child shall be bound an apprentice or made capable of earning wages, until he has passed a simple examination in the first rudiments of Christian and secular learning.

The really poor man's child is sent, when two or three years old, to the infant school: and the old-fashioned infant school is an admirable institution; for at seven or eight years old the little creature must be taken from school and set to work. In town and country, at eight years old, the girl is an infant governess. She minds the baby; in the mother's absence she

minds the house ; and the rhetoric of all the education theorists in Great Britain will not alter matters here. It is the same with boys. At seven or eight years old, in town or country, they must go to work. We are speaking of the children of the really poor. In the country, squires and farmers, and those, too, benevolent men, friends and promoters of education, have assured us that unless the lads are turned out thus early, they are never fit for out-door life. So they begin with stone-picking and bird-minding. Many a mere child drives the team, and manages the horses which by no contrivance, except the aid of another urchin like himself, he can mount. In towns, there are jobs and errands to be done ; and even, much as we deplore it, there is sedentary toil of various kinds, on which mere children will be employed. For these the infant school is invaluable. But the code almost excludes it from the nation's charity ! No child under five years old receives head money under any circumstances ; nor, should it have an idle winter, and its parents wish to send it to school again, as often happens, after it is eleven years old, nor indeed at any time, whatever be its age, unless it can attend a hundred days in the year, will the state assist. The code might have been drawn up with the special intention of excluding this class of children from any share or participation whatever in the nation's paternal care or charity. We impute no bad motives ; we think our friends a little hard upon the well-meaning gentlemen at Whitehall. But we read their new code as we have often read their blue-books, with this exclamation rising on our lips : " How little you gentlemen in office know of the real condition of the working people of England and their families ! "

But the new code wanders further from the mark than ever. The head-money, or capitation fee, is to be paid after an educational test. This educational test (we are now quoting from a document issued from the Adelphi after a public meeting, and bearing the signatures of the secretaries of the Home and Colonial and Metropolitan training institutions) is limited to reading, writing, and arithmetic ; and failure in any one of these forfeits one-third of the grant earned by attendances. The objections to this are palpable. The old system of inspectorship was open to many objections ; it was felt to be arbitrary ; in some cases it was unjust ; and for several years past the inspectors have been obliged to discontinue the publication of their justly obnoxious " tabulated reports." But to the new system the objections are still more formidable. First, it omits religion altogether. This alone is fatal to it. And yet, perverse as we may seem, if it had not omitted religion we should have been still more dissatisfied. For what is the minimum test to be, in religion ?—bearing always in mind that in too many a school the minimum test will be the maximum attainment of the child. Shall it be

the ancient catechism of the church of England ; “ the creed, the Lord’s prayer, and the ten commandments ? ” We should not be satisfied with this, for our own part. If the child can learn so little, it ought to be instructed, from some simple catechism, in the saving doctrines of the cross of Christ. But, again, who shall fix upon the elementary catechism for national use ? And if we were to accept that which is all the church of the reformation required from candidates for confirmation, even this is far beyond the possible attainment of many of those poorer children for whom the bounty is most needed, and who are most entitled to it. But we have a still more serious objection to an examination on which so much depends, upon the subject of religion. Who shall inspect the inspectors ? We are not yet rid of the leaven of Popery. Parishes are insulted even now, though not so often as a few years ago, by the ministrations of men who apostatize a few days after they have preached their last sermon, and join the church of Rome. The Essayists are still amongst us, holding benefices. Who shall say what our inspectors may be five years hence ? We hear it echoed on all sides, that this is but the first step towards an entirely secular system ; the introduction, as some of the speakers said at the meeting we have referred to, of the thin edge of the wedge. We do not think this a charitable view of the case ; we hope, and we believe, that it is not a just one ; but still it may have such a tendency. Money must be had. The anxiety of the managers will, after all, be to secure the highest grant, and their attention will be given to the subjects which form the tests. “ Pecuniary pressure will necessarily cause so much time to be given to these subjects, that the cultivation of the intellect, the communication of general information, and, above all, the moral and religious training of the children, must greatly suffer.” Otherwise we would far rather be let alone. Thus it appears to us the minute cannot possibly be worked ; it must be suspended or repealed. But with a view to further regulations which must inevitably succeed to it, we suggest that on religion, instead of an examination by the inspector, a declaration signed by the master or mistress and counter-signed by the clergyman, should be accepted ; and it should state, in specified terms, that the children, or perhaps that each child, has been duly instructed in the Christian faith.

Other objections, formidable, if not fatal, in their way, have been raised. The following will perhaps be thought sufficient :—

“ The test will fail to reach the irregular and idle, the class for whom it is most especially designed. Take any list of boys for whom the present capitation grant is paid, and add the others who have attended 150 days, and it will be found that nine-tenths or more of all the earnings from the 1d. attendances will

come from that class (about half the school), few of whom need the stimulus of a test. The sum obtainable from the irregular and idle residue, after the most persevering efforts, will be so small that it will not pay to teach them.

“The application of the test will be intolerable. Will it be endured that the inspector’s judgment on each case is to be secret, and that £50. or more in a school should depend on the caprice or peculiar standard of the examiner? This remark was made in our hearing by an experienced inspector. Or will the judgment be openly pronounced in presence of an influential company of managers? Will they submit to see a scholar rejected when they think he reads well? How many false spellings in the dictation lesson will forfeit one-third of the grant? What weight is quality of writing to have in the dictation lesson? Is one slip in working a sum to be fatal, or is a boy to have a second trial? Will the inspectors undertake such an invidious duty? Or, again, what will happen when the inspection occurs in a severe frost?—or during a prevailing epidemic?—or in agricultural districts within a month or two of harvest?”

Again, the new code is fairly chargeable with a breach of faith, and this both to the masters and pupil-teachers, and to the managers of the schools; and “the manager” is in nine cases out of ten no other than the hapless, helpless clergyman. How it will affect the former, we could only explain by shewing at large the operation of the new system as compared with the old one. Their position will be altered; the masters will suffer, first in the training schools with their now crippled resources, and afterwards from their lower *status* and diminished scale of payment. The pupil-teachers will cease to be apprentices. It will be the interest of managers and teachers to dispense with them as much as possible; the time allotted for their instruction will be diminished by one third; and when at length they obtain a teacher’s certificate, its value will be greatly reduced. In bare justice to a very deserving class, we add our protest against this sudden change as more than a hardship, an injustice. The minute should at least have been prospective. But after all, the clergyman will suffer most. The government grant is, as we have stated all along, a bounty to the parent. It is so in fact. But the payment is actually made to the schoolmaster and pupil-teachers, through the manager; and in almost every case, in church of England schools, that manager is the clergyman. It is a grinding task; but so it is. It is an incubus under which he groans, but he cannot throw it off; for if he should, his school is closed. No one but himself will either do the work, or submit to the pecuniary responsibilities. It is he who engages the master; it is he who pays the stipends; it is he to whom the master and mistress look each quarter-day

with confidence. Whether there be funds in hand or not, is not their concern. One thing they know; the clergyman will pay their quarter's stipend. He goes about pauper-wise soliciting subscriptions, and he meets with a pauper's reception; he corresponds with the official gentlemen at Whitehall; he does all the work, and when the funds fail at last, he makes up the deficiency. Without him the whole system within the church of England would fall to pieces, and three fourths of the schools in England would be closed. Now how will this "manager," so called, be affected by the change? One clergyman, who has a thousand children in his schools, tells us that it will inflict upon him a loss of *seventy*, if not a *hundred*, pounds per annum! But we will take an estimate which we have met with in a newspaper which advocates the principles of Mr. Bright and the voluntary party; for they too cry out lustily; and their voice may perhaps be heard where that of the clergy will not reach. We find in the *Star and Dial* the following statement; it is signed by a schoolmistress, who represents schools in which there are upwards of five hundred children, of whom 458 are entitled, under the old system, to the government bounty. "After comparing each child's attendance for the past year with her performance in the examination, we found that in our schools we should obtain 7s. 3d. per head on the attendance (458). All these schools have been well reported on by her Majesty's inspectors, and are in as fair a position for gaining grants under this new code as the majority of national schools. Let me shew your readers, and especially school managers, the effect of the new regulations on our funds. Our average aggregate receipts under the old code have been exactly 345*l.* per annum; under the revised code they will be 166*l.* 0s. 6d., making an annual deficit of 179*l.* How our managers will make up this serious loss, I cannot say; for I know they have enough to do to make both ends meet now. From what I hear, I am led to believe that factory schools would suffer worse than ours."

At such a juncture, two things are earnestly to be desired; the first is, that the church of England, whatever course other denominations may pursue, should meet the government in a conciliatory spirit, and endeavour, not merely to obtain a reversal of the code,—*that* we take to be a matter of course,—but, if possible, to lay down the outlines of a system of education that may really deserve to be called a national one, religious, comprehensive, and yet simple in all its details. And in the second place, that the clergy should seize the opportunity to disengage themselves at once from a thralldom in comparison of which that "serving of tables," so distasteful to apostolic men, was an easy yoke; we mean the pecuniary responsibility, and with it no small part of the laborious *fat* and the wasteful expenditure of time and strength, now lavished on their schools.

UNFULFILLED PROPHECIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

"AND he said, Go thy way, Daniel : for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end.

"Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried ; but the wicked shall do wickedly : and none of the wicked shall understand ; but the wise shall understand." (Dan. xii. 9, 10.)

While all the true members of Christ's church are perfectly agreed in the one hope of their calling,—that to as many as believe God has given everlasting life, and that this life is in His Son,—there is a wide difference amongst us in relation to the abiding effects of man's fall. One party believes that "in the last days perilous times shall come," and that "evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse," till that hour of temptation is brought upon us which shall "come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth." Another party is persuaded that by the preaching of the gospel the whole world shall be converted to the acknowledging of the truth.

We are told by the latter, that error is *short-lived*, and truth *immortal* ; in other words, that "a lying tongue is but for a moment, but the lip of truth shall be established for ever." And this is as certain as that "our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory ;" this being the scriptural estimate of time as to individuals : their whole lives are but a *moment* in comparison of eternity. For surely man is "born to sorrow as the sparks fly upward." In like manner as to the world's duration—supposing it six thousand years—it is but a small moment when measured with the ages of eternity. We confess ourselves to be of those who are persuaded that "though a great work is allotted to the church, it is of the firstfruits, not of the harvest ; of preparation, not of the full triumph. The redemption will be assuredly complete, but it will dawn in righteous judgments. Before the stone shall become a mountain, and fill the whole earth, the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and gold, must be broken to pieces together, and be driven away like the chaff of the summer threshing floor." (Brooks on the Destruction of the Great Image.)

It is well observed by a late writer, that the "Essays and Reviews," though ominous signs of the times indeed, are not the primary cause of the evil. They are but the bold and outspoken expression of thoughts which, in loose and unsystematic form, have been floating in men's minds for some years past. These fitting forms—the shreds and patches of old mischiefs—had first presented themselves to the religious imagination through the popular literature of the day."

While fully assenting to these remarks, we would humbly

suggest the question, whether there be not an element in the popular theology of the day, which tends to give both form and colouring to the spurious philanthropy that prevails,—nay, which bears such a twin likeness to it, that, for a certain distance, they travel harmoniously side by side.

We will name no names, for that would be invidious; but give the following extract from a popular and widely-circulated commentary on the Bible:—

“Society accumulates, from age to age, all that is truly valuable in inventions, morals, and the arts; and travels with them down to the period when the world shall have reached the highest point of perfectibility. Each age adds something in this respect to the treasures accumulated by all preceding ages, and each one is, in some respects, an advance on its predecessor, and makes the final triumph of the principles of truth, liberty, and pure religion, more sure. This remark is also true of Christianity, the kingdom of Christ. Nothing can prevent the propagation of Christianity; and according to the laws of society, nothing is so certain, in regard to the future, as the final prevalence of the religion of the Redeemer.”

How closely these sentiments agree with the doctrines enunciated by Dr. Temple—one of the seven—we need not take pains to prove. Nor is it less evident that they differ most widely from the views set forth by our Lord and His apostles, respecting the manifestation of the kingdom of God; which is to be a sudden, supernatural, and complete deliverance from all the consequences of the curse; and *that* at a crisis when the spirit of apostacy, infidelity, and ungodliness shall have brought the church into such straits, that vain will be the help of man. (2 Thess. i. 6, 7, 8.)

If these observations be found unpalatable, let it not be forgotten that prophetic vaticinations are in their nature of a bold and aggressive character; that moreover they are the salt of the church; nor must we by any means close our ears to the voices of the prophets, lest we fall into the error of the Jews, in utterly rejecting that which shocks our preconceived notions. If our religious writers talk as confidently as other men, of *generations to come*, and *future historians*, is it not well to reserve a corner for those who may put in a demurrer, and inquire, “Who gave you these ages?” or, “Do you account the Lord so slack concerning His promise, that His day is never to come, and man’s day never to end?” Surely even the worldly politician acknowledges the exceedingly solemn aspect of the times, and anticipates with dread the crisis towards which we are hastening.

To return to the prophet Daniel. At verse 14 of his 10th chapter, the angel says to him: “Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days.” The winding-up, then, of

the history of Daniel's people is evidently the chief subject of chapters xi. and xii.; the first four verses of the former chapter giving a hasty notice of the destinies of the kingdom of Persia, and afterwards of Græcia, till the death of Alexander the Great and the division of his kingdom. Many leagues and conflicts follow, between the "king of the north" and the king of the south; and much study and investigation have been exercised in determining where to fix the chasm which must occur between the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and those of the last *troubler* of Israel. We however have no concern with that at present. If the verses that immediately precede the "time of trouble" lose their enigmatical character, and no longer read as dark sayings, the course of events will then throw a light back upon all that comes before.

If we are not to apply the whole prophecy—as some do at this day—to the doings of Antiochus Epiphanes, we are prompted to refer it to a period so far removed from anything we could conceive as the result of European politics, as to class it in our minds with the days beyond the flood. But as that girdling zone of light, for ages looked upon as an empty and unmeaning vapour, disclosed itself to the telescope as a universe of stars; so that main revolution having come to pass which Sir Isaac Newton foretold—the destruction of the French monarchy—the ancient world has been opened to our view. A meaning and a significance was given to many passages in Daniel xi. by the extraordinary career of the first Napoleon! "He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas, in the glorious, holy mountain."

Strange as it may seem, this whole programme had been marked out for himself in the mind of that ambitious soldier; though circumstances prevented his carrying it fully out. Up to that period, the East had been looked upon as well nigh a fabulous region, connected in our thoughts with the marvellous fictions of the "Arabian Nights"; possessing little to interest us as members of the great European commonwealth. During twelve centuries their cities had been possessed by the followers of Islam; and since the days of the crusaders, no invader had come up against them. But when that meteor glared upon the astonished nations,—to whom it was afterwards given to scorch men with great heat,—his light flashed suddenly upon the obscurity that covered the Eastern world; and the light has been growing and intensifying ever since. "Europe!" said that restless disturber, "Europe is a mole-hill! Every thing wears out here; and my glory has already

disappeared. I must seek it in the East: all great celebrity comes from that quarter." These remarkable words, uttered in confidence to one or two of his intimates, were soon followed up by the French expedition to Egypt. Hence Napoleon proceeded to Syria; his mind brooding over the most gigantic projects; in fact, nothing less than the subjugation of those countries, followed by an irruption into British India.

This campaign of Napoleon, though producing little of the expected fruit, opened, as it were, a new vista, both to the commercial and to the evangelical world. The eye of the former beheld the vision of an overland route to India; while to the prophetic eye the map of the East was at once rolled out as the probable scene to which, in the words of a late speaker (Mr. Colquhoun), "the policy, the diplomacy, and but too probably the arms also, of the great European Powers will one day congregate."

Struck by the coincidences, Faber, the prince of modern commentators, came to the conclusion that the Power destined to overrun the East was no other than the usurping ruler of infidel France.

"We learn from St. John, that the Power which is destined to do and suffer all this; viz., to seat itself in the mount of the Divine presence, and afterwards to perish in the land of Palestine, will be the last head of the Roman beast, leading a confederacy of the Papal sovereigns of the *Latin Empire*. Now, upon turning from prophecy to facts, we find all these predictions wonderfully according with existing circumstances. The republic of France, after running its mad career, is become a military despotism. Recent events have made the chief of that despotism the undoubted representative of Charlemagne.

"For, in 1806, the emperor Francis renounced the ancient throne and dignity of the Roman emperorship, and absolved all the electors and princes from the duties which united them to him as their legal chief. At the same period started up the new title, 'Emperor of the French,' actually master of Rome and Italy; and not very long afterwards formally annexing Rome and the Roman states to its already ample dominions.

"The Empire of France is consequently the last or Carlovingian head of the beast. And scarcely has he acquired this long coveted pre-eminence, ere he begins to form a confederacy, the rise of which we are taught to expect about that very period." (Faber on the 1260 Years.)

The following extract of a letter written by an *Etat Major* in the invading army, will fully prove the objects aimed at by the Egyptian expedition.

"The government have turned their eyes towards Egypt and Syria; countries which, by their climate, goodness, and fertility of soil, may become the granaries of the French com-

merce, her magazine of abundance, and in course of time the depository of the riches of India. It is indubitable, that when regularly organized in these countries, we may strain our views still further, and in the end destroy the English commerce in the Indies, and make ourselves sovereigns also of that of Africa and Asia."

It is worthy of remark, that at that period, as now, the mind of England was fixed upon the idea of a French invasion, while confidentially to his friends the great general avowed its impracticability. "It is too great a chance; I will not hazard it. I will not thus sport with the fate of dear France." (Bourienne's *Memoirs*.) Meanwhile he lost no time in setting on foot the military and scientific preparations for the projected expedition to the banks of the Nile. "Bonaparte organized the army of the East, raised money, and collected ships; and it was he who conceived the happy idea of joining to the expedition men distinguished for science and art, and whose labours have made known a country, the very name of which is never pronounced without exciting grand recollections." (*Idem.*) Then began those laborious investigations of Champollion, Denon, and others, which have led to so many interesting discoveries.

But the time was not yet come for a Western Power to seat itself, even for a season, in the consecrated regions of the East. Neither was the design attempted in the manner foretold. Great as he was, Napoleon could not stand alone; therefore he came short of accomplishing his favourite projects. France had become a nation of professed infidels; and her general, even more audacious than they, sought to cajole the Mahometan peoples, by professing his belief in the inspiration of the Arab imposter. "But it is manifest that these two, the spiritual and temporal powers of the Roman Empire, have a close relation to each other; that in important respects the one is designed to sustain the other. For the second beast has had power to heal the wound of the first or ten-horned beast. (Rev. xiii. 12.) For it is manifest that the healing comes from some influence of the second beast." (Barnes.)

Therefore, if another should arise, with an evident predisposition to carry out all the favourite ideas of his Imperial predecessor, having had these ideas stereotyped upon his youthful mind by the training of a mother who taught him an idolatrous reverence for the memory of an unprincipled aggressor; such a one will be likely to play a deeper and surer game. He will take counsel of his wisdom, and send out as his precursors, not philosophers, but priests, not men of science, but Jesuit missionaries, sisters of charity, and members of religious orders.

France has discovered the true method of exercising a *moral* influence over the countries she wishes to make subservient to her rule; even by planting among them her own profession of

faith ; a tree that will take root downwards, and bear fruit upwards. She purposes to endow China with her own surplus of religious establishment. "If Napoleon takes from Pio Nono a few square miles of temporal dominion, he gives him, with Imperial generosity, a spiritual dominion over one third of the human race. About this time *Te Deum*, and *Domine Salvum*, have been already sung in the cathedral of Pekin. All churches, cemeteries, and their dependencies, which formerly belonged to the Christians (Romanists) in the whole Empire, are to be restored." (*Times*, December, 1860.) "The interests of the Romish church," says the *Record*, "have been apparently uppermost in the French negotiations ; and the claim for the restitution of churches and other edifices, abandoned for ages, seems to indicate designs for the wholesale acquisition of the 300,000,000 in China, in addition to the 130,000,000 of people still claimed as the subjects of the pope in Europe."

Now, whereunto shall these things grow ? Does it not seem that the faith which is *nationally honoured* by being preferred above every earthly consideration, shall spread wider, and keep faster hold of men's minds, than that purer profession which *nationally* takes no care for the kingdom of God. Doubtless He is with us in our godly works—in our churches, in our meetings, in our missions,—but if He be not with our rulers in their councils, our "rowers may bring us into great waters, and an east wind may break us in the midst of the seas." (*Ezek.* xxvii. 26.)

But to return to Daniel's people. "If the diminishing of them be the riches of the Gentiles ; how much more their fulness ?" "I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their folds ; and they shall be fruitful and increase. And I will set up one Shepherd over them : and they shall fear no more, nor be dismayed, neither shall they be lacking, saith the Lord." (*Jer.* xxiii.)

"Where are now," says bishop Newton, "those great and famous monarchies, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God ? Are they not vanished as a dream ; and not only their power, but their very name, lost in the earth ? The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians have been overthrown and entirely subjugated. The Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, has been broken into separate kingdoms, while the Jews are subsisting as a distinct people at this day. And what a wonder of Providence is it, that the vanquished should so many ages survive the victors ; and the former be spread all over the world, while the latter are no more."

We must, however, bear in mind that if the Lord be pledged—as we firmly believe he is—to bring back His ancient people to their own land, it is done, as He repeatedly declares, for the

sake of His *own* holy name. "Therefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God; I do not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine own holy name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye went. And I will sanctify my great name, which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes." (Ezek. xxxvi. 22.) Therefore, when scoffers point to the *usurers*, the *fraudulent* bankrupts, and the vagrant scum of Houndsditch and the Seven Dials, and deridingly ask—"Are these the people of the Lord? Are these the masters of such brilliant destinies as we hear talk of?" we can but reply—Herein is the Word of the Lord *confirmed*, "Because ye are taken up in the lips of talkers, and are an infamy of the people: therefore, ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord God; Thus saith the Lord God to the mountains, and to the hills, to the rivers, and to the valleys, to the desolate wastes, and to the cities that are forsaken,—Shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people of Israel; for they are at hand to come." (Ezek. xxxvi. 3, 4, 8.)

"I am with thee, saith the Lord, to save thee: though I make a full end of all the nations whither I have scattered thee, yet will I not make a full end of thee. Behold I will bring again the captivity of Jacob's tents; and the city shall be builded on her own heap, and the palace shall remain after the manner thereof. And their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me." (Jer. xxx. 11.) When thus restored, the families of Israel are no more to fall under the dominion of foreigners, but be governed by princes and magistrates of their own nation, independent of any but the Lord their God, and David, a prince of the house of David, their king. After the return from Babylon, we know that both their *nation* and their *governor* continued under the most servile dependence to the Persian monarchy. And when this was succeeded by the Grecian, they changed their masters merely, but not their condition. At last they fell under the Roman yoke, since which time none will venture to say that the promised restoration has yet taken place.

But at this crisis of the winding-up there is a general pause; the Divine afflatus has no longer a voice; our oracles are dumb. On one side we are called to joy and rejoicing at the happy prospects of Israel,—"*Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her.*" On the other hand we read, that at this very time, when the hand of the Lord shall be known towards

his servants, his indignation shall break forth towards his enemies. And these enemies shall be so numerous that it is added, "For by fire and by his sword will the Lord plead with all flesh: and the slain of the Lord shall be many." And there is no prediction concerning Israel—from the song of Moses to the prophet Malachi—where these two conditions are not found in juxtaposition. Does not this invariable collocation suggest a connection or sequence, a converging of all unbelief and ungodliness to one centre? And that centre—God's *peculiar* possession—the "portion he has set apart for himself?" "In that day will I make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all people: all that burden themselves with it shall be cut in pieces, though all the people of the earth shall be gathered together against it." (Zech. xii. 3.)

If, then, a time shall come when princes and rulers have ceased to acknowledge God's supremacy upon earth, looking upon His recorded interference in the affairs of men as a thing of the *far past*, never more to be manifested; if they shall therefore take the management of the world into their own hands, to appoint the bounds of nations, and to choose for them their governors, it may be Buddhist, Mahommedan, or Papal; disregarding His sacred ordinance concerning kings: "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." Whereas St. Paul names the heathen the *unjust*, and brands them as unfit to judge among Christians. If these things be done, we may expect that they will at length pass the bounds of his patience by trenching upon somewhat accounted by Him most sacred. For we cannot expect that mere worldly politicians will consider themselves as under any obligation to respect the ancient territories of the wretched Jews; a people whose land has been for centuries trodden down by the infidel Turk. Nor will it be easy to convince those who habitually neglect the prophetic word, that what has been borne with in the heathen will not be tolerated in the Christian. Our Lord himself predicted that Jerusalem should be "trodden down of the Gentiles *till* the fulness of the Gentiles was come in." But this gives us no ground to suppose that when the Turk ceases to oppress these lands—in other words, when "the waters of the Euphrates are dried up, that the way of the kings of the East may be prepared"—the Lord of Kings will patiently suffer the Western apostacy to establish herself there. A time approaches when "He will be jealous for his land, and pity his people; and will sanctify his great name which was profaned among the heathen." "Moreover I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them: and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore." (Ezek. xxxvii.)

High have been the hopes of British Christians in reference to

our missions in the East; and gladdened was the heart of every true believer, when a Protestant bishopric was established in Jerusalem. Yet we may assure ourselves, that if Palestine fall into the hands of France, or Austria, or Russia, none of these powers will permit an English episcopate to flourish there. Let us hear the bishop of Victoria, speaking at one of the May meetings:—"In these eastern seas I perceive the emissaries of the papacy *far in advance* of us, and Protestant Christianity disproportionately represented in these oriental lands. I see that our alliance and joint operations in these regions have bequeathed to the next generation a legacy *full of embarrassment*. Britain has a great work to do among the scattered regions of her empire. She has to christianize India. She has to gather into the bosom of the church those widely scattered tribes of the human race that are under the shelter of her wing."

A mighty work indeed lies before us; calling for the united efforts of rulers and people; without which, it has been well remarked, no entire nation was ever brought into the fold of the church. Instead, therefore, of loudly proclaiming our independence, and, as it were, discharging and exonerating men in power of the responsibility that lies upon them as Christians; the most strenuous efforts should be used to warn and awaken them; seeing ungodly councils, if persevered in, ensure the ruin of the proudest empire.

[NOTE.—We are indebted for this paper, as well as for several preceding ones bearing the same title, to a dignitary of the church in Ireland; and we are glad to lay it before our readers, requesting, however, at the same time, that the views it advocates may not be assumed to be our own. On the great question here discussed, the "Christian Observer" is open to both parties.—EDITOR.]

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In an article on Hymns, Hymn-writers, and Hymn-books, in your August Number, mention is made of a hymn on Hebrews xi. 16; of which, you remark, "you had previously no knowledge." It may, perhaps, be not uninteresting to trace the history of this apparently new hymn. It is derived originally from a Latin poem in rhyming hexameters, *De Contemptu Mundi*, written in the twelfth century by Bernard of Clugny, a contemporary and countryman of his more celebrated namesake, Bernard of Clairvaux. This poem was first published by the great Lutheran divine, Flavius Illyricus. An extract from it is given in Dean Trench's *Specimens of Sacred Latin Poetry*. Part of this extract was translated by Mr. Neale, of Sackville College, in his *Mediæval Hymns*, and from this translation more than half the hymn you have quoted is, with alterations, taken. It is certainly

curious that a poem, written by a monk in the twelfth century, published by a Lutheran, made known in our time by an English High-churchman, and translated by a noted Tractarian, should find its way into a hymn-book which you describe, no doubt truly, as having "a flavour of Plymouth Brethrenism;" and thence into the pages of the *Christian Observer*. To make good my assertion as to the origin of the hymn, I append the corresponding verses of Mr. Neale's translation, and of the hymn quoted in the *Christian Observer*.

HYMN QUOTED.

Hope of the coming glory
Is balm to the distressed;
Is medicine in sickness,
Is love, and life, and rest.
To that bright, blessed country
Our eyes with longing turn;
At mention of its blessings
Our hearts within us burn.
Oh! one abiding city,
Oh! kingdom full of joy,
Where tears are ever banished,
And sorrows can't alloy.

NEALE.

The mention of thy glory
Is unction to the breast;
And medicine in sickness,
And love, and life, and rest.
To thee, oh dear, dear country,
Mine eyes their vigils keep;
For very love, beholding
Thy happy name they weep.
Oh me! oh only mansion!
Oh Paradise of joy!
Where tears are ever banished,
And smiles have no alloy.

In the remaining lines the likeness is not so great; they are rather suggested by, than taken from, Mr. Neale's translation.

I trust you will excuse this communication, especially as you observe that some of your readers may have known long since verses which never met your eye. It would, I think, be interesting, and not unprofitable, to trace the process by which several popular hymns have been brought to their present form.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A COUNTRY CLERGYMAN.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D., sometime President of Magdalene College, Oxford. Two volumes. With general Preface by John C. Miller, D.D., Lincoln College; Honorary Canon of Worcester; Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham. And Memoir, by Robert Halley, D.D., Principal of the Independent New College, London. Nicholl, Edinburgh; and Nisbet and Co., London. 1861.—These volumes are the first of a series of standard divines, whose works are to be republished under the direction of a council of publication. The Puritan period comprehends the writings of the best authors generally known to us as Puritans. They are handsome octavos, at a very reasonable price. Of the contents we can only say of one and all of them, that while the style is sometimes cumbrous and redundant, the materials are rich even to superfluity. If our reader is of the class who loves to skim over a volume, lay it down, and take up another, cheap as they may be, let him not waste his money on the writings of the Puritan divines; if he can set himself to a close morning's work, and be satisfied not to leave his study until he has thoroughly mastered one at least of the sermons in these volumes,

two things we will venture to promise him if he be a preacher; first, that his doctrine shall be transparently clear; and secondly, that his sermons shall not be of that order of which it is just now the fashion to complain, that they have nothing in them. We observe with pleasure that the works of the eloquent Manton are soon to follow. Those of Henry Smith, though belonging to a much earlier date, ought not to be omitted. He was termed in his day the Chrysostom of the English pulpit; he was much more; the perorations of some of his sermons we rank amongst the finest compositions in the English language. Manton, too, as a prose writer, was equal to the best of his day, Milton always excepted, and perhaps Lord Clarendon, and the wicked author of "Killing no Murder."

Another volume from the other side of the Atlantic, *Truth through Fiction*, by Jacob Abbott. London: Ward and Co., Paternoster Row. —This is the same Jacob Abbott whose *Young Christian*, and *Corner Stone*, had an amazing popularity some five-and-twenty years ago, and its theology is much the same. In a preface of a few lines, "it takes everywhere for granted that salvation for the human soul is to be obtained through repentance for past sin, and faith and trust in the merits and atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Our catechism teaches a sounder doctrine: repentance is that whereby we forsake sin, and faith is that whereby we steadfastly believe the promises of God. To them that believe their faith is counted for righteousness, but not their repentance, though the two are inseparably connected. The hero of the story commits a great crime; his conscience is aroused; and although he has escaped detection, he resolves to surrender himself to the sheriff of the county, and makes a long and wearisome journey to the sheriff's house for that purpose: his courage oozes out as he proceeds, yet he screws it up, and actually knocks at the sheriff's door: like many another visitor who makes a morning call, he is only too happy to find that the sheriff is not at home. What occurred is described in one of the finest pieces of bathos which we have read for a long time.

"He walked with a brisk and resolute step up the yard, and knocked at the door. The little girl who answered the summons said that her father was not at home, but was expected very soon; and she invited the stranger to walk in and wait a little while. M'Donner hesitated. His resolution was like a great bubble, which had been growing thinner and thinner, and verging towards its dissolution, while it still retained perfectly its appearance and form; and even increased rather than diminished in size and beauty; so that when he approached the door, his mind was completely filled with what bore every semblance of determination; but it was a mere phantom, a shell, hollow and delusive, the substance being gone. It required but a touch to cause it to burst and disappear.

"Or perhaps, more correctly, he was like a rocket slowly approaching the vertex of its path, its projectile force nearly exhausted, and strong earthly tendencies ready to draw it back with accelerated velocity to the ground. M'Donner's resolution was all but exhausted; attractions of prodigious power were all ready to reassert their dominion over him. He turned round, away from the little girl, his mind poised in equilibrium, and just then his eye fell upon the bâton of the sheriff standing in the corner of the entry—the painted badge of his office—the symbol of disgrace, and ignominy, and miserable solitude—of bolts, and bars, and gloomy cells of stone. It furnished just the touch necessary to burst the bubble.

"M'Donner said hastily that he would not wait then, but perhaps would call again.

"I think he will be in very soon, sir," said the little girl, persuasively.

"I will not wait now, I believe," said he, half looking over his shoulder as he left the steps.

" 'Will you leave your name, sir?' said the girl, raising her voice, and stepping out upon the threshold.

" 'No consequence,' said M'Donner, without stopping to turn round." (pp. 179, 80.)

With this the scene closes, and the book too, which three short paragraphs bring to a conclusion—"a conclusion," as Doctor Johnson says in his *Rasselas*, "in which nothing is concluded." But we are left to suppose that poor M'Donner lost his soul in consequence. Let it not be supposed that Jacob Abbott fairly represents American theology. We prefer to seek it in the pages of Dwight and M'Irvine.

At this season few new books are published, and none have come before us requiring any particular notice. Reprints are the order of the day, and provided they do not lead us to retrogression in thought, we accept them with pleasure. We have noticed one of the most valuable of these. Another more purely critical in its character is before us.

Biblical Commentary on the Gospels, and on the Acts of the Apostles, adapted expressly for Preachers and Students. By Hermann Olshausen, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated from the German. Third Edition. 4 vols. Clark, Edinburgh; Hamilton and Co., London; Robertson, Dublin.—Olshausen stands in the first class of critics; as a "Professor of theology," we place him much lower down; and therefore the publishers have done well in permitting the translator to correct some of his errors in brief notes at the foot of the page. It may seem at first that a sound critic must be of necessity a sound expositor, but this by no means follows. Let us take an instance. Olshausen gives a soundly critical view of the three circumstances, mentioned by Matt. iii. 16, connected with our Lord's baptism, but his exposition is perfectly gratuitous. The descent of the Spirit did not take place before the submersion, but immediately thereupon; but we are not bound to accept the critical explanation of this unquestioned fact, namely, "that the one part of the action—the submersion—represents the negative aspect,—viz. the taking away of the old man (Rom. vi. 4), in the other part—the emersion—the positive aspect,—viz., the appearance of the new man is denoted; the communication of the Holy Ghost *must therefore* have been connected with the latter." We are not prepared to accept this dogmatism. Nor do we approve of what follows; "but that all this did not pass as a spectacle before the assembled multitude, but was seen by Christ and John alone, is clearly implied in Matt. iii. 16, and in John i. 32. Spiritual eyes are needful for the contemplation of spiritual transactions; he only who possessed such was in a condition to behold the working of the Spirit. An unconscious surmise, roused by the mighty working of the Spirit, may have crossed the minds of the multitude at the sublime instant, when the flower of heaven descended to earth; but the transaction itself was not seen by them." This appears, to say the least, very questionable. Indeed, Olshausen himself seems to have been in some doubt; for in a note we are told, "it is not intended by these remarks to assert that in the whole occurrence there was not something visible, and audible to all." But here for once we question his criticism. The *αὐτός*, in verse 16, we have always read as referring to Jesus, and not to John, (Olshausen refers it to the latter); and on reference to Winer we find ourselves borne out. "In Matt. iii. 16,

αὐτοῦ and ἐκ αὐτοῦ relate unquestionably to Jesus." (Grammar of New Test. i. 16.) Still let it not be supposed that Olshausen is, upon the whole, other than an orthodox and evangelical divine. His exposures of Strauss and the infidel school are often masterly, and on the great points of essential doctrine he is generally correct. We have said enough, if we have intimated to the biblical student that he must draw the line carefully between Olshausen the critic, and Olshausen the commentator. As a critic, he needs no praise of ours; his fame is, we believe, established among sound scholars and orthodox divines.

Angels, Cherubim, and Gods; or, an Enquiry into the Signification and Application of these and other kindred expressions used in Holy Scripture. 8vo. (pp. 429.) London: Wertheim and Co. 1861.—The work recently published under this title propounds a novel and singular theory, though carefully and closely reasoned out by a detailed comparison of Scripture, and with considerable learning and ability. The writer seems to be of sound evangelical views on the vital doctrines of religion, and strongly opposed to the saint-worship of the Romish church. 1. It seeks to prove that such words as "angel of the Lord," "angel of God," or indeed the word "angel" in any connection, denotes a Person of the sacred Trinity; this being the case sometimes in the Old Testament, and frequently in the New. In many cases, doubtless, the "angel of the Lord" is the Lord himself; though in many others, the interpretation will be new to most of our readers. 2. In this portion of the work it is argued, and probably with justice, that Michael the archangel is the Son of God; but it is much more difficult to conceive that Gabriel should be a name for the Holy Spirit. 3. The "cherubim" of Ezekiel's visions are said to signify the same Divine Person, as also various emblems met with in those visions, such as "the wheels," "the rings," "the chariots," "the whirlwind," "the flaming sword at the gates of Paradise," &c. 4. Though the word "gods" came subsequently to denote idols, the work of men's hands, yet its primary signification is said to have been the "angels that kept not their first estate," who, assuming a gigantic but human form, intruded and even reigned as kings on earth in primæval times, though doomed to extermination, and ultimately perishing as Canaanites, Amorites, Anakim, &c. Sihon and Og were specimens of them. Goliath and his sons were among the last remnants in Palestine, though indications of them are supposed to be traceable in Grecian fable, and in giant remains said to be found in various parts of the world.

Life of Richard Porson, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, 1792 to 1808, by the Rev. J. Selby Watson, M.A. London, 1861.—To many of our older readers the name of Porson will call up recollections of past days and of college life, of Greek metres long forgotten, and the preface to the Hecuba. Porson was then the Sir Isaac Newton of Greek; he has since been dethroned by German critics. Whether they will retain their empire; whether the inner life of the Greek language, of which we hear so much and understand so little, is really to be developed under their anatomical methods of treatment; or whether a broader, and yet, as they would tell us, a more superficial, view of the subject may not prove eventually a more philo-

sophical and therefore a more successful one, it is, just at present, a heresy dangerous to insinuate; so we leave the question undisturbed. Porson was a great man—a man of genius. He had many kindly social qualities, great integrity, great disinterestedness, *but* he was a drunkard; shunned while he lived, neglected and impoverished when he prematurely died, the victim of his insatiate intemperance. It is a melancholy story, and the moral is too obvious to need a comment. Among his few friends at last was Dr. Adam Clarke, the commentator, who wrote a pamphlet in a kind spirit soon after his death, with a short sketch of his career, and some interesting anecdotes of his wit and learning. We have not met with it for many years, and it has probably never been reprinted. Mr. Watson's volume, after the lapse of half a century, is still a welcome addition to our biographical literature.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

WE congratulate our readers upon a bountiful harvest, peace within all our borders, reviving trade, and a contented and loyal people. The history of the world never perhaps presented, since the world was, a contrast more striking than that which Great Britain now affords. Not even the land of Goshen, with its bright sky, but still enslaved people, amidst Egyptian darkness.

To begin with continental Europe. It has been fed so long with wars and revolutions, that they seem to have become at length its natural aliment. It either has or wants them, and the possession or the prospect is required to stimulate a jaded appetite. One might suppose that foreign newspapers are nothing else than the war songs of ancient troubadours done into modern prose. Love and war are the only subjects of mediæval poetry; they are the only subjects of continental interest: the former, except now and then a royal marriage, but little spoken of, unless it be in some licentious tale: the latter, the great theme on which foreign political writers secure an audience. Prussia seems determined to quarrel with somebody, but with whom, and on what account, is not apparent, unless it be with Denmark, with whom she shows a disposition to interfere, and that, too, in a temper not to be commended. Russia has her difficulties with the Asiatic tribes upon her eastern border. Austria, embarrassed with debt, and distracted with the weakness of her government, is defied by Hungary and Poland, and trembles at the same time for what remains to her of her Italian kingdom. The emperor of France has long perplexed us with his profound and far-sighted policy. The world begins to think that he has no policy at all; that in this, as in other instances, reserve has passed for wisdom; and the rash step, taken at last simply because a crisis had arrived and something must be done, the result of profound sagacity. A few weeks ago everything seemed to foretell a very speedy settlement of the Italian question, so far, at least, as France was concerned in it. A pamphlet was issued to inform the world that the time had come at length when France could no longer

be encumbered with the pupilage of an obstinate old priest, who was at once the obstacle to Italian unity and to the peace and progress of the Catholic church. The French political writers took up the cry; no doubt they were instructed to do so, and it seemed probable that we should have had to record the withdrawal of the French army from its long protectorate of the pope at Rome. But suddenly the note is changed, and Europe is expected to believe that the pamphlet did not speak the voice of the French emperor, and that his own government press had not his sanction for their approving comments. No doubt the Jesuit party is still too strong for the emperor Napoleon; and what the result is to be, he probably knows as little as ourselves, or any of our readers. The poor pope, so often represented as the dying man, seems to be in better health and spirits; but as Sardinia gains strength, and the Italian kingdom is consolidated, the question begins to be, not so much how long Napoleon will hesitate, as how much Victor Emmanuel will endure. All good Italians seem to have made up their minds to this conclusion, that Rome is the proper capital of Italy, and that it must not any longer be governed by a priest. Garibaldi, it really appears, for the rumour seemed at first incredible, has been offered the supreme command of the army of the United States; but he has declined to accept it, probably expecting employment nearer home, though at the same time we give him credit for loftier motives. The liberator of his country would scarcely stoop to be a mercenary, and sell his sword to a quarrel in which he has not the slightest reason to interfere.

We regret to state that the civil war in the United States is prosecuted on both sides with increasing animosity, and will probably cease only with the exhaustion of one or both of the combatants. The Federalists are in possession of the navy, and command the whole sea-board. They have gained a great advantage in the destruction of Fort Hatteras, the refuge of the privateers and coasting vessels of the Confederates. By land, however, both parties seem equally matched; and no decided success has marked the operations on either side. Of the Southern states it is surprising how little is really known in England; their ports are blockaded, and information, such as it is, reaches us only through the Northern states. It is evident already that both parties are suffering great distress. The South cannot export her produce; in the North a general gloom prevails. The government have already been compelled to appeal to the loyalty of the people for a loan, which they are willing to receive in subscriptions of a few dollars each at the interest of rather more than seven per cent.; more than twice the sum allowed for interest in the English funds, enormous as our national debt really is. Such are some of the first fruits of civil war. In one respect this is hopeful. With the want of money supplies must cease, and the war, of course, will end most probably where it began—each party retaining its position. But the Free states are losing, if they have not already lost, that keen sense of justice, and that love of freedom, without which a republic is but another name for the worst kind of anarchy. It may be one of the painful necessities of a state of civil discord, but for the present the constitution is virtually suspended, and freedom can scarcely be said to exist. More than twenty news-

papers have been suppressed, some of them by the government, others by the mob, and the editors in various instances have barely escaped with their lives. Passports, as on the continent of Europe, are required; spies are everywhere employed; suspected persons, even ladies, are arrested, and their houses searched; and many officials, some high in office, are summarily dismissed, or, like the mayor of Washington, committed to prison for refusing to take the oath recently imposed to maintain the Union at all hazards. From all this, we are led to infer that the war is not so popular, nor the people of the Northern states so unanimous, as the government of Washington would represent. The pulpit is hushed, or speaks only to applaud. But we believe that if the voice of the wealth, intelligence, and piety of America could really be heard, their views would be found to be in accordance with those which England entertains. Detesting slavery, they abhor this civil slaughter. Much as they prize the Union, they feel that its integrity may be purchased at too high a rate. They would have allowed the South to secede, and waited, in the consciousness of right, to see them reap, as they soon must, the bitter fruit of their misconduct.

What the result may ultimately prove with regard to the Southern states, it is difficult even to conjecture. Virginia is divided in her allegiance; Kentucky seems disposed to proclaim herself an independent republic. Should she succeed, others of the more western states will, no doubt, follow her example; and instead of one, or even two great republics, there may, as in South America, spring up a score of such, to merge, sooner or later—for a time, at least—in a military despotism. Such are the speculations which reach us even from the other side of the Atlantic, where the possibility of a military despotism is already contemplated.

We can scarcely say that the prospect of the abolition of slavery becomes clearer as the war advances. General Fremont, no doubt, advancing into Missouri, a Confederate state, has proclaimed liberty to the negro; but we regard this merely as a military stratagem; it is not yet confirmed by the government of Washington; and even should that government emancipate all the slaves in the confederacy, their decree would go for nothing; the South has disowned their sovereignty, and it is highly improbable that it will ever be recovered. If it should, the negro will be sacrificed, and over his devoted head the North and South will agree to forget their hatreds: "Ease will retract vows made in pain, as violent and void."

Mrs. Beecher Stowe, in an impassioned and eloquent letter to Lord Shaftesbury, demands the sympathy of England for the Federal states, on the ground of their abhorrence of slavery, which, she tells us, it is their one aim and purpose to root out for ever. Unfortunately, the last state paper issued by the Federal government—that in which the Secretary of State pleads for a loan with an eloquence only less pathetic than her own—informs the world that the war was undertaken, and is still prosecuted, in defence of all the just rights and constitutional privileges of the Southern no less than the Northern states. And while the Dred Scott decision stands on their statute book, we know too well what such language means. We must be permitted to believe the American Secretary of State, though it compels us to question for once the accuracy of the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

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SAINT AUGUSTINE : HIS THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM AND ITS SOURCES.*

MR. BAILLIE'S biographical memoir is adapted for the general reader, not for the scholar. To originality, to profound thought, to any deep insight into the mind of St. Augustine, it lays no claim. But it is written in a kind and genial spirit, and with a real love for the memory of the man whose life it purposes to "photograph." We like it not the less, because the mind of the writer is of a gentle, rather than of a masculine, type. This, indeed, is almost a necessity in one who would be a biographer of Augustine; for, as he unites to a very great extent both feminine and masculine qualities of soul, a man of an altogether masculine cast of mind would fail to catch many a beautiful trait in his character. We may thank Mr. Baillie for introducing the "warm-hearted, loving, genial man," whom all true Christian theologians have learned to love, to the drawing-room and the fireside.

Our present purpose, however, is chiefly with the theology of Augustine. Those who merely wish for a biographical sketch of this great man will find it in Mr. Baillie's easy pages, and to him we refer them. Instead of repeating the story of his book, we shall be more profitably employed in noting the spiritual struggles and conflicts of Augustine's early life, and in observing the influence they exerted in giving its peculiar tone to the doctrinal system which he elaborated.

The theology of St. Augustine is pre-eminently subjective. His own religious experience is the source of his doctrinal system. From his own inward struggles; from his own temptations, and from his own falls; from the craving which he felt in his own heart after God; from the need of preventing

* Saint Augustine : A Biographical Memoir. By the Rev. John Baillie. London : Nisbet.

and sustaining grace which he had experienced in his own life; from the humility which was the result of conscious weakness; from the love which never left him through his turbulent youth, his teaching was to be drawn. He was to be fitted to contend with error, and to build up truth, not by any human training, but by a remarkable work of divine grace, carried on by the Spirit in the depths of his own soul. He was to be qualified to raise the standard in defence of pure evangelical religion, by exhausting all the shallow fountains of man's digging, and finding them insufficient. He was to become a polished weapon, mighty and effectual, by passing through a long, severe mental discipline. Such is the mode that it often seems good to the All-wise to pursue. God exercises those for whom He has great things in store. They are made to learn their complete dependence upon him. They are left to grope their way in darkness. They are left to struggle with sin. They have to go through many a rough fight with Satan, and have many a time to mourn their defeat and discomfiture. Tossed from side to side by the desires and passions of earth, and by the longings which they feel within them after something better, they experience the strife between the spirit and the flesh. Only after a long and violent conflict with a fiery nature do they attain to peace. It was by such means that God prepared the great hero of the sixteenth century for the work of the Reformation; and it was by similar means that God prepared the great teacher of the Western church in the fifth century for the work he had in store for him. His inward experience taught Augustine to understand the fundamental idea of Christian doctrine concerning man. The feeling of his own sinfulness prepared him to listen attentively to the Pauline doctrine concerning the depravity of the human race. The bondage in which a degrading vice long held him captive convinced him thoroughly of man's need of divine grace and assistance. The wonderful way in which he had been watched over and preserved led him to acknowledge the nature of God's eternal love. Even the thirty years of doubt, unbelief, heresy, and sin did their work. Trained, disciplined, and furnished with a rich store of christian experience, Augustine, in his own age by his personal character, in later times by the wide effect of his writings, was to be a powerful assertor of divine truth, and a means in the hand of God of bringing thousands to the peace and rest which is in Christ Jesus.

At the root of the Augustinian theology lies the consciousness of sin. This cardinal doctrine of all vital Christianity is the key to the mind of St. Augustine. Moral evil, contrary as it is to the divine goodness, whence comes it? Sin, disturbing as it does the harmony of the universe, whence has it birth? Is it a vital necessity attaching to all created existence? Is it part of the inherent imperfection of all save the Self-subsistent?

Or is it the result of two antagonistic principles? Does it spring from a cause apart from, and independent of, the Supreme Being? Is it beyond the control of God? Or again, is it the essential attribute of matter? Is it the necessity of corporeity? Is the sensuous and sensible by its very nature malignant? Such were the questions for which Augustine sought a solution. Nor with him were they mere speculative questions; mere questions of the school, about which it mattered little what the answer was, or whether any answer was found at all. To him heart, conscience, life, was involved in the answer. To him sin was not a word, or a name; it was a terrible reality. It had fallen like a dark shadow on the home of his childhood; its deadly poison had cankered his own life. He had stood face to face with sin, and he knew its accursed nature. The child brought up by the pious Monica, who had "drunk in with his mother's milk," and through the force of association "deeply treasured" the name of Christ, arrived at a correct knowledge of the hatefulness of sin long years before his conversion. Even while it enslaved him, and led him captive, he hated it. And to Augustine sin was not only the plague of his life; it rested as a weight on his understanding. The thought of sin, in its abstract ideality, tortured his speculative mind. Whence comes sin? was the ever recurring question; and again, whence comes this moral evil? His whole system of theology is interwoven with the attempt satisfactorily to solve this question in all its extent; and if he has not been able to find a solution of the mystery, yet, guided by the Word of God, and taught by the Holy Spirit, he has discovered an answer on which faith may for the present be content to rest.

As, then, consciousness of sin lies at the basis of his theology, let us attempt to trace out the causes which produced such a powerful sense of moral evil in the mind of Augustine.

First among these must be placed the painful scenes witnessed during childhood in his home. Patricius was not only a pagan; he was a pagan noted for the immorality of his life even among his heathen associates. He sought the gratification of his low pleasures in loose debaucheries and unbridled excesses. His leisure time was spent in drunken revels. His violence, in his excesses of rage, made him a terror to the inhabitants of Thagastè. His licentiousness provoked him to violate the marriage vow almost within a month of his nuptials. His brutality, not content with words, raised his hand against his meek and uncomplaining wife. From his own father the child was to draw his earliest conceptions of the hatefulness of sin. But this was not all. Side by side with the father was the mother. The vices of Patricius were made more striking by the virtues of Monica. It was by comparing the two—by contrasting the moral beauty of the one with the moral de-

formity of the other, that Augustine was to acquire his first lesson in life's conflict. And deeply did the lesson penetrate into his young heart.

But sin was to be brought nearer home to him. He was not only to see it in others ; he was to feel it in himself. The child was placed, by the care of Monica, among the Christian catechumens. From his birth he was a believer in Christ. In his early years we find him fully alive to the necessity of living in holiness. On one occasion, being attacked with violent pains in the stomach, he thought he was on the brink of the grave, and earnestly prayed to be baptised. A few days after he recovered, his terror wore off, and his baptism was deferred. Such convictions, under peculiar circumstances, are not unusual among children piously brought up ; and though this early impression soon faded from his mind, it is a proof that the religious teaching which he had received had not been wholly fruitless. His motive for refraining from baptism, because presumptuous sins after baptism were more deadly, shows at least a tender conscience. The prayer to escape severe chastisements at school, which he tells us he offered up, also prove him to have been, in some degree, under the influence of religious feelings ; and though this influence grew weaker as he grew older, and at last seemed buried by the sins in which he recklessly indulged, it was never wholly lost. In after life, when he penned his Confessions, he does not fail to mark strongly his sense of his sinfulness, of the anger, indolence, greediness, and falsehood, which characterised his childhood and boyhood. If his early training had not impressed him with a deep horror of sin, he would hardly have been disposed to treat so severely, or to regard as serious evils, practices which are common to all children ; and when it is remembered how strong the first impressions of life are, and how no after-conduct can altogether eradicate them, it will not seem fanciful to lay much stress upon this early training in enumerating the causes which modified his theological system.

From this time to his eighteenth year he threw off all the restraints of religion. His life, he tells us, passed among scenes of baseness and corruption. Idle, and fond of play and amusements, he invented innumerable falsehoods to enable him to gratify his tastes. For his own gratification, or in order to gain favour among his associates, he was in the habit of pilfering from the cellar and store-room of his parents. The desire of excelling others led him to take unfair advantages, and to cheat, at play. The more noble qualities of his character, instead of preserving him from harm, only led him deeper into sin. His warm ardent temperament drove him into excesses. His passions hurried him through a whirlpool of flagitiousness and vice. He drained the cup of dissipation to the dregs.

God was forgotten, his mother's warnings and tears were disregarded; the voice of conscience had ceased its protests.

But God had not forgotten him. All his joys, he says, were dashed with a bitter alloy, which deprived them of their sweetness. He is to go his own way, that he may learn the vanity of pleasures where God is not. He who brings good out of evil shall cause good fruit to result even from this bad seed.

A change was at hand. In his eighteenth year, while studying eloquence and rhetoric at Carthage, in the course of his reading he fell in with the *Hortensius* of Cicero, a book not now extant, which contained an exhortation to the study of philosophy. This book was the instrument of effecting a remarkable change in his views. He gave up the hope of reputation by eloquence, and felt a most ardent thirst after wisdom. "This book," he says, "altered my affections, and turned my prayer to thyself, oh Lord! and made me have other purposes and desires. Every vain hope at once became worthless to me, and I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began now to arise, that I might return to thee." Yet Cicero could not supply his want. The name of Christ was not there; and whatsoever was without this name, however just, learned, and polite, could not wholly carry away his heart.

And so he has recourse to the Scriptures. The time, however, had not yet arrived for his conversion. That was still hid with God. Many trials, many vicissitudes, many internal struggles, many a fight with the lustful flesh and the proud doubting spirit, had yet to be sustained. He had learned something of the curse of bodily sins, now he was to learn the vanity of all systems of man's devising to save him from them and give him peace. He could not yet stoop to become a child, that he might become wise. He could not yet brook the idea of yielding his pride of learning to the law of Christ. He found the Scriptures mean, not worthy to be compared with the stateliness of Tully.

Yet something must be done. The heathen author had taught him the vanity of his present pursuits, and he could no longer find satisfaction in them. He was thirsting after wisdom. He longed to attain to a knowledge of the truth. He wanted to solve the mystery of his being. The question which had perplexed his childish years came back with redoubled force. The evil in the world is once more the great problem on which all his thoughts are set, and which imperiously demands a reply. To the Bible he would not stoop. His life furnished him with the feeling of inward wants, but it could find nothing to supply the want it called into being. His experience furnished him with a knowledge of sin, but was silent as to its cause, and the remedy to be provided. The church demanded

the submission of the intellect, the veiling of reason before the authority of the Word ; and that he was not yet willing to give. Yet the longing will not be stifled ; the craving will not be stilled. Something or other must be found to quiet the thirst by which he is consumed.

In this situation he fell in with certain men who were always talking of the truth. They held out the promise of clear knowledge, and a satisfactory solution of all questions relating to things human and divine. They made a great parade of seeking truth with liberal impartiality. The mysteries of which they spoke were the more alluring on account of their enigmatical character. They made no scruple, it is true, of calling the Scriptures a muddy cistern in comparison with their own incomparable philosophy ; at the same time they did not hesitate to appropriate Christian phraseology. The names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which were perpetually in their mouths, lulled all the suspicion of the young neophyte. Surely the light and knowledge after which he panted was with these men. In their light he should see light. Augustine became a Manichæan.

Manichæism was founded in the third century by a Persian priest, named Manes or Mani. It was a bold eclectic scheme, by which he endeavoured to unite the Zoroastrian Parseism with a mixture of Buddhism and Christianity. Persian dualism was the starting point of his system. He supposed two principles, absolutely opposed to each other ; on the one side Primal Light (Ormuzd), from which nothing but good can proceed ; on the other, Darkness (Ahriman), which is essentially evil and malignant. Allied with these two principles are their several creations. The *Æons*, the channels for the diffusion of light, proceeding from the primal light ; corrupt matter flowing from the primeval darkness. For some time these two kingdoms existed wholly separate from one another. In the course of ages, however, the prince of darkness became aware of the existence of light, and immediately commenced hostilities. The Ruler of the kingdom of light, in order to guard the boundaries, caused an *Æon*, the mother of life, to emanate from himself. This *Æon* produced the first man, with a view of opposing him to the prince of darkness. The primitive man is worsted in the conflict ; he is in danger of falling into the kingdom of darkness, and in his distress seeks aid from the ruler of light. The living Spirit is sent to his assistance, and is victorious. In the meantime the powers of darkness had succeeded in appropriating some particles of the divine light. Mixing this with the corrupt mass of matter, they create the parents of the human race. The beings engendered from this stock are possessed of two souls ; one sensitive and lustful, owing its existence to the evil principle ; the

other rational and immortal, a particle of the primal light which was carried away by the army of darkness, and immersed into the mass of malignant matter.

Such was the answer which Augustine received from the Manichæans to his inquiries respecting the origin and nature of Evil. We may well pause to ask how a powerful mind like his could rest in such a wild theory for more than nine years.

Augustine was ignorant of real Christianity. The pursuits of life had now obliterated all the distinctive teaching of Christianity which he had received in childhood. The Bible was a sealed book to him through his own perverseness. There was, therefore, much in Manichæism to attract his mind. However dark its fanciful theories may appear, when brought face to face with the full blaze of Christianity, it had borrowed enough from the religion of Christ to give it a faint glimmering in the darkness by which it was surrounded. While it failed to do so, it professed to find a remedy for man's sin, and a supply for his wants. In its doctrine of a conflict between good and evil; in its teaching concerning the mission of the servants of Ormuzd to exert an influence on the world, and to counteract the destructive influence of Ahriman; in its doctrine of the final victory of the kingdom of light, and of the glorious regeneration of the world; the religion of Zoroaster presented points of agreement and union with Christianity. The need of purification, which forms so prominent a doctrine in the system of Manes, answers (apparently) to the central idea of Christianity, the need of redemption through Christ. The entrance of the divine essence into the forms of human nature might, to a mind like Augustine's, be made to answer to the Christian doctrine of the atonement. In the mood in which he then was, the idea of a primal self-subsistent Evil Spirit would find more acceptance with him than the Bible teaching concerning a fallen spirit and a depraved nature. Nor would the materialistic pantheism which pervaded the whole system be a stumbling-block to his acceptance of it. Every age, and our own among the number, furnishes lamentable proof what attractions pantheism possesses for acute minds when unrenewed by the Spirit of God.

The chief inducement to join the Manichees was the promise they held out of affording a rational answer to the question, "Whence is evil?" But this pernicious heresy led the imagination astray as well as the understanding. The claim or affectation of mystery exercises an influence on almost all men; but it is especially powerful with very young men. The Manichæans understood perfectly how to take advantage of this feeling. They divided their converts into two classes, the Auditors, and the Elect. The auditors formed the great bulk of the people. To them the writings of Manes might be read,

and his doctrines presented in their symbolical and mythical form; but they were not allowed to receive any explanation of their inner meaning. This was reserved for the elect. All, therefore, that was enigmatical in their mysterious-sounding jargon was supposed to conceal the higher wisdom in its obscurity. Augustine was carried away by their mystical phraseology. He hoped, by attaining to the rank of the elect, to have all his doubts made clear, and to reach the heavenly knowledge after which all his soul panted.

For a time he threw himself heart and soul into this heresy. It was in this way that he was to be taught that the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God. He tells us, that he was so infatuated with the Manichæan follies, that he drew his friends into them, and with them practised the impieties of the sect. To reform his moral life, they were, as might have been expected, powerless. When the strong man armed keeps the citadel of the human heart in possession, it requires something more powerful than sonorous words to drive him from it. Nothing but the Holy Spirit working through the love of Christ can avail to subdue sin. While Augustine was praising the power of the Primal Light, his works showed only too clearly that the light which he fancied he possessed was darkness. During this period he was living as the heathen lived, in open vice; and notwithstanding the expostulation of the sensible Nebridius, was in the habit of consulting nativity-casters and astrologers.

Manichæism was to be tried and found worthless. Upon his return to Thegastè he renewed his friendship with a young man of kindred tastes and pursuits, who had been his school-fellow and associate from infancy. All the noblest qualities of Augustine appear to have been called forth by this strong affection, and an affection formed itself between them which may be placed side by side with that of David and Jonathan. The young man was a Christian; but the faith which he professed had not made any deep impression on his heart. The powerful mind of his friend soon gained the ascendancy, and he was drawn aside into the superstitions and follies which Monica was bewailing in her son. The Thegastian was seized with a fever. As he lay senseless and in extreme danger, he was baptised without his knowledge. After his baptism, contrary to all expectation, he rallied. Augustine, regarding the Christian rite with indifference, and never doubting that the teaching which he had instilled into his mind would retain its power, attempted, as soon as an opportunity offered, to turn the ceremony into ridicule. But he was mistaken. The sick man shrank from him as an enemy; and admonished him, if he would remain his friend, to forbear such language. The doctrines of Manes could give no comfort in death. However

much his intellectual subtleties might amuse the mind, or occupy the understanding, something more was needed to give support in the last solemn hour. A title of Christianity, telling of pardon and reconciliation through the blood of Christ, was at that time worth all the Manichæism in the world. In a few days there was a relapse; the fever returned, and he died.

Augustine was overwhelmed. As his friend found that Manichæism could give no comfort in death, so was he to learn that it had no power to console under a heart-deep sorrow. The triumph of Christian faith must have done something to shake his confidence; his own utter desolation would do much more. Ingenious theories could not fill the void which was at his heart. An impersonal God was but a cold resting-place for a weary soul. In vain he attempted to approach God; in vain he tried to raise his crushed spirit heavenward. The god he worshipped was no God, but a phantom; a mere creation of his own imagination. "If I offered to discharge my load," he writes, "that it might rest, it glided through the void, and came rushing down again upon me; and I had remained to myself a hapless spot, where I could neither be, nor be from thence. For whither should my heart flee from my heart? Whither should I flee from myself? whither not follow myself? And yet I fled out of my country; for so should my eyes less look for him, where they were not wont to see him. And thus from Thegastè I came to Carthage."

Yet he remained a Manichee, for he knew not where to seek for something better. And the untiring Monica still prayed on, watching and waiting in faith and patience till the Lord's time should come.

The dissatisfaction in Manichæism, which his friend's death and his own grief had caused, was increased by Faustus. Faustus was a bishop of the Manichees, distinguished for his eloquence and erudition. By his own sect he was accounted a very oracle of wisdom. He was said to be exquisitely skilled in the liberal sciences. He was spoken of as most knowing in all valuable knowledge. Scarcely had he reached the city, when numbers were entangled by him through the lure of his smooth language. To the all-accomplished Faustus Augustine had recourse. He found him an agreeable speaker, and one who could deliver oracular sentences in a most persuasive tone. The address and pathos of his language charmed him. His facility of expression delighted him. But Augustine's mind was unsatisfied. Faustus' ignorance in science, joined with his pretensions to infallibility, staggered his inquirer, and led him to conceive doubts with respect to his whole system. On a nearer study, he found him ignorant of the liberal sciences, and unacquainted with philosophy. Grammar, and some Ciceronian phrases, formed his stock in trade, and supplied

him with a copious diction, which received additional ornament from his natural vivacity of imagination. Such a man could do nothing to satisfy the wants of Augustine's conscience. The power of Manichæism over him was at an end.

The hope of discovering truth now left him altogether. Still nominally a Manichee, his predilections began to go towards the Academic philosophy, which commends a state of doubt and uncertainty. All around him seemed shadowy and unreal. He was longing for something substantial on which to rest, and could find nothing. His soul was crying out for peace, and no peace was given him. For he was not yet willing to become a little child. He had not yet acquired true humility. God was leading him, though he recognised not the leading hand. He is to pass through a little more discipline. The gold is not yet quite refined. He has not yet learned all the extent of his poverty and emptiness.

From Carthage he had removed to Rome. From Rome, by the influence of Symmachus and his Manichæan friends, he is sent as professor of rhetoric to Milan.

At Milan the great work is to be accomplished. Augustine, the Manichæan, the Academic, the Platonist, is to be changed into Augustine the Christian Father. His sensuality is to be purged away by the renewing power of the gospel; his pride to be exchanged for humility; his earthly learning to become pale in the light of heavenly wisdom, and all the longings of his soul to be satisfied in Christ.

But, before proceeding, let us pause to inquire into the influence of Manichæism over his theological system. It prepared his mind for the Bible teaching concerning sin. His own conscience had shown him sin as a curse, before he joined the Manichees. He came to them in the hope of having this mystery cleared up. Instead of affording him any practical solution which should work in every-day life, they unfold before his view an abstract speculative dualism without an atom of moral power. Very different was it when he turned for instruction to his Bible. There he learned that sin was not an accident, not a necessity, but the result of a fallen, depraved nature,—a curse indeed, brought by angels and by man over a creation which had left the hand of the Creator fair and spotless. His dissatisfaction with Manes' scheme of redemption made him more open to the Christian scheme. He longed for present deliverance. Manes taught that evil was a necessity of the matter which formed his body, and which could never be removed; but that at last his spirit, formed of the primal light, should be absorbed and reunited with Armuzd, the source of light. In his Bible he read of a redemption through Christ which should not only save him in the future, but give him present deliverance from the sin which enslaved him. The heresy he

embraced taught him a lesson of humility. He went to men who professed by wisdom to know God, and he found himself miserably deceived in all his expectations. He hoped by scientific researches to attain to knowledge; and his scientific researches led him into darkness that might be felt. But having tried, and learned by his own experience the insufficiency of all earthly wisdom to measure Divine truth, he became disposed to sit as a little child, and learn from the revelation in which God had declared His will. Hence his earnestness in maintaining his fundamental position, that faith is the precursor of knowledge, and that a rational belief is not the result of human philosophy, but is consequent upon the reception of the truth in the heart. His own weakness and falls, more than any outward system of belief, showed him the insufficiency of human nature, and the absolute necessity of prevenient grace. But his gropings after an impersonal God, and the utter uselessness of pantheism to assist him in the time of his sorrow, must have disposed him to welcome a book which spoke to him of a personal living God who would be a father to His people. So far the influence was good, by bringing about a reaction. Some things, however, which he had learned in the school of Manes, clung to him, and in some measure marred his character. Thus, speculatively, Augustine was inclined to dwell, in his thoughts, exclusively upon the opposition between the spiritual world and the world of sense; he acquired the habit of contemplating the divine rather as simply opposed to the things of sense and to sensuous appearances, than as opposed to the self-seeking tendency of the spirit of man; and was too much inclined to derive man's inclination to sin as a propensity to the things of sense, rather than as a moral evil pervading his nature in its triple capacity of body, soul, and spirit. A more practical matter, and one which was a fertile source of injury to the church, was the light in which he regarded marriage. Though his Manichæism undoubtedly strengthened his views on this matter, it is not wholly responsible for them. The early church very soon learned from the Eastern philosophy to disparage the holy state of matrimony. At the time in which Augustine lived, all were loud in the praise of virginity; and the one or two who ventured to raise their voice against this debasing practice were considered little better than heretics. It must always be matter for regret, that the great Western Father, instead of opposing the stream, should, both by his example and writings, have done much to increase the evil.

While at Milan he came under the influence of Ambrose. He profited by his sermons, and became more and more convinced of the falsity of the calumnies he had received against the divine books. He discovered that the expression of Moses,

that man was made in the likeness of God, was not understood by any believer to imply that God was materialistic, and in human form ; an error of which he had for many years accused the church. He desired to unbosom himself to the good bishop, but found no opportunity for a long conversation, on account of the many engagements of Ambrose. It was not to man that Augustine was to owe his conversion.

Platonism furnished the means of transition from the errors of Manichæism to the truths of the Gospel. The "Moses who spake Greek" was to be the stepping-stone towards a purer religion. Mr. Baillie is very loath to admit that there can be any good at all in Plato ; he thinks that the Latin translation of the great Grecian sage was only "a new snare" to entangle him. Not so thought Augustine. He shall give the account in his own words :—"Therein I read, not indeed in the very words, but to the very same purpose, enforced by many and divers reasons, that in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God ; all things were made by him, and without him was nothing made ; that which was made by him is life, and the life was the life of men, and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not. And that the soul of man, though it bears witness to the light, yet itself is not that light ; but the Word of God being God, is that true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And that He was in the world, and that the world was made by Him, and the world knew him not." Yet Plato, though enabled to penetrate more deeply than any other uninspired writer into the truths of natural religion, could not with his scanty glimmer supply the place of revelation. Augustine adds :—"But that He came to His own, and His own received Him not ; but as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, as many as believed in His name—this I read not there."

"Again," he continues, "I read there that God the Word was born, not of flesh nor of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God. But that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, I read not there. I traced in those books, that it was many and divers ways said that the Son was in the form of the Father, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, for that naturally He was of the same substance. But that He emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man ; that He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, and that the death of the cross ; and that God hath therefore exalted Him from the dead, and given Him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth ; and that every tongue should confess that the Lord

Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father—those books have not. That before all times and above all times Thy Only-begotten Son remaineth unchangeably, co-eternal with Thee, and that of His fulness souls receive that they may be blessed; and that by participation of wisdom abiding in them, they are renewed so as to be wise—is there. But that in due time Christ died for the ungodly, and that Thou sparedst not Thine only Son, but deliveredst Him for us all—is not there. For Thou hidest these things from the wise, and revealest them unto babes; that they that labour and are heavy-laden might come unto Him, and He refresh them, because He is meek and lowly in heart; and the meek He directeth in judgment, and the gentle He teacheth His ways, beholding our lowliness and trouble, and forgiving our sins. But such as are lifted up in the lofty walk of some would-be sublimer learning, hear not Him saying, Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest to your souls.”

To the study of Plato succeeded the Epistles of St. Paul. But the strong man was not yet vanquished. Augustine was thirsting after honours, profits, and marriage. To be divorced from the enjoyments of the world, and from female society, was an idea he could not tolerate. His mother was solicitous for his marriage, that in that state he might receive baptism. At her request he made a promise of marriage to a young person; and, as she was too young to enter into the matrimonial state, he agreed to wait two years. But his affections had little to do with the engagement, and he still lived in sin. But God’s Spirit was already at work. He daily became more miserable. The fear of death, and the dread of a future judgment, were unceasingly before his eyes. He could obtain no respite nor peace. His soul was in a tumult; he roared for the very disquietude of his heart. God was humbling him, and abasing his pride and sinfulness in the dust. He was proving the full bitterness of seeking pleasure in forbidden paths. By inward goads God was tormenting him, that he should be ill at ease till Christ was manifested to his inward sight.

And now the full time had come. He was sitting one day conversing with his friend Alypius. Pontitianus, an officer in the Roman army, but a zealous Christian, happened to come in. Upon the play-table a book was lying. Opening it he found to his surprise that it was a copy of St. Paul’s Epistles. The conversation took a religious turn. Pontitianus narrated to his two countrymen the history of Anthony, the Egyptian hermit, who had given up all his property and lived a life of solitude in order to devote himself unreservedly to the service of Christ. Augustine and Alypius had never heard of Anthony; and the story of his devotedness and self-sacrifice left a deep

impression on their minds. Pontitianus left the house. Augustine was in a violent agitation. His forehead, cheeks, eyes, colour, tone of voice, all bore witness to the tumult that was going on within. "What ails us?" he exclaimed. "What is it? what hast thou heard? The unlearned rise up and take heaven by force; and we, with our heartless learning, lo! we wallow in flesh and blood." With the Epistles of St. Paul in his hand, he rushes into the garden belonging to the house. Alypius follows him. Terrible is the struggle within him. To part from the vanities of the world, to give up his accustomed dissipations, to cease from pleasures which habit had made necessities, seemed like parting from life itself. His mind was wavering; his will tossed to and fro, undecided, agitated. He groaned in spirit. He wept in the bitterness of his soul. Leaving Alypius, he threw himself under a fig-tree in a remote corner of the garden. He cried to God to save him. "Oh Lord! how long? How long? How long, Lord, wilt thou be angry? Remember not the sins of my youth! How long? How long? To-morrow? And again, to-morrow? Why not to-day? Why not now? Why not in this hour put an end to my shame?" And as he was thus weeping and praying in his despair and contrition, suddenly a child's voice from a neighbouring house fell upon his ear, "Tolle, lege; tolle, lege!" It was to him as a voice from heaven. He rose up hastily, and returned to the place where he had been sitting with Alypius. There were St. Paul's Epistles. He seizes them, opens them, and reads the first passage that meets his eye: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." It was the hour of the new birth. He read no more. At the end of the sentence all his doubts and perplexities vanished. He closed the book, and gave it, with a cheerful countenance, to Alypius. Alypius begged to see what he had read. He shewed him, and they read still further: "Him that is weak in the faith, receive ye." This Alypius applied to himself. Together the two friends went to impart the joyful news of God's mercy and grace to the widowed mother of Augustine.

So were Monica's prayers abundantly answered, her faith plentifully rewarded, and her mourning turned into joy.

It is not our purpose to follow Augustine to his baptism by Ambrose, nor to record the saintly virtues and excellencies of the Christian bishop. It does not enter into our plan to trace the maturing action of Divine grace on this grievous sinner, as we have watched it changing the imperious, proud, worldly-wise, sensual rhetorician, into the humble, child-like, God-serving teacher of the church. Still less do we care to review his treatment of the Donatists, which has left a stain upon his

name; or his disputes with the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, from which the church of God, even at this remote period, is reaping indirect benefit. Our design was to note down the struggles and conflicts of his early life, for the purpose of marking how they affected his theology. This we have done; and nothing now remains for us but to conclude with a few brief remarks on the service he rendered during his lifetime to his own generation, and on the influence which, after his death, his writings exercised on the whole course of Western theology.

Let us sum up, and gather into one, the distinctive features of his doctrinal system. At the root of the Augustinian theology lies, as we remarked at starting, the consciousness of sin. His hard search after wisdom, and the ill-success he met with in endeavouring to discover it, taught him humility, and gave him his favorite stand-point, that faith must necessarily precede religious knowledge. He had learned in the experimental school the total depravity of man's nature, and the necessity of prevenient grace to enable him to return to God. The need of redemption, and the preciousness of the blood of Christ, by which the atonement was provided, was also taught him in some measure by his life. The instability of his own will, and the difficulty which he felt in willing to do right, gave an additional bias to his mind in favour of the Predestinarian doctrines, which are distinctly taught by St. Paul, and led him sometimes to push them to an extreme. But the great secret of the holiness of his life, and his usefulness as a minister and teacher, was his love to God, God in Christ, a personal God revealed in His Son. The reaction from Manichæan pantheism, joined to his own ardent and passionate temperament, prepared him to throw himself without reserve upon the living personal Father, and the living personal Redeemer. We must add to this the sympathy which the remembrance of his own troubles enabled him to feel for those who were passing through similar soul conflicts.

The church in Augustine's time was gradually departing from the simplicity of the gospel. State patronage, riches, pride, pomp, the exalted and influential position of the bishops, the feuds with heretics, the tendency to enlist the civil power for the persecution of opponents, had done much to tarnish its first splendour. Monastic darkness and superstition are on the increase. The Roman bishops are slowly, but surely, arrogating to themselves a power which shall eventually overshadow both throne and people. The forms of godliness are preserved; but its power is lacking. Christians are in the habit of frequenting theatres, and being present at the games of the Circus, and mixing without scruple in the vanities which once were confined to the heathen. In this state of things, God raised up Augustine to do the work of a revivalist, and to stir up a spirit of holiness

among his people. His influence over the West was unbounded. The African church, as one man, looked to him as its head. Innocent and Zozimus at Rome did not venture to oppose him, or gave way before him. His sermons, filled and overflowing with Christ, were true revival sermons. The work of Divine grace on his own heart had effectually qualified him to contend with corruptions in others. Not only members of the church, but even heretics, eagerly sought the benefit of his pastoral labours. Divine truth, which had been almost buried amid the schisms which distracted the north of Africa, raised its head again. The heretics were confounded, and Fortunatus, the great leader of the Manichees, was obliged to retire from Hippo in confusion.

Not content with labouring with unbounded zeal and devotedness, he, as it were, multiplied himself. In the monastery, which he instituted at Hippo, he trained under his own eye men for the ministry, and qualified them to teach evangelical truth. Possidius tells us, that he was personally acquainted with no less than ten bishops, men of undoubted piety, who were brought up in Augustine's institution. Nor did the good end here. These men, when appointed to sees, copied the example of their master, founded in their turn training institutions for the Pastorate; and by this means, the doctrines of grace and faith and love were diffused and enforced with increased vigour throughout the whole Western church.

But however powerful his personal influence might have been, that was in its nature circumscribed. It is in the writings of St. Augustine that his chief influence is to be sought. His Confessions, though scarcely fit for the general reader,—coarse in their allusions to a life of sin, and not by any means scriptural in their doctrinal views of the Sacraments, and of some other points,—were no doubt of use to many who were labouring under similar conflicts. Here they could see their own state and feelings analysed. Here they could trace out the wonderful way in which God sees fit to deal with men's souls. Here, when tempted to despair, they might find comfort; here, when doubting the power of Divine grace, they might draw hope. And in later times, when the Bible became more and more rare, and difficult of access; when papal decrees made it a sealed book, and inquisitors burned both it and its reader in one fire; many a nameless monk in his monastery, many a priest in his parish, and, here and there, some layman more concerned about eternal things than his fellows, would learn from the Confessions of Augustine the power of Divine grace on the soul, and the necessity of a personal application of the blood of Christ. Drawing from this source, he might, dimly and half in ignorance, yet not without some precious fruit, proclaim a justification by

faith, instead of a salvation through the meritoriousness of good works, or the intercession of saints and Virgin. Other, even accessible, books were disfigured and made incomprehensible by the barbarous phraseology of scholasticism; but the Confessions of Augustine were so plain, that the merest child could understand them. And, with all their faults, few of the writings of the Fathers have done more good in their day.

The City of God, the commentaries on St. Paul and other Scriptures, and the Pelagian documents, exercised a widely extended influence. The last named writings succeeded in crushing Pelagianism altogether, and were not without some success against the milder error of semi-Pelagianism. When it is considered of what vital importance this controversy was; how the doctrine of Pelagius not only exalted human nature indefinitely, but denied altogether the reception of that Divine assisting grace which can alone make it better, it is impossible to over-estimate the service which Augustine rendered to the whole church in destroying such a pernicious heresy.

Augustine has been accused of laying the foundation for the scholastic theology. This is not correct. The scholastic theology was essentially Aristotelian; the theology of Augustine, as a philosophy, was eminently Platonic. It was the Aristotelian syllogism which gave rise to the jargon of the schools, and called into being the love of theory and idle speculation which characterised it. In one sense, his theology became the groundwork for the development of the theology of the middle ages; for all the good which scholasticism shrouded within itself (and it was not inconsiderable) was borrowed from the great African doctor. His was the salt which preserved it. His writings were the living, and life-imparting power, which prevented it from being wholly petrified. The practical character, inherent from the very first in Western theology, was stamped anew on it by Augustine with a force which a thousand years could not entirely obliterate. Luther, whose practical mind had not much sympathy with the endless disputations and verbal quibbles of scholasticism, declared Augustine to be the greatest doctor in the church, and his writings, after the sacred Scriptures, the most useful in the world.

One instance from modern times will suffice to show that Augustine's power is not diminishing. In the seventeenth century the *Augustinus* of Jansen, consisting of little else but quotations from this father, was published. Popes and Jesuits attacked it; but simple priests and feeble women received the doctrine, and were prepared to suffer for it. Jansenism, first published in Holland, spread rapidly in France. Persecution was resorted to, but in vain. The tenets the book contained were only more rapidly disseminated. The doctrines of grace

answered far better than the doctrine of merit to the need of man's heart ; they had only to be heard, to be eagerly received by longing souls. It is no insignificant witness to the world-wide and undying power of this great master, that his writings had only to be unearthed and read, to give birth, in Catholic countries, to a real, though one-sided and unconscious, Protestantism.

Let us, in conclusion, learn a practical lesson from Augustine's life. It is this. Nothing but Divine grace in the heart has power to subdue sin ; but, by God's blessing, Divine grace can effectually subdue it in its most aggravated forms. And one other lesson may be remembered, especially in these times of rationalistic attacks upon the Scriptures. Not by the wisdom of the wise, not by the understanding of the prudent, not by the learning of the scribe, is the gospel apprehended ; but to the meek, the lowly, and the loving does Christ manifest Himself ; for it has seemed good to the Father to hide these things from the wise and prudent, and to reveal them unto babes.

H. N. B.

ROME AND ITALY : THEIR STATE AND PROSPECTS.

1. *Rome in 1860.* By Edward Dicey. Cambridge : Macmillan and Co.
2. *Italy in Transition.* By William Arthur. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co.
3. *A City for the Pope ; or, the Solution of the Roman Question.* By the Rev. Richard Burgess, B.D., &c. &c. London : Ridgway.
4. *Allocuzioni detta dalla Santità di N.S. Papa Pio IX. nel Concistoro segreto del 18 Marzo 1861.* Roma.
5. *Count Cavour, his Life and Career.* By Basil H. Cooper. London.

It is pleasant to us to trace the connection between England and Italy ; to notice how the resurrection and the progress of a great nation, which had fallen so low, may be ascribed in some measure to those remote islands of the North which the poets and historians of Rome branded as barbarous. In two ways England is discharging her debt to Italy : one way, which statesmen notice and politicians take account of ; the other less ostensible, but not less important. For nearly forty years the Italians have observed the English resorting to their country ; and among the many faults and follies we committed, they learned to value our habits and opinions. From our words and lives

they saw that private character may be pure, and that domestic life may be happy; and tracing these habits, which were strange to them, to their avowed cause, the English religion, they discovered that there may be a reality in a faith, and that all worship is not priestcraft. Scattered by the hands of many, endorsed by the lives of others, the religious writings which pervade England have for many years, though in secret, been circulated through Italy. And in Tuscany especially they have borne fruits which attracted the notice of a persecuting church and a despotic government, and led to the exile of men of station, and to the imprisonment of men of a humbler rank. Still, unaffected by this, the work went on, and English men and English women were diligent labourers in it.

Within our own days there came a different and more startling evidence of English influence. The last ten years have wrought a change in the political condition of Italy which has surprised the world. Within the last six years, a small country, Sardinia, tossed about and sacrificed for centuries in the struggles between Austria and France, reckoned of no account by the great powers of Europe, and hardly placed among the secondary states, has swelled at once from a despicable province into a great nation. The man to whom it owes the change, and who in the height of his work has been hurried from the scene, Cavour, avowedly formed his thoughts and modelled his political system on the institutions and the practice of England. With a fixed idea, which he held from his youth, that Italy would become a nation, and that he would be its minister, he prepared himself, a young Italian nobleman, for his future mission by coming to England, examining on the spot our customs, and studying what its statesmen said and did. He had read our history, he had traced the characters of our great statesmen in past times, he was familiar with the deeds and speeches of Chatham and Pitt and Canning, he observed us while our constitution was undergoing a change in 1832, and in that season of ferment when the principles of our polity, of our church, our education; and our poor laws were debated and settled by the ablest men, by Brougham and Peel, Stanley, Graham, and Russell, the young Italian sat under the gallery of the House of Commons, watched the turns of debate, heard the great speakers, and became imbued with the thoughts and opinions, the eagerness and the moderation of the English mind. Modelled on this type, there grew up under his hands the parliament of Piedmont, the limits of its monarchy, the freedom of its debates, its public press, and its trade. The firm character of the man, stamped by English sentiment, and imbued with English purpose, rose, at first single-handed, at length with a large following, to confront on one hand the prejudices of bigots and the traditions of the past, on the other

the passion for wild change and the vague theories of democrats. To this Piedmont owes her freedom as well as her religious liberty, and from this arose the restraints laid upon the church of Rome, which solved with English moderation that hard problem, how to keep a church endowed, which was in theory intolerant, yet to allow liberty to other minds. The statesman who has succeeded Cavour, and who inherits both his traditions and his virtues, Ricasoli, has passed his years, before he entered public life, in studying English writings and institutions.

As Italy has reached this point in her history through the example of England, it is interesting to ask, what is her actual position, and what are likely to be her prospects? On both points there is a keen controversy. On her political state one great party among us speaks with exulting satisfaction; another party, under the highest conservative authority, expresses regret and doubts. On her religious state there is an equal difference of opinion. Some, like her great orator Gavazzi, joyful and confident, predict the speedy downfall of Rome, and the establishment of an independent church; others, and they are by no means confined to the blind advocates and orators of the papacy, consider that such is the influence of the priesthood, and such the strong position of the pope as their head, that it is impossible to conceive any settlement of this problem, which would not either tear up the structure of society, or leave an insoluble difficulty in the heart of the Italian kingdom.

Let us address a word, at the outset, to one element, extrinsic to Italy, yet dovetailed into it and affecting it with a disturbing influence. What will France do, and how will Napoleon act? The papacy owes its maintenance in Rome to his troops. Will he keep them, or will he withdraw them? While we write, events may settle the question, and upset or supersede our calculations. No doubt the opinion of Cavour is just, that Napoleon's policy hangs on events; not daring or inventive, but wary and shrewd, waiting for circumstances to show what serves best to carry out the ruling idea of his mind, to make himself strong in France by feeding French vanity with the sentiment of French power. This idea ruled the great Napoleon; it guides the emperor, it explains his desire of peace, and his preparations for war. But the removal of his army from Rome encounters this difficulty: To let the pope fall to the ground, would be a shock and a scandal. It would disgust the faithful, it would infuriate the priests, it would turn against Napoleon the revenge and passions of thousands. This might hazard, perhaps would shake, his dynasty. Yet the position of his army in Rome is intolerable: it is odious to Italy, it is disgusting to his own soldiers, it involves him in the disgrace of the papal tyranny, it brings a stain on his own reputation, it damages him with a large party through Europe. Anything

which would rescue him from this position, and put an end to these disputes and difficulties, would be hailed by him as a godsend. For this he waits anxiously. To events and the unknown future he and we leave the problem.

But reverting to what is within Italy, and depends upon herself, we can speak with more certainty. The opinions of the Italians on the temporal power of the pope are clear. All the works which head our article give concurrent evidence; they show that a national patriotism has taken possession of the Italian mind. We lay aside the exception in the Neapolitan states, for we should hardly accept brigands as exponents of popular opinion. They have their objects, and do their work. Ever since we have known Italy, brigandage has been rife, from Terracina to the heel of Italy; the villages and woods of the Apennines have been infested by a set of robbers too lazy to work, but living by the plunder of strangers, and by levying black mail upon the villagers. These men have now received a large increase by the disbanded soldiers of the royal army, and by the outlaws of the Roman states, pushed out on this ill-fated province by Monsignor de Mèrode and his accomplices. Unluckily they were not dealt with at once. Government was weak and listless. They have become a body truly formidable from arms and numbers, and it will now take much time and labour to crush them. Even if they are driven from the precincts of Naples, they will be scattered through the mountains, and will lurk in the glens and highlands of Calabria; and as the Scotch Highlands were infested, after our Revolution, by the Campbells and Macgregors of their day, and as Ireland has been harassed down to our own times by Rapparees and Ribbonmen, it will take a generation before the embers of this fire are quite trodden out. But it will be done, if the hand of government is firm, and the firmer the grasp the quicker the cure. But in the rest of Italy, every one who talks and thinks, as Mr. Arthur shows us, the inhabitants of towns, tradesmen, artizans, women as well as men, have one mind and one voice. They will have a country, a king, a kingdom, a parliament, one capital. Before this united feeling all obstacles fall—the schemes of Napoleon, the designs of the exiled princes, the sympathies of Russia and Austria, and the projects of the Papists. If the pope continues to thwart this feeling by keeping Rome, the only result is to undermine respect and sympathy for the papacy. He has threatened excommunication; that threat has been met by laughter. Throughout Italy neither men nor women care for the pope's curse. If he orders the bishops to close the churches, the bishops are powerless against the people. A large body of the priests feel as citizens, and side with their country. Such a state of things, if it continues, must shake the foundations of the papal power. The length to which this danger has reached

has appeared unequivocally, and it has found able interpreters. Cavour, in one of his last speeches, let fall intelligible hints that the pope had better take the terms offered, as a schism was at hand. The parliament of Piedmont cut the knot with the sword. Three years ago they braved the pope and defied him. They suppressed the monasteries and convents; they trampled under foot the papal excommunication; they coerced the recalcitrant bishops; they forced the priests to perform their religious services in spite of the pope. The same course has been taken last winter in the Neapolitan states. Ricasoli in Tuscany did the same. Milan and the whole of Lombardy set the like example. Garibaldi's language against the papacy was strong and plain—as strong as that of Luther or Savonarola; yet Garibaldi is the most popular man in Italy. When he lifted up his hand, two-thirds of Italy ran to his side. In the face of these facts, we cannot escape the evident conclusion: The Italians have made up their mind—no sovereignty for the pope—Rome, as a state, must fall. On the other hand, the pope has spoken, and he has spoken as clearly as the people. In the same month, last March, in which Count Cavour expressed in the Italian parliament the views of Italy on the necessity of separating the spiritual and temporal power, the pope announced his decision in a solemn allocution. He maintains inflexibly the old traditions; no change, no modification, no concession; to give up one iota of his sovereignty is a sacrilege not to be endured. Thus, after all the warnings of the summer, and the ominous quarrel with general Goyon, comes another expression of the papal mind. Dr. Cullen gives it to the faithful in Ireland as a proof of the unflinching courage of the Holy Father. That it shows the incurable blindness and obstinacy of the Vatican, there is no doubt:—

“His Holiness, in a brief discourse to the Sacred College, manifested the satisfaction which he felt at the conduct of the episcopacy, and the union of the greatest part of the clergy, and of so many millions of Catholics, who courageously opposed error and injustice, and showed themselves in a thousand ways devoted to the Holy See. But, at the same time, the Holy Father could not but deplore the aberrations of a bishop of the kingdom of Naples, and of many ecclesiastics of these provinces, the scandals of a notable party amongst the clergy of Milan, imitated by a chapter of the duchy of Modena, and the evil publications, at which have laboured some clergymen unworthy of their character, whether at Milan, where they have been reproduced by a bad journal which, by antithesis, takes the title of the *Conciliator*, or at Florence, where a perverse society, which calls itself the ‘Society of Mutual Aid,’ has deserved, on the part of the zealous archbishop of that city, a condemnation from which it has drawn some fruit. His Holiness also remarked on the evil results of the vacancy of so many Episcopal Sees in Italy, of which advantage is taken to lessen the salutary influence of the clergy over the morals of

the people, and to seize the property of the church. He pointed out the horrible contrast between the pompous promises of the enemies of the church, to protect the church and its chief, and the profusion of impious books, the persecution of the ministers of God, and the protection of the laws invoked by the very authors of these perverse writings. He declared that he had shown to the representatives of France at the Holy See that, full of gratitude as he was, and ought to be, for the powerful support which the troops of the great French nation afforded him at Rome, he could not, on the other hand, dissemble the abuse which the enemies of order make already, and will continue to make, of the act of the recognition of the pretended king of Italy—an act which has caused in his heart surprise and affliction. He concluded his discourse by exhorting all to trust in the Divine Providence, which rules all paternally; and he urged them to persevere with more fervour than ever in praying to God to hasten the advent of the days of mercy after the days of justice."

Thus the two minds are in open conflict—the mind of the priesthood and the mind of the people. How the conflict will end, or when, it is hard to say; but that it will end to the loss of the papacy, we have no doubt.

But suppose the temporal sovereignty of the papacy to cease, would the difficulties cease? The temporalities of the pope might be wound up in various ways. Count Cavour traces in his speech a possible solution. Mr. Burgess, in his ingenious pamphlet, gives the pope the Vatican, St. Peter's, and an area of about 3000 souls, with a guaranteed civil list for the pope and his cardinals. The great Napoleon, in the meridian of his power, tried his hand at a settlement. In 1806 he discovered that the pope was his enemy. In the spring of 1808, by a *coup de main* as summary as the late Sardinian invasion, he swept the Marches from the papal government and annexed them to his kingdom. But the evil, though restrained, was not removed. The papacy remained an independent power, and a focus of disaffection in the heart of his empire. As soon as he discovered this, quick as thought he set to work resolved to suppress the pope's temporalities; and as he was setting out for Spain, he desired Count Aldini to draw up a plan. There stand now the decrees drawn by Aldini, submitted to the emperor, and by him approved. Unluckily exigencies of war stopped his project. When he resumed it, he did it in a passion, raved against the pope, made him prisoner, and swept the old man and his states into the vortex. Such a settlement could not stand. But it is curious to revert now to the deliberate plan, and to see how it falls in with modern notions. Here it is: All the papal states to be annexed to the Italian kingdom; Rome to be a free city, with a senator and magistrates; magistrates to be chosen by popular election, the senator by the emperor; the Quirinal to be the emperor's palace; the territory of the free city to comprise the Campagna to Albano and Tivoli. For the pope, nothing but the church

and piazza of St. Peter, the palaces of the Vatican and of the Inquisition. Whatever funds belonged to the Basilica of St. Peter, and to the Capitol, were to be administered by the pope; and the pope was moreover to have an annual income of £40,000 a year. Napoleon was by no means so bountiful as our friend Mr. Burgess.

But, suppose in some way the problem solved. Is the difficulty over? What will then be the state of Italy? What will then be the state of the papacy? Take Italy. Though the Italians are agreed in disliking the temporalities of the papacy, we do not conclude that they are opposed to the pope as head of the Church. Some imagine that a great part of Italy is on the verge of Protestantism; others say that there is no approximation towards the Protestant faith. Gavazzi would have us believe that all Italy is ready for an independent church; others maintain that the power of the priesthood is great, and the spiritual allegiance of the Italians to the papacy entire. We would take the facts as they are given us, and grope our way to the latent but actual truth. The subserviency of Italy to the church of Rome has been a forced submission. Nowhere has the dislike of the papacy, and a contempt for the priesthood, been so strong as among the Italians. They saw its vices near, and they despised its greed and fraud. The movement of Savonarola showed the strength of the antagonism in his day. The attitude of Fra Paolo Sarpi betrayed it in Venice. The outbreaks of Lutheran opinions in Italy at the Reformation proved that Italy was ripe for reform, if not for revolt. Nothing but the vigour of the Jesuits and the force of persecution put this spirit down. Italy was swept with fire, and reform was washed out in the blood of martyrs. But the spirit is there, and has never died out. It thrives wherever there is thought. No Englishman, conversant with the literary classes of Florence and Rome, but knows that when they venture to speak their mind, they confess their aversion to the priests. The outburst of enthusiasm which greeted Victor Emmanuel in Bologna, Florence, Parma, and Piacenza, expressed the uncontrollable joy that at last the people were free from the hideous nightmare of a priestly rule. Lord Palmerston may have been wrong, when he observed that it would be wonderful if the Neapolitans longed for the return of the Bourbons; but bad and base as that government was, it was popular with the rabble of the city—the Lazzaroni and the scum of the country. In Naples alone was Victor Emmanuel received languidly. But the disgust of the Italians under the government of prelates and legates touched their very souls. The *Vivà L'Italia unita*, *Vivà Garibaldi*, *Vivà Cavour*, were sounds which rang through Rome, not to be drowned, though French soldiers piled their arms in the Piazza Colonna,

and sbirri drew their swords in the Corso. The atrocious cruelty perpetrated there on St. Joseph's day, in 1860, when nearly two hundred persons were brutally injured, arose from the terror of the government, and their determination to crush the spirit of the people. That spirit had been shown, in the two months before, in various ways which Mr. Dicey witnessed: in shouts which broke out daily from multitudes as the French guard was changed, in demonstrations which left the Corso deserted, and the Carnival abandoned, and sent every man that could walk or drive to the Porta Pia, and proved their concert by their abandoning for a time the smoking of cigars and gambling in the lottery. Every one in Rome, from the students of the Sapienza upward, with the exception of a few noble families, are banded together in one longing desire to get rid of the government of priests, and to join the Italian kingdom. It is idle to suppose that these feelings can be repressed, or that the torrent will stop short at the precise line which marks the boundary between the temporal and spiritual power of Rome. The language of Garibaldi respecting the pope, language as bitter as any ultra-Protestant ever used, expresses an Italian feeling.

How far this spirit has already spread—how deep it runs into the soil, and touches the roots of faith, there are plain signs. In Italy, wherever there is thought, there is doubt; wherever there is learning, there is danger to the Church of Rome. The Benedictines are the most learned confraternity in the church of Rome. Their libraries are large; their works are erudite; their energies as men of literature are creditable. They have not shown any disposition to schism—this might cost them their lives; but they have published sentiments of strong ecclesiastical reform. They have been long subjected to the jealous supervision of the papal see. In some of their monastic retreats the printing presses were carried away; the leading monks among them were thrown into prison; some were exiled. On the question of an Italian kingdom, and the pope's temporal power, they sympathise with the rest of Italy. Even among the Dominicans, the sternest champions of the papacy, the same opinions transpire; and the convent of St. Mark at Florence, which cherishes the name, has inherited the traditions of Savonarola. The communications with England, which took place some years ago, from the priests of Lombardy, were distorted by a fraudulent emissary, and left the extent of the professed movement doubtful. But that there was a movement, which had excited the suspicion of the ecclesiastical police of Austria, was not doubtful; and there was reason to believe that the desire for reform had embraced a large section among the priests of Lombardy. It was evident last year that many of the subordinate priests had no

sympathy with their bishops, and went with all their hearts into the popular movement. In fact, the tyranny of Rome is exercised with savage vengeance on the priests as well as the people. Those who dare to think for themselves in either class are trampled down; none but Sir George Bowyer, or Lord Normanby, question the feelings entertained in Italy towards the dukes of Modena, or of Tuscany, or of Parma. But the hatred which their systems of government excited burns with tenfold heat against the papal rulers. That régime was more cruel, arbitrary, and cowardly than theirs. It meddled more with common life, of which Mr. Arthur gives us striking examples. It is detested with a hatred mixed with scorn of which the secular governments have but a faint conception.

The action of the papal government at Bologna in 1849, followed up, as shown in the documents quoted by Mr. Arthur, through the succeeding years; the account which Mr. Dicey gives of trials in three cases of murder; the suppression of the freedom of the press, and of books, explain the causes of that burning hatred, which smoulders like a volcano, against the rule of the priests. It only wants an occasion to burst into a flame. That there are many Protestants in Italy, we do not imagine; but that there are tens of thousands who are, in the French sense, "*vraiment Protestant*," who protest with all their heart and soul against the craft and doings of the priesthood, we are sure. What course that spirit may take, we do not venture to say. Into what currents it may flow, or in what forms of worship it may settle, all this is uncertain. This will depend on time and events under God's guidance. But that the confidence of the Italians in their church is shaken to its foundations, we are persuaded. It will take more wary handling than Rome exercises, and an amount of liberality and concession which she repudiates, to preserve Italy within her pale. There is likely to be a struggle—a long and hard one; and the presence of the pope at Rome will complicate it. For, even if the papacy were reduced to the limits which Napoleon assigned—no army, no police, no city, no temporal power—the pope, as head of a vast confederacy, would still wield a tremendous power. Observe the position in which he would stand. Seated in Rome, even though he were confined to the Vatican, he would possess free intercourse with all the prelates of the Roman church throughout the world, and with all the heads of the monastic orders, and he would issue to them his edicts, allocutions, and bulls. No attempt to interfere with this jurisdiction could be tolerated by him. Even if, by a Concordat, he were deprived, in a particular state, of the nomination of bishops, his sanction would be required for their investiture. On any act of the state affecting the privileges of the church (and how wide is the

range !)—on all laws touching liberty of conscience, education, and marriage, he would pronounce his opinion. But if these are his rights in dealing with countries outside Italy, these are no less his rights within Italy ; and what materials do these afford for dissension with the government, and a rupture ! We have seen how fierce was the quarrel in Sardinia. This quarrel would spread over the kingdom of Italy, and be intensified. It is not to be supposed that the papacy, even if it lost its temporalities, would view such a settlement with satisfaction. The pope and his advisers would remain mortified and soured ; they would regard with jealousy every act of the Italian government, and resent the slightest interference with their spiritual power. Stripped of their temporalities, they would stand on the verge of their spiritual rights, and defy interference. The spirit of the Roman councils would not be altered, nor the temper of the Roman conclave. Exasperated by defeat, it would be more intolerant and irritable. The pretensions which we have seen them maintain during these years of trial and disaster, which have never been mitigated or abated, but have defied the Piedmontese and French governments, have bullied general Goyon, and raised to power Monsignor de Mèrode, —these would be concentrated upon their spiritual rights in Italy, and would exact both from government and people implicit deference. Would this be paid ? Would the people acquiesce ? Would the Italian parliament consent ? Would any government of Italian statesmen propose an abject submission ? Count Cavour might, with happy fancy, in a brilliant speech, trace the outlines of a tranquil settlement of the dispute with the papacy ; but the end of that quarrel is far off, and would not be much nearer if the pope ceased to be a prince. All those delicate questions which spring up between Rome and other states, between an imperious priesthood and a free parliament, would come to light as soon as the sovereignty of Rome is at an end. Rome, dealing with heretical nations far away, may muffle some of her principles, and keep out of view (she never abates) her claims. But to submit to this at her own doors and in Italy, would be a public confession of her fall. She would fight to the death against this ; she would protest against freedom of conscience, against toleration of sectaries, against schools uncontrolled by the priest, against marriage with heretics unblest by her, against interference with monastic orders, against restriction on acquisition of land, against civil courts trying the priesthood. These are points which have been subjects of fierce strife in Prussia ; and Würtemberg, and Baden. She would insist on them in Italy, and the Italian parliament would not concede one of them. Hence a fight hand to hand, in which neither would yield. One must fall. It is likely that there is as little of Protestantism in Italy as in Belgium ; but there is a vigorous liberalism ; and

liberalism has its creed, which is in antagonism with the creed of Rome. The strife which has torn up Belgium and perplexed its sagacious king, which has made and unmade dozens of cabinets there, has led repeatedly to the dissolution of the chambers, and to fierce struggles at the hustings, would break out through Italy, and rage from south to north. There is no escape from this struggle; it is inherent in the views of the two parties; in the growing opinions of the people; in the firm principles of the papacy. Lovers of peace must not be blind to facts. Italy is not about to enter on a state of peace. First strife, then rest; but the strife will be long, angry, and sore. Settle the papal question as you will, Italy has a fierce fight before her. When brigandage is suppressed, and law reigns, we shall discover this deeper and more bitter conflict. It will divide villages, set households at variance, and will array the awakened population in two hostile armies. The ranks of the papacy will not be thin; it will find on its side masses of uninstructed and superstitious peasants, and the sympathies of the old nobility, men of historic names, whose palaces adorn the streets of Rome, and whose gardens and galleries are the foreigner's delight. It will have with it that acute and sharp-sighted generation who look to the church as their profession, and who expect to find for themselves, or their connections, wealth, rank, and power through the priesthood. We must not underrate that influence; for though amongst the priests doubts are spreading, and a desire for reform is found, these men are held to the papacy by the anchorage of interest. On the other hand, amongst the young and ardent, among men of trade, and art, and literature, the new doctrines have numerous adherents; and this class will multiply as schools improve and colleges advance, and professors of name and power appeal in their lectures to the traditions of liberty. All who travel to foreign countries, who come to England to observe, as Cavour did, what has made this little island so great, will take back to their mother country new ideas and aspirations. Then, as has been the case in Belgium and in France, young politicians and statesmen will study our laws. English works, of history and of politics, will find translators, and will be circulated through the cities of Italy. All that has been hitherto kept back from young Italy, of the bold thought of Englishmen, and the ingenious philosophy of France, will be devoured by students; by her upper classes, who turn to account their leisure; by adventurous merchants; by the alumni preparing for her Bar. It will be vain to close the flood-gates; priests and cardinals will look with horror on the overbearing stream. No doubt it will sweep away much that is ancient, and undermine many principles of belief which it were better to keep; but that it will extend till

it subverts the supremacy of Rome, we entertain no doubt. The pope has fallen upon evil days.

We see with surprise that eminent statesmen of conservative politics hold that the union of Italy is a dream, and that to maintain the *status quo* of the papacy should be the policy of England now, as it was in 1815. But things have greatly altered since that period. If any one will open Mr. Arthur's book, he will find numerous proofs, from different parts of Italy, that the mind of the people is set upon a united kingdom. We in England at least, who live under a free and representative government, cannot despise so strong an opinion. If it is said that there is discontent in the Neapolitan dominions, attachment to the Bourbon dynasty, and conspiracies against the Sardinian government, we can neither entertain surprise nor alarm. We have only to look back to our own revolution, and remember that for the first fifty years the government of William and his successors was the object of repeated conspiracies, endangered once by open war, twice by formidable rebellions, and that some of the highest statesmen were engaged in treasonable correspondence with the exiled dynasty ; we shall be led to conclude that Italy is passing through the usual change, from tyranny to good government. On the temporal dominion of the pope, Mr. Dicey's book places an array of graphic facts before us. Mr. Dicey is not open to the exceptions which might be made to Mr. Arthur. He has no strong antipathy to Romanism. He has no bias in favour of evangelical Protestantism. He views facts with an impartial eye. He visited Italy as a traveller, with merely that love of liberty and desire for social progress which is common to all intelligent Englishmen. Entering the Roman states, he was astonished to find that the Rome of real life was a very different thing from the Rome of classical fancy. Up to the walls a deserted Campagna, with a few scattered herds, and a solitude as wild as is found in the desert. A few ill-tilled vineyards, inclosed in high walls, with a few gardens of vegetables, occupy the vast void spaces, and run a little beyond the ramparts. Shops of the shabbiest kind, dark and gloomy, a cross between a coach-house and a wine vault, their windows without glass, the men either loitering idle, playing the morra, or engaged in the commonest trades. Groups, as you enter the heart of the city, meet the eye, men standing with hungry looks and ragged garments at the corners of streets and piazzas. Beggars everywhere, at the doors of the churches, on the steps that lead to their façades, on the flights of stairs which carry us from the piazzas to one of the seven hills ; broken fountains moss-grown, grass springing between the flag-stones of the streets ; shattered pavements, unfinished façades, decay and neglect ; a careless indifference and sullen languor in the

looks, gestures, and gait of the people. The better trades and higher works of art are in the hands of foreigners. The Romans themselves are a nation of beggars, living in idleness, and working little; and whenever they do work, listlessly. Crowds resorting for distribution of food to the doors of the monasteries; and at times, when the distress is overwhelming, the government, driven out of inaction into waste, set out public works, chiefly excavations of ruins; and if you watch the men engaged in them, you find them throwing a few spadefuls of earth into a wheel-barrow, which is conveyed to its point by six men, who chatter and loiter and smoke worse than negroes. Thus we are taught how a bad system of government can degrade a people. The chief persons who meet the eye are priests, or those who depend upon them. In a population of 170,000, there are 10,000 priests or monks, and 30,000 more who are connected with the church; and this population has to be fed in idleness by fees wrung from the people. There are in Rome 366 churches, supplied with priests who perform mass day by day, the price of a mass varying from sixpence to a crown. Yet of the priests many are half-starved; but they have the hope of rising, and those who reach the dignities of the church are well paid. They also have power, for they form the government; and that government is the worst in Europe, with the double vices of despotism and democracy. They are despotic, in form and substance, by their police, their soldiers, their cruelty, by treading out every spark of thought and free opinion; but the minuteness of their regulations, the intensity and ubiquity of their meddling, savour of a tyrant democracy. Thought, habit, and word are under their supervision, and subject to their control. Government regulates the morals of the people, their dress, the plays to be acted, the books to be read, the songs to be sung. The confessional enables them to do this; to pervade, like air, the tastes, walks, homes of men. Through wives and daughters, and through female servants, the acts of parents and employers are laid bare. A word, an oath, a gesture may draw down the notice of the police, and hurry a man to prison or to the galleys. This influence acts like the malaria; it withers, cripples, paralyses the frame. Men creep about subdued and cowed. Yet with all this meddling policy, these sumptuary laws, and these enforcements of morality, a more debauched and vicious population is nowhere to be found. The stamp of vice is written on the people's faces, as misery is painted in their rags and homes. How can it be otherwise? There is no activity, no improvement in agriculture, no attempt to drain lands and recover marshes, and till fields once waving with grain. No trade abroad, no traffic at home, nothing but barter, no manufacture, not a smoky chimney or the clatter of a solitary factory. A few

miserable barks swing in the port of the Tiber, and bring marble to sculptors from Carrara. All the common articles of life are cruelly dear. Bread and meat dearer than in London. Lodgings indeed are cheap and wretched. Clothing is of high price. Wages are small, and made less by the number of holydays. But of these wages one great part is wasted in gambling and the lottery, which is a universal passion. Another portion is wasted on holydays and on the Carnival, to hire a costume and drive in a carriage on the Corso. What remains for comfort?

If it is said that this degraded people have sunk so low that they like their bad government, that would be no reason why we should support it. But that plea fails. The Romans have for years despised their government—now they detest it. In the winter of 1860 the people proved this in a manner not to be mistaken. The French general knew their feelings; he feared that wherever there was a crowd there would be an *emeute*; and he issued proclamations against crowds. French guards accompanied the pope on every public occasion, and lined the Corso during the Carnival. But the people were resolved that there should be no mistake as to their feelings. They were invited by the government to the amusements of the Carnival. They deserted the Corso, and went out of Rome in a mass. Every effort was made to get up loyal addresses to the pope, and never was there such a failure. In the American college alone was the attempt successful. In the Sapienza college, where there are between four and five hundred pupils, a dozen signatures only were obtained; and, when the authorities pressed the address on the students, they tore it to pieces, and trampled it under foot. Mr. Dicey gives us an account of two public demonstrations, of which he was an eye-witness in 1860. The one took place at Rome. The 12th of April was the anniversary of Pio Nono's return. On that day he celebrated mass at the convent of St. Agnese. The resolution was formed to show Europe how he reigned in the hearts of his people. Everything which the priests could do was done. On the line of his route from St. Agnese to the Quirinal, nuns and children, priests and monks, were arranged in groups, to wave their handkerchiefs and scatter flowers. All the faithful were gathered in the church. All who had means hired carriages to swell the procession. The journal of the day announced that crowds of the people flocked to see the pontiff, and that infinite was the number of carriages which followed the royal cortège. The French soldiers had a different impression. Patrols of these soldiers were stationed on the route, to keep back the expected crowd; but they felt they were made fools of, for crowd there was none. "To my unenlightened vision," says Mr. Dicey, "the

crowd of three miles in length was composed of one thousand persons in all, and the infinite number of carriages looked uncommonly like sixty !” We come now to a scene in Bologna—that city which was once, like Rome, desolate and gloomy, under the leaden regime of the priests. Now the papal rule is broken, the legate is gone, and they expect their king—the king of Italy. “Down the steep winding road leading from the old monastery of St. Michael, where the king is lodged, through the dark, narrow, crowded streets, a brilliant cavalcade comes riding slowly. Half a horse’s length in front rides Victor Emmanuel. Amongst the Order-covered staff who follow, there is scarcely one who is not of more royal presence than their leader. There are many whose names may stand before his in the world’s judgment ; but the crowd has its eye fixed on the king, and the king alone. For three days this selfsame crowd has followed him, and stared at him, and cheered him ; but their ardour remains undiminished. All the school children of the city, down to little mites of things who can scarcely toddle, have been brought out to see him. Boy soldiers, with Lilliputian muskets, salute him as he passes. A mob of men, heedless of the gendarmes or of the horses’ hoofs, run before the cavalcade in the burning heat, and cheer hoarsely. There is no pause, indeed, in this ceaseless cheering, save where the band of exiles stand with the flags of Rome, and Naples, and Venice covered with a black veil ; or when the regiments defile past with the tattered colours which were rent to shreds at San Martino and at Solferino ; and then the cry of “Vivà ! Vittorio Emanuele !” is changed for that of “Vivà l’Italia !”

Mr. Dicey saw the like scene at Florence, and Pisa, and Reggio, and Parma, once so dull. He saw it in the country, on a long day’s journey in the Val de Chiana. Is it possible to doubt what that feeling is, and what it will do ? Turn from those parts of Italy, now joyous, to these gloomy Roman states, paralysed into inactivity, a desert country, cheerless towns, without progress, without enjoyment, almost without hope. Can we believe that the Italian man is so different from the English man as to hug his own rags and love his own misery ? Is it our duty to put our heel upon his head, and tread him down in the morass into which priests have sunk him, and from which he longs to rise ? That ought not to be the creed of any class of politicians : assuredly not the creed of Christians. We have different hopes, and a higher aim. Help the Italians by sympathy ; help them by prayer ; help them effectually by using this precious season to scatter throughout Italy a knowledge of the truths which have made England great.

The events which have occurred since these remarks were penned, have served to confirm them. The brigandage of the Neapolitan states has been crushed by the reign of Cialdini.

The measures of Ricasoli are completing the unity and consolidation of Italy. The Sphinx is still at the Tuileries; and its mysterious oracles appear to puzzle and perplex the world. But opinion is reigning, and its authority will prevail. The days of difficulty and doubt will have an end. The reign of the papacy, with its Swiss and its ruffians, is drawing to a close. We shall yet live to see the king of Italy mount the steps of the Quirinal; and the pope will wander with his cardinals, despised and powerless, through the long galleries of the Vatican.

LORD LINDSAY ON SCEPTICISM.

Scepticism, a Retrogressive Movement in Theology and Philosophy, as contrasted with the Church of England, Catholic (at once) and Protestant, Stable and Progressive. By Lord Lindsay. John Murray, London. 1861.

THE dangers in religion are far greater than the dangers to religion. This is a moral fact which persons strongly possessed with the religious sentiment are very apt to overlook. Fancying that all is perfectly safe as regards themselves, merely because they have a strong religious feeling of some kind or other, or because they are strict in the observance of what they think to be right, their spiritual anxieties all take the direction of a concern for the safety of that Religion which they believe to be the only true one, and nothing awakens their alarm like the cry of "the Faith in danger." But if the Christian religion is true, it is no more in danger than the everlasting mountains, or than the sun in the firmament. The real danger is to themselves, lest, while professing the Christian faith, they should make that very faith the covert and excuse to their own minds for habits of feeling, and for practices, which will not bear the fiery ordeal of the Great Day. A man's faith may be right in its direction, while it is altogether defective or wrong in its operation; and it always is so, when it is not that faith which "worketh by love."

It is a sad and most painful fact, that professors of religion are often found to be guilty of acts, which they could in no wise excuse to themselves were it not for the soothing deception of their imagined piety and zeal for God. Things of which men of the world would be utterly ashamed, and from which self-respect, or humane feeling alone, will be sufficient to withhold them, shall be done by religious people, with no sort of com-

punction whatever, though they hereby bring a dishonour upon that very Religion for which they profess to have so high a regard. This could not be, were there not a fatal facility in the human conscience to convert even the Truth itself into the means of self-imposition.

A serious concern for the moral well-being of others, who are endangering their souls by Scepticism, or in any other way, is good however, and highly proper, independently of the person's own spiritual condition; only it behoves each one, for his own sake, not to overlook the moral fact we have noticed, because of the special danger that lurks here, inasmuch as nothing is easier than, while seeking to pluck out the mote from a brother's eye, to forget to cast out the beam that is in one's own eye. A religious profession involves, indeed, peculiar dangers, whatever may be the form it takes, or the direction in which its zeal exercises itself. There is not, probably, a more fruitful source of self-deception and ruin than this; so that, while thousands perish from the *want of* religion, it might perhaps with truth be said, that tens of thousands perish *through* religion. Paradoxical as this may sound, it will not appear so very improbable, if we only call to mind that Scepticism itself is one phase and form of the peril which arises out of, and is connected with, a true Divine Revelation. If there were no such thing as a true Faith, there could be no such thing as Scepticism. Scepticism always springs up within the Church, not outside the Church; and it is in that soil it attains its rankest strength: there, too, errors and heresies, and religious licenses of all kinds, take their rise. Nor is there much less moral danger in the opposite extreme of dogmatism, or a rigid ecclesiastical system; for, as Coleridge has well remarked,—“He who begins by loving Christianity more than Truth, will proceed by loving his own sect or Church better than Christianity, and will end in loving himself better than all.”

We have often thought what a curious and instructive volume might be written on the *Dangers in Religion*. What a fine scope it would afford for discussing what we may term the *Philosophy of Opinion*; showing how much natural constitution, temperament, habits of life, race, climate, station, peculiar employment, have to do with the religious systems which men either adopt or reject. It must have been noticed by most persons, that the members of all sects and churches are distinguished more or less, even outwardly, by some peculiar characteristics, and that often a whole sect will be segregated from others, and composed almost entirely out of some one section of society, or from persons nearly all of one kind of employment. A peculiar natural disposition or temper almost invariably marks the professors of particular creeds, so that there can be very little doubt of its determining, in the first instance, the form of their

religious profession. The Rationalist, the Pantheist, the Mystic, the devotee of Superstition, the lover of Infallibility, the Pharisee, the Sadducean Sceptic, the stickler for forms, and the rejecter of forms, would each be found to take his place under some type of diseased mind, to be the subject of some idiosyncrasy acting, like concealed iron under the ship's compass, to draw it aside from the right line of Truth. Psychological science leads, we know, into a misty region; but that is no reason why the region should not be explored, and the pitfalls to be found in it laid open to the view. Each professor of Christianity, as a matter of course, whatever may be its form or mode of development, persuades himself that what he embraces is *the* truth, and that, embracing *that*, he is safe. But then, it should never be forgotten, that it is not by the worship of truth (admitting that what he embraces is the truth), but of the God of truth—that it is not by the worship of the just, but of the just God—that it is not even by the worship of mercy, but of the God of mercy, that we grow ourselves to be merciful, just, and good.

The dangers in religion are so great, and prove the ruin of so many, just because religion itself is so excellent a thing. It is with this as it is with the material substances on which we subsist—far more are destroyed by the misuse or abuse of things wholesome in themselves, than by taking direct poison.

An antidote to Scepticism is a highly desirable thing, if such a thing can be discovered; but we must see to it, that the remedy be not worse than the disease. The Church of Rome has always professed to have a specific for this psychological malady; she has provided what she thinks to be a sure antidote in her system of Infallibility; and no one can doubt that her remedy is effectual to all who will take it in the sense of putting an end to the malady, because it puts an end, morally, to its subject. It is thus as sure a cure for all forms of mental disease as is death itself. But if he who never doubts never really believes, it follows that the faith of her disciples, substituting a fictitious infallibility for the truth of God as revealed in His Word, where "clouds and darkness are round about" it, as round about Him, or where Truth is dark from its own excessive brightness, is a nonentity. This is to substitute a false certainty (if we may be allowed the expression) for moral probability amounting to a true certainty to all who have faith to follow it; which is the only guide God has given to man in things of a moral nature.

Scepticism is no new phenomenon. It has existed as long as fallen man has existed. The only difference is, that it springs up more strongly in one age or country than another, and is most vigorous at some particular period. Nor does it always take the same form; in the same form in which it has been

once extinguished, it would not be entertained. Novelty of some kind or other is necessary to it, to render it fascinating to the fanciful human mind. With changes of times and circumstances, and new modes of thought, it must assume some new shape to make it inviting. As human nature is essentially the same in all ages, in every successive age there will be reproduced minds with all the tendencies which have characterised those of the past; with the same affinities for particular forms of error, or the same disposition to exaggerate and distort truth itself into substantial falsehood. Modified by the age in which they live, the education to which they have been subjected, the associations under which they have been developed, they will always fancy themselves to be the discoverers of something new, when they are only reproducing what is old, and will pride themselves, as others have prided themselves before them, in the possession of a sagacity whose depth is remarkable only for its shallowness. No one can doubt, who is at all read in the controversies of the past, that the Seven Essayists (none need mistake them for the Seven Wise Men of Greece) who have occasioned such a commotion in the public mind, are men of this order. The danger is, that many will be led, by their assumed air of superior wisdom, into following them; and will thus realize the picture of the child (for "men are but children of a larger growth") who is attracted by its gaudy colours into a foolish chase after a butterfly that was yesterday but a filthy grub, which he would utterly have loathed had he seen it in its original deformity.

Any one who will enter the lists against the new school of transmigrated Sceptics, in order to stay their pernicious errors, is worthy of all respect for his motives; and if he can provide us with a true specific against the spread or reappearance of this chronic disease of the human mind, he will deserve all the honours of immortality. In Lord Lindsay we have an accomplished scholar, an acute metaphysician, a philosopher, and a gentleman. He is already well known in the field of authorship. His new work, "*Scepticism: a Retrogressive Movement in Theology and Philosophy*," displays a very extended acquaintance with systems, theological and philosophical, ancient and modern, and is certainly marked by a very ingenious theory, and by much learning, if not by soundness of principle. It might be described, for its contents, as a *Synopsis of the Philosophical and Theological Systems of all ages*. The noble author appears in this work, indeed, quite a Noah of philosophy, comprehending and carrying in his loins the many-featured children of unborn thought. It is, perhaps, strictly speaking, a *History of Theology in connection with Philosophy*; the history being given for the purpose of basing upon it a principle and founding an argument. In this point of view it is well worth reading,

independently of the end at which it aims. No one can read it without gaining much information of no ordinary kind. The reading of it may also serve another purpose; it may help to convince any one of the truth of the statement with which we set out, that there are great dangers in religion as well as dangers to religion. Viewed with respect to the many ingenious devices of the human mind which it lays open for perverting itself from that highest of all philosophy, child-like simplicity, the work might well bear the title of Mental Nosology; for it, so to speak, botanizes the mind, and classifies all its abnormal as well as normal productions. It is difficult to tell from it which the author is most fascinated with—Philosophy or Theology. We shall, however, we think, express Lord Lindsay's view, if we say, that Theology, like a great Queen, should lead all the other Sciences, as her "maids of honour," in her train.

It is, perhaps, a circumstance not altogether to be regretted, that the style in which this book is written is against its being very generally read; for anything more cumbrous than the sentences, we scarcely ever remember to have met with, to say nothing of the accumulated heaps of hard abstract terms, over which the eye and the mind each has to pass before it can arrive at any point of terminated sense. We can compare the reading of it to nothing but striding and clambering over the huge boulder rocks that emboss the sides of the Alps, and render travelling there a work of heavy moil and toil. It is no uncommon thing for a single sentence to cover three-quarters of a page; and there are some that extend over a page and a half by the help of the ever-repeated dash, so fatal to all perspicuity. Writers who aim to be useful, as Lord Lindsay no doubt does, should really make a point of acquiring an easily intelligible style, and not bewilder their readers by turning every sentence into a *lucus à non lucendo*, in which persons of ordinary understanding quickly get lost. We could most sincerely wish that "Essays and Reviews" had been written in Lord Lindsay's style; for then it is most certain that very few would ever read them. It may be that Lord Lindsay has written only for scholars; his work is evidently intended for the educated and thinking classes, who require great learning as the basis of their religious belief, or can be reasoned out of Scepticism, as they have reasoned themselves into it, only by a parade of philosophy. When will men learn that the highest forms of philosophy may be embodied and expressed in the simplest terms; and that all great truths, like the stars, shine and are best seen by their own light?

To men of a metaphysical and inquisitive turn, Lord Lindsay's "Scepticism" will probably prove a fascinating book; and it is to be feared that many will catch at his theory, as furnishing a safe resting-place for the doubt-tossed mind—

a haven of refuge between Romanism on the one hand, and Rationalism on the other. Well will it be for any one who puts in there, instead of guiding his bark as best he may over the open sea of the Bible, if he does not find himself stranded on a shallow, instead of making way in his voyage. His search is after an *ensured Infallibility*—that philosopher's stone, that talisman of truth, which the Church of Rome has professed to give, and which Protestantism avows itself not to want. Our object will be, not so much to review Lord Lindsay's book, as to examine his theory, and to point out where it fails to answer either our requisitions or its own pretensions, suggesting, as far as we are able, a better way of dealing with *Scepticism*.

It is the infirmity of all but the greatest minds, to have what is called some "hobby"—some crotchet, under the name of a theory, which is to account for everything, and to meet all difficulties. Lord Lindsay's "hobby" is "*Progression by Antagonism*." This accounts for the march and continual progress of Humanity, and for the uprising of all forms of error and heresy; at least, error and heresy are only reactionary processes, arising out of the undue action and development of certain principles in the human mind. They are perverted parts of truth, or dwarfed truths; and the way to preclude the entertainment of these, is to suggest some larger truth. This larger truth is, that Progression takes place by Antagonism; that error and heresies are only things which the huge wheel of Providence throws off in its onward progress; so that Scepticism itself, or Infidelity, has its place in the order of the Divine appointments; only as respects the individual it ought to have no place, and would have no place, if only his Imagination and Reason were truly balanced. According to our author, it is the excess of Imagination that produces Romanism, and the excess of Reason that produces Protestantism, which, in all its forms, is only a more or less moderated Rationalism. The remedy for both of these excesses—the true safeguard to human belief—is a certain ensured test of religious truth, or form of Infallibility, which Lord Lindsay has adopted, and which he sets up as the true rock of refuge against all the agitations and dangers of doubt. This is the *tertium quid* which the world has so long been in search of between the renunciation of human judgment altogether, and the free action of human thought on matters that rest ultimately upon Divine authority.

Now, first, as to the onward march and continual progress of humanity, of which we hear so much in the present day; whether it is by the law of "*Progression by Antagonism*," or of any other law. We believe this to be wholly an assumption, without any foundation in fact. Human nature has its limits of development, as have the other orders of creation; and up

to the bounds of a certain fixed circle it may be developed, but never beyond. Within this circle there is constantly going on, age after age, an advance and a retrogression, in succession to each other, as regular as the flow and the ebb of the tide ; so that human nature ends just where it began. What appears to be progression is only a delusive effect produced upon our own senses by our being carried on, and passing by a series of fixed objects ; just as to a person in a coach, or a railway carriage, it is the external world that seems to move rapidly, and not himself. The progress of Humanity, then, is, after all, only the perpetually sailing of adventurous minds round and round the earth, and always coming back to the same point ; unless, indeed, men choose to stop short half-way at the Antipodes ; and then they are very apt to insist that standing head downwards—because they so stand themselves—is the true position of the whole human race. Happy are they who are able to circumnavigate human nature by completing the whole round, because these, when they get home again, find everything standing just as they left it ; and have only learned to see things in their true relation to the world as a whole, and not to their own petty standing-point alone.

There is just enough of *apparent* truth in Lord Lindsay's theory of "Progression by Antagonism," to give it an air of plausible probability ; but as to any actual progress beyond a certain point, the facts of man's history from the Creation are against it. So far, indeed, as any progress is made, whether in individuals, or a nation, or the world at large, no doubt it is in a great measure the result of continual antagonism. We see the law of antagonism going on continually in Nature ; and the same thing may be observed in Politics and in Science ; and therefore it is natural to suppose it holds, under the same limitations, in Religion. But it is dangerous to push this principle too far, or we shall make Scepticism part and parcel of a general law, and enable men to excuse it on the ground of its being the stern fiat of Necessity. As Lord Lindsay speaks of "Progression," it seems to us to fall very little short of Dr. Temple's principle of progressive development, laid down in his essay on "The Education of the World." Upon the same principle it might be made to appear that the Eastern and Western Churches, in their corruptions, have both been, in their turns, true representatives of Christianity, suited to the condition of the world, in their several spheres and ages ; and it virtually admits the possibility of the appearance of a new form of truth suited to a coming age. The fact, we believe, is, that what is called development is no new development of Divine truth, but only a new apprehension of the human mind, and that not necessarily a true one.

We fully admit one of Lord Lindsay's positions, which is,

that the new form of Scepticism which has developed itself at Oxford, is a "Retrogressive movement both in Theology and Philosophy;" nor do we doubt that the ultimate result of it will be to advance truth in its certainties, as surely as a strong side-wind advances the progress of a ship. The evil to be apprehended is the shipwreck of many souls, who will run their vessel on the hidden rocks of Infidelity. Lord Lindsay has set before himself a good object in his aim to provide a safeguard against this self-chosen fatality of the wise; but we fear his safeguard is only another form of the danger that besets the human mind in its over-anxiety to make that certain which God has made only in a high degree probable, in order that men may learn to walk by faith and not by sight.

To appreciate fully the position which Lord Lindsay takes up, we must possess ourselves clearly of his first principle, which is, that "the world advances by the struggle of the Reasoning and Imaginative" (it should be *the* Imaginative) "elements of humanity." (p. 4.) The Rationalist phase is the one we are now passing under, which, Lord Lindsay says, truly enough, "occurs periodically in all communions." "Scepticism," he remarks, "subdivides itself into the distinct forms of Materialistic, and Idealistic, or Rationalistic, according as the instincts of the individual sceptic incline primarily towards Imagination or Reason." It is in the harmonious union of these two in their junction point lies the sound judgment of the individual in matters of religion—a truth which Lord Lindsay sets forth in the following highly figurative exercise of one of these faculties: "It is from the marriage (as it were) of Imagination and Reason, by the ring of God, at the altar of the clouds, that the Wisdom, Justice, Charity, Virtue, and Genius of Man, and all the great thoughts and deeds that spring, age after age, from that fertile and holy spousal bed, take birth and wing for Heaven." (p. 9.)

As an example of the heaping together of abstract terms, of which we have before spoken, in order to define clearly (most men will think that this is defining by confounding) his meaning, we may just give the following example. He is defining the "Imaginative element," when "carried legitimately out in humanity, apart from the corrective influence of the Reasoning." This, he says, "implies, in progress and in issue."

"Nature Objective, Passive, Defensive, Exclusive, Positive in practice, Negative in resistance to innovation, the 'No' of creation—in a word, Feminine and Conservative—receiving ideas from without—the instinct of Acquiescence or Submission predominant over that of Voluntary Choice—her principle in theology, Faith; salvation by Works, the expression of Obedience, as visible witnesses of the life and health of the tree—her philosophical criterion of truth derived primarily from the

Senses—ideas either inseparably attached to Matter, or utterly disbelieved in—a general tendency to Materialism—” We stop short, being out of breath; but the definition runs on over two full pages more before it comes to a full stop, all expressed in similar abstract terms. And then follows an equally long and abstract definition of the “Reasoning Element.” The book is full of these cumbrous elaborations of philosophical distinctions. After this specimen of verbose simplicity and confounding clearness, we fear our readers will not be disposed to follow the learned author any farther; but *we* must try and follow him in order to ascertain and test the principle which he developes as the only true safeguard against the dangers which arise from the excess of either of these elements in the individual man.

Any fixed law set up in relation to the ever-varying phases of our myriad-minded Humanity must be received with peculiar caution. It is easy to generalise ourselves into some false principle; it is still easier to dogmatise. The dogma which Lord Lindsay lays down is, that God has revealed “Truth Universal, or Christianity, to man” in two forms or ways—objectively, or *ab externo*, in the Holy Scriptures; “and the decisions or *dicta* of the Œcumenical Councils of the Church, and imperative on his belief and acceptance subjectively, or *ab interno*.” (p. 10.) The decisions of Œcumenical Councils are thus made co-ordinate in authority with the Holy Scriptures. The truth is revealed in the sun, but man’s candle must be brought in order to see it. Six General Councils (the first six) are named by Lord Lindsay as possessing this special authority. He regards it as a providential appointment, that after these six representative bodies of the Church universal had given in their decisions, “had uttered their several voices like the trumpets in the Apocalypse,” (to quote his own grandiloquent language), “God saw fit, in His providence, to divide the East from the West, and to shut up and conclude the faith of Christianity,—rendering it as impossible for Christians to meet or agree in Œcumenical Councils for the declaration of faith or absolute doctrine, as for the Jews to count their genealogies, and to point to a future Messiah after the advent of our Saviour, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion. The canon of faith, and cycle of primitive Church history, were completed and sealed up in parallel manner in either instance.” (p. 59.)

How easy it is to jump to a conclusion that we wish! and alas! with sceptics, there is only a step between the wishful and the wilful.

What is the ground of this extraordinary theory of revealed truth? “The Bible contains the truth:” that is admitted; “but how to discover, how to identify the truth—how to be certain that what we take to be the truth is really the truth—

there is the rub—that is the difficulty.” (p. 288.) In other words, the Bible is an infallible book ; but we want an infallible authority *ab extra*, to make it infallible ! It contains the truth ; but no one can be sure of finding it there, unless a voice from without tells him where it is and what it is ; which sounds to us very much like saying, that the Bible is a revelation in which nothing certain is revealed ; at least, except so far as man’s sense shall make it certain !

One argument used in support of this dogma is, that the very canon of Scripture depends upon this same external authority. This is a favourite argument both with the Romanists and with High Churchmen. Because we depend upon “Catholic consent,” or the unanimous testimony of the Early Church, to know which are the books of Holy Scripture, *therefore* we depend upon the same to know what is in those books,—this is, to our humble sense, a very curious mode of reasoning, and certainly requires belief in an infallible authority to ensure its reception.

But the main point we have to examine is the principle laid down by Lord Lindsay, which is to provide us with an infallible safeguard against Scepticism. On this we would observe :—

1. That it only sets up one kind of extra-divine infallibility in the place of another, without giving us any proof that it is infallible. The Church of Rome has, as is well known, several theories of infallibility : one is, that it exists in the Pope alone ; another, that it exists in a General Council alone ; a third, that it exists in a General Council and the Pope conjointly ; and a fourth, that it exists in the universal Church diffusively. It is thus that she makes it much more difficult to find out the rule of infallibility, or to discover where it is lodged, than to ascertain the truth itself by our own unaided judgment. Lord Lindsay’s short and easy method certainly simplifies the process ; for by one stroke he makes this *variable constant*, so puzzling to Protestants, to be *invariable*. The first six General Councils have decided once for all what are the true doctrines of the Christian faith. There can be no other General Councils ; and we have only to receive their decisions implicitly, for our minds to be set for ever at rest. Undoubtedly ; but then, how are we to be assured that their decisions were absolutely correct ?

2. Lord Lindsay’s principle assumes the very thing that needs to be proved, namely, that these Councils were infallible. Any man must be bewitched out of his senses to depend upon their decisions absolutely, merely because they have given them. Did these Councils ever claim infallibility for themselves ? And if they did not, how can infallibility be ascribed to their decrees, except upon a less authority than that which established those decrees ; which is the *reductio ad absurdum* of Infallibility, established by an acknowledged Fallibility !

What is Bishop Jeremy Taylor's statement on this point? "There is no General Council," he says, "that hath determined that a General Council is infallible; no Scripture hath recorded it; no tradition universal hath transmitted to us any such proposition; so that we must receive the *authority* at a lower rate, and upon a less probability, than the *things consigned* by that authority."

Our author claims the Church of England as recognising and adopting his principle of the Infallibility of the first six General Councils. But the Church of England recognises no such thing; nor does she claim any such thing for any General Councils. She only appeals to the decisions of the first six, or rather of the first four, as *confirmatory* of her views of Scripture doctrines; but for the *authority* on which those doctrines ultimately rest, and are to be received, she refers to Scripture alone. It is *negatively*, to determine what is heresy, not *positively*, to determine what is truth, she appeals to these Councils.

The "Statute" to which Lord Lindsay so often refers, but which he never quotes, is at most only a Statute of Limitations.* It rules, that nothing is to be pronounced to be heresy that was not so determined by the first four General Councils; but it never lays down the converse, that nothing is to be held to be orthodoxy, or the truth, but what they so affirmed. Had the Church of England done this, she would have contradicted herself. What is her statement regarding General Councils? "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes; and when they are gathered together (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation *have neither strength nor authority*, unless it be declared that they be *taken out of Holy Scripture*." (Art. XXI. Of the Authority of General Councils.) Does the Church of England here make any exception in favour of the first six General Councils? By no means.

History is quite as much against this principle of the Infallibility of the first six General Councils, as is common sense. These Councils agreed not one with another. Within twenty-five years after the assembling of the first Council which can at all pretend to the name of a General Council, that of Nice, the orthodox creed then established was contradicted by a far

* Even this Statute has been repealed for above two centuries! It never was anything more than a *rule of direction* to the High Commission Court in judging what was to be accounted heresy, and necessarily lost all legal force when that

Court ceased to exist. This is confessed by no less an authority than Lord Coke, who, consequently, never refers to it as having the permanent force of law, even in its original intention.

more numerous, and indeed the most General Council we read of in Church history—that of Ariminum. Nor is this the only case of contradiction between two General Councils. The second Council of Ephesus, in 449, and the Council of Chalcedon (called the Fourth General Council) in 451, came to directly opposite determinations respecting the great Eutychian heresy. Here were Councils that were as Œcumenical as any other Councils that ever assembled, and yet they established their infallibility only by giving opposite decisions! Truly, General Councils “*may err*”; and then what becomes of their Infallibility?

The Council of Constance, which affirmed that Infallibility rested with General Councils, and not with the Pope, proved its own infallibility, if we mistake not, by consigning John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames, and condemning the writings of Wycliffe, and ordering his bones to be taken up and burnt; and yet it is from the doctors of this Council, according to Lord Lindsay, the Church of England “*derives, proximately, the constitutional principles of her Reformation;*” by which he means, the principle of Scripture checked and controlled in its interpretation by Tradition or General Councils!

It would naturally be supposed that there must be some strong unambiguous authority somewhere in Scripture for assigning this high office to General Councils. What is the authority pleaded? It is assumed that when Christ said to his Apostles, “*Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world,*” he pledged himself to be with them, and not with them only, but with their successors, through all time, to “*guide them into all the truth,*” or, in other words, to render their judgments infallible, whenever, in their collective official capacity, they sat to give judgment upon the sense of Scripture. But what proof is there that this was Christ’s meaning? Is it clear that “*unto the end of the world,*” (in Matt. xxviii.) means other than to the end of the Jewish dispensation, when His kingdom should be finally set up. This is the primary meaning of “*ἕως τῆς συντέλειας τοῦ αἰῶνος,*” at all events; for it is the very expression used in Matt. xxiv. in relation to the destruction of Jerusalem. But waving this, the observable thing here is, that Christ promises to be with his Twelve Apostles, not infallibly to guide them *into* all truth, but only *if* they teach the truth which they have already received from Him. By no fair exegesis can the promise be taken apart from compliance with the injunction. And as to the expression, “*I am with you,*” the common Scriptural sense of that expression is, “*I will stand by you; I will protect you.*” (Acts xviii. 10, *et passim.*) Christ did protect His Apostles in the discharge of their duty, till that duty was done; and so fulfilled His promise. The promise can apply to us only so far as we teach

His commandments, and gives no guarantee that we or the Church shall not teach otherwise; for if it did, it would be contradicted by all history. If this were a promise of absolute infallibility to the Church sitting in General Councils, then it must have guaranteed that the Church should be infallible, as we have shown, even in her contradictions—*quod est absurdum*.

As the Jews had their traditions, so, it may be feared, we have among us our traditional senses of Scripture, of which this is one instance. We are all more or less the victims of such interpretations. Nothing is more difficult than to shake them off when they once get their hold upon us. Such an interpretation as that we have noticed would probably never have been thought of, and never set up, but that a prop was wanted for the doctrine of Infallibility flowing through some human channel. The evil of these traditional interpretations is, that if we are bound to receive them on the ground that they have always been received; then, supposing them to be wrong (and it is altogether to beg the question to assume that they are always right), error becomes *stereotyped*, and there is no escaping from it when once fastened upon us. It is "Catholic tradition" in addition to Scripture, which is practically tradition superseding Scripture, that Lord Lindsay would bind upon us as the Rule of Faith. This is his own statement,—“The test of Truth in the interpretation of Scripture resides in the common consent of the successors of the Apostles, as recorded in the *dicta* of the Six Œcumenical or Universal Councils,” &c. (p. 59.) Or more fully thus:—“The fountain of the faith in the primitive and undivided Church during these six centuries was the Holy Bible, consisting of the Canonical Scriptures as possessed, transmitted, and uninterruptedly read in the Apostolic Churches; and the rule of interpretation, the test of the faith, was the tradition of antiquity, ubiquity, and universality, uniform and unbroken, descending, not as a secret, underground, but as an open daylight river or stream, through the successors of the Apostles in their respective Churches, and ultimately derived from ‘the mind of Christ,’—all these Churches, originally and rightfully independent of each other, being collectively one under, and in, Him.” (p. 55.) “Private or individual judgment was held in abeyance to this supreme authority.” Here we have the celebrated rule of Vincentius Lirinensis set up—the rule of “*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est* :” only, instead of its being left to each individual to determine what comes within this rule, General Councils are supposed to determine it for us by virtue of an infallibility that was never promised them! This method of dealing with Scripture certainly cuts short many difficulties; but it is only to raise up a greater difficulty by far to one’s faith, which is, that one is called upon to believe a thing that rests upon

no warrant or evidence whatever. Private judgment is thus brought in to exclude private judgment (for it is private judgment that sets up this rule), and to relieve men of what God never intended them to be relieved—their individual responsibility.

As might be expected with such a theory as this made a pet of, Lord Lindsay is dreadfully wrathful against the right of Private Judgment. When he speaks of it, indeed, he seems to forget all the usual courtesies of speech, all the refinements and restraints upon language, which usually distinguish the scholar and the gentleman from the violence and the rabid exaggerations of the vulgar, half educated sectarian. According to him, Private Judgment is a "schismatical principle;" is the "parent of heresies and short-comings in every age;" it is a "farthing rushlight;" it is a "seducing Delilah," (*sic*), &c. The following is one of the noble author's tirades against this necessary constituent of our responsible individual Humanity:—

"Private Judgment, that sophistical, one-sided delusion, unworthy of men of sense and sobriety, by which Reason arrogates to herself the power of determining absolutely what is, or is not, the truth of God; of discerning infallibly (in a garden no longer that of Eden) between the fruits of the tree of life and the tree of knowledge—to the effect of dispensing with the promised presence of the Saviour with His Church, and with the gift of the Spirit as a leader into all truth, as an assistance quite unnecessary to her,—in revival, in fact, of the wild dream of Protagoras, that each man's mind is the standard of the universe,—throwing back those who adopt it in the very first elements of Christian belief, the 'milk of babes,' of which St. Peter speaks in the Epistle,—cutting away and obliterating the steps laboriously hewn, century after century, in the rock of Christian Wisdom for our ascent towards heaven, and planting us at the bottom in the pleasant persuasion that we can make wings of our own, to shorten and sweeten the upward progress, wings which ever fail us, like those of Icarus, when we get near the sun,—a delusion, in fine, only comparable to that which would induce a British statesman, in the Parliament of the nation, to propose a return, with Rousseau, to the happy political simplicity of the Pre-Adam(Smith)ites—

'When wild in woods the noble savage ran'—

in abnegation and forfeiture of all that we have won through centuries of political growth and experience; or an athlete of Athens to strip off the thews and muscles with which nature and exercise have endued him, to resort to his primitive pap and mother's arms, long antedating even the age of leading-strings." (pp. 156, 157.)

Farther on our author tells us, "Private Judgment in Theology is a mere name, an euphemism for prejudice, for short-sightedness, for narrow-mindedness, for hasty and imperfect generalisation—a mere substitute of philosophic tyranny for the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" (p. 304); and, in the place of this high power which guides us in all other

things, we are to take "Scripture limited by Catholic or Ecumenical Tradition."

It just occurs to us to ask, in reference to these General Councils, which are set up as our supreme authority, did not each individual in these Councils exercise his own private judgment? And if the parts were all pieces of private judgment, how can the whole be otherwise than a lump of private judgment? A whole surely cannot differ from its parts? Or if, as our Art. XXI. says, some of the parts were bad, then must not this vitiate, as the Article says it does, the whole? If we are to take Lord Lindsay's authority for it, it was the Council of Constance that established the principle of Catholicity for which he contends, namely, "the authority of the Church as supreme and infallible through the guidance of God in her Ecumenical character." But, by our author's own admission, the Council of Constance was not a General Council, and therefore not under the guidance of God in its collective capacity;—how, then, was its decision anything but an exercise of private judgment upon his own principle, in establishing what the author calls, "the true constitutional principle of the Church?"

Theories are dangerous things to deal in, especially in regard to a subject that opens out into such an infinity of relations as does Christianity. They are almost sure to betray the man who trusts in them. Was the disputed point between Peter and Paul settled by a General Council? Did the first Council that we ever read of (Acts xv.) consist only of the Apostles or Bishops? Is private judgment never appealed to in Scripture? A number of awkward questions of this kind might be asked, with none of which our author's theory would quadrate. There could be no safer guide, we fully admit, than some infallible authority, if we only knew where it was to be for certain found; but our great difficulty is to discover any such infallible authority external to the word of God itself. We must have greater faith in a human theory than in God's own word, if we are to accept, upon no further proof than he gives us, Lord Lindsay's unicorn principle, which is to push, like Daniel's goat, with one horn alike against Romanism and Rationalism, and all the various forms of a diversified Scepticism.

Suppose we adopt Lord Lindsay's theory—which, after all, is not his, but was Hammond's before him—what do we gain by it? We only add a fresh obstacle in the way of the Infidel, for we call upon him to believe in the infallibility of a number of fallible men, in addition to calling upon him to believe in the Bible as the inspired word of God. Surely, he will say, if the Bible, as you affirm, contains infallible truth, I may learn that truth from the Bible itself, without running the risk of being misled by your infallible interpreter, who may, after all, be quite as fallible as myself. Either the Bible does contain infallible truth, or it

does not: if it does, it can require no interpreter to make it infallible; if it does not, then it cannot be the word of God, and no interpreter can by his interpretation make that infallible which is in itself fallible. Thus, whichever way the Sceptic looks at the question, he derives no aid from Lord Lindsay's paraded security.

Had there not been certain doctrines not clearly revealed in Scriptures, that needed to be bolstered up by this extra-Scripture authority, we should probably never have heard so much about Catholic Tradition. Lord Lindsay is a Realist, and his religious sympathies all evidently go with the extreme High Church party. Hence we find him insisting upon such dogmas as the Communion of Saints being "the Mystical Body of which Christ our Saviour is the Head, that *corporate unity in which is life, and out of which there is no salvation*"—"the office of the Priesthood as mouth-pieces of God, pipes from the fount of living waters, channels of grace, although themselves but earthen vessels"—"the mysterious efficacy of the Sacraments as uniting the Christian to the Body of Christ and nourishing the soul, &c."—(p. 274): these doctrines being insisted upon by him, not as the whole truth, but as one side or half of that truth, which goes to make up sound Catholic and yet Protestant theology. His idea of the nature of the Church seems to be that entertained by the late Robert Isaac Wilberforce, that it has a real objective existence separately from persons, time and place, and that its authority is a positive thing apart from the Scriptures. (p. 274.) This is Realism in theology. But when we carry our Realistic notions so far as to give positive existence to such abstractions as these, we are in fact creating a number of other gods—setting up some of the mental idols that Lord Bacon speaks of, things "not dreamt of in (true) philosophy." We must be careful not to make ourselves the unwitting dupes of a spiritual idolatry of this kind, as well as not to supersede God's authority in His own Word by any authority of man. As to the Bible, it is admitted that it is an admirable book, and contains, though only obscurely, all the truth; but it is dangerous, it is even a sin, for a man to attempt to *interpret* it, except it be first *interpreted* for him by an infallible authority; and that infallible authority is a General Council, composed of those very beings whom the Bible was designed to teach! It is the learners who are to communicate infallibility to their own lessons!

It is difficult to discuss a principle like this without continually running into irony, and catching the spirit of ridicule. We can only plead what Pascal urges in the Eleventh of his inimitable "*Lettres Provinciales*," in which he remarks,—"*Qu'on peut réfuter par des railleries les erreurs ridicules.*" The cedar of Lebanon cannot be planted in a flower-pot. To our minds there is something infinitely absurd in requiring an infallible

authority to make sure the sense of an infallible book. The sense is in the book itself; and if it is not there, no one ought to put it there.

So far as Lord Lindsay levels his shafts against the Church of Rome, we quite go with him. She, undoubtedly, has put the crowning absurdity upon the doctrine of Infallibility, by placing Infallibility, since the Council of Trent, in the Pope. This is Infallibility by deputy, upon the principle of private judgment, the private judgment of one individual being made the substitute for the private judgment of all others. By the decrees of that Council she has fastened error round her neck for ever; for, being infallible, she can never rescind what she has dogmatically asserted upon pain of anathema; unless, indeed, she can save herself by the assurance that in the points rescinded she was *infallibly* in error!

Men may strive as they will to get rid of Private Judgment, but Private Judgment, in some form or other, will always come back upon us. We can no more get rid of it, or transfer it to another, than we can transfer or get rid of our own conscience. There is not merely the right of private judgment attaching to each individual, but the responsibility. Each one is bound to search out Truth for himself, and to use all the means within his reach of enlightening his judgment. If he pins his faith absolutely upon what any other may tell him, and exercises no judgment of his own, he renounces that which constitutes the highest distinction of his nature. It may seem very desirable, *à priori*, that there should be an infallible guide for fallible man; but God, *in fact*, has every where denied it, and in denying it in religion he has only acted in consistency with the whole of his government of man as a moral agent. Man's constitution, and his position in relation to the external world, obviously and absolutely subject him to this responsibility of judging for himself throughout the whole course of his life. The way, then, to deal with the sceptic, is not to try to relieve him of this responsibility, which can never be set aside; but to urge upon him the duty of examining, candidly and honestly, the evidence for the truth of Christianity, or of any of its doctrines, and of being content to act upon such evidence for this as he is satisfied with in all the other transactions of time. If there could be such a thing as absolute infallibility, wherever placed, there would be no room left for faith, in the proper sense of that term; but Faith and Reason together are the chart and compass which God has given to man to guide him over the dark sea of time into the deeper dark of eternity.

The class of sceptics, to meet whose case Lord Lindsay has written his book, are men who have perplexed themselves, after the German fashion, with the problems of the *Absolute* and the *Infinite*; problems which, in the very nature of things, the

human mind can never solve; or they are men who have bewildered themselves in the mazes of Reason, and lost themselves in the obscurities that necessarily invest all questions that have divine relations. They require for the truths of religion a kind of evidence which those truths do not admit of. It is useless to *reason* with these men in the ordinary way; for their very disease is an excess of reason, or rather, of reasoning. The only alternative is, to bring them down from their airy elevations, and to make them see, if possible, what are the real conditions of our humanity in this world, in its relation to the future. We cannot alter our lot. We must be contented to be guided by moral evidence in all moral questions ("probabilities," as bishop Butler has said, "are the guide of life"); or we must grope on without any guidance at all, and without any assurance as to whither we are going. The condition of man will ever be that so well described by the deep-thoughted Pascal: "*Il faut avoir ces trois qualités : pyrrhoniën, géomètre, chrétien soumis ; et elles s'accordent et se tempèrent en doutant où il faut, en assurant où il faut, en se soumettant où il faut.*"

It is curious to observe how doubt, so far from being extinguished by, fastens and feeds upon, the Christian revelation. Upon philosophical principles, this is just what might be expected. Nothing can exist in an absolute vacuum. Even this negative principle must have some medium for its play, and some object for its action; and what object is so suited to it as a revelation that rests upon moral evidence only, and not demonstrative, for its convictions? There is said to be a substance which not only burns in water, but actually kindles at the very touch of water; just so are there doubts which not only resist the power, but seem to kindle at the very touch of the Ithuriel spear of the Christian faith. The way to deal with these misty and intangible creatures, is not to play with them (they will not bear to be trifled with), but to let Heaven itself disperse them by seating ourselves as much as possible in the sun. Our boasted reason is, after all, only our intellectual eye; and like the eye, to see, it must have light; and all light comes from above. A man may reason himself into unbelief; but no one, probably, ever reasoned himself into Faith, because Faith has a higher sphere of action than Reason. Faith includes Reason, though Reason does not include Faith; and hence Reason, when Faith is once undermined and overthrown by sceptical doubts, can never of itself restore the soul up to the faith from which it has fallen away. The evidence that once convinced, having grown ineffectual, has lost all its power. This arises from the essential difference there is between a philosophy and a religion. Religion always involves a sentiment over and above the external or internal evidence which Philosophy is conversant about. Right Reason is Reason

exercised in conjunction with Faith, as in all the ordinary enterprises of life; and it is not the impulse of this Reason, but of a diseased Rationalism, which continues to make us restless and dissatisfied questioners in the presence of those living verities, which, as existing beyond all question, whether proved by external evidence, or the witness of our own consciousness, ought to fill and satisfy our Reason, and to stop us from asking a reason deeper than Beauty, before we can admire; for a reason deeper than Truth, before we can believe; a reason deeper than Love, before we can love, trust, and obey. As bishop Butler has expressed it, "The evidence of religion is fully sufficient for all the purposes of probation, how far soever it is from being satisfactory as to the purposes of curiosity, or any other; and, indeed, it answers the purposes of the former in several respects, which it would not do if it were as overbearing as is required." Or, as Pascal has finely put it; "There is light enough for those whose sincere wish is to see; and darkness enough to confound those of an opposite disposition."

Philosophy has its perplexities as well as Theology—perplexities which the human mind can never solve any more than it can square the circle. Happily, man is so constituted that he can admire and love, and even trust and obey, without fully understanding. And to do this is the proper duty of man. Living as we do in a world where day and night alternate, going about as we do everywhere accompanied by our own shadow, we cannot reasonably expect to be delivered from all darkness. Everywhere the light is born from darkness, and darkness accompanies the light. A certain degree of obscurity is necessary to give an interest to all questions connected with Deity, and our own final destiny. The soul of man never has been, and never can be, satisfied with a cold, rationalistic creed, in which all things seem as clear as icebergs in the Arctic Regions; but it rather delights to pace through the dim forests, with their solemn shades; to roam over the infinite unknown of God's wondrous love and power, and to lose itself in the awful ecstasy of that shadow which falls over us from His infinity.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that there is no reason in such a faith as this: there is in it both philosophy and reason. How is it that Philosophy has obtained its own brightest visions of Truth? Has it been by looking on the world without, with the naked eye of Reason alone, and believing nothing of which Reason could not first furnish proof? Has it not, rather, been by the inward gaze of the soul direct upon its unseen object, without any process of reasoning whatsoever? It is indeed a fact, that our mental powers operate spontaneously, and report most truly when we are taking no notice of them, but are influenced simply by a

desire to receive truth. Metaphysical disquisition and reasoning only serve to dim the clearness of our view, by agitating and disturbing the atmosphere which is the medium of our vision. Almost all great discoveries have, in the first instance, been intuitions. As there are states of the atmosphere which seem to bring remote things near; as there are days of clearness when we can look down far into the ocean and behold its pearls; as the night reveals to us objects which are invisible in the glow of the broad day;—so are there states of feeling, and moods of the mind, when the obscure looks bright, and the dim grows distinct, and Truth, like a landscape that lies lapped in light, stands out in full relief—a beautiful scene, in which even the objects of Earth appear bathed in the light of Heaven. Our eye is so constructed that we can look upon pure light without being blinded by it; and so is our mind. Darkness is the accident of our own condition; to God all things live in light.

It is worthy of special notice, that there is a kind of darkness which is itself a revelation—the darkness of divine mysteries—that night of Reason, which, like the natural night, reveals more than the day—bringing out the tens of thousands of stars that people the deserts of limitless space, and discovering the infinite to our sublimed Imagination. This is that night, holy and salutary, in which Reason humbles itself, and finds repose and refreshment, and Faith soars on the wings of the Imagination into immensity, which is one of God's attributes, to fold those wings, like the Cherubim, in adoration before the throne of the Eternal, in the acknowledgment, "Thou only, O God, art Wise and Great!"

Men are very apt to demand of the Almighty what they have no right to claim—a knowledge of the reasons of things. If He has revealed enough for our guidance in life; enough for our moral well-being; enough to secure us safety in our voyage to eternity; enough to excite our constant faith in Him; that is all we can reasonably expect. This is just what is suited to our creaturely condition: and to give us more would be to make gods of us in knowledge, without our being gods in moral power. Dependence must ever be our condition towards our Maker, and the instant we fall away from that, we fall into misery. We ought to be thankful to Him, then, that He has made every discovery to involve a fresh mystery, if it be for no other end than to keep us humble, because, by keeping us humble, He keeps us happy. It is no fault in Truth, but in our own minds, if the axioms of man *innocent* have become the problems of man *corrupted*.

The question is often put, "What has Philosophy to do with Religion?" If by Philosophy is meant the reasonings and systems of men, the answer is, "Nothing." But if by Philo-

sophy be intended the knowledge of God's works and of the moral lessons which they teach us; or of His Word and of the principles on which it is founded, then Philosophy is one of the noblest exercises of the human intellect. There is a wide distinction between a Christianized Philosophy, and a Philosophical Christianity. The latter is what has to be feared. Christianity is itself a "Divine Philosophy," and entering into the philosophy of Christianity is a perfectly legitimate employment of the human faculties. It was this employment of the mind that distinguished such men as Newton, Boyle, and Butler. They were not philosophical Christians, but philosophers, whose philosophy was baptized into Christianity.

Lord Lindsay complains that "at the Reformation Philosophy and Theology became practically dissociated." This may be true in the sense in which he contemplates Philosophy and Theology. The idealities of Plato and the Dialectics of Aristotle, which had so long held Christianity in their trammels, were doubtless broken away from and rejected; but it was to make way for a simpler and purer Philosophy, just as Wordsworth's poetry opened the way to a simpler, purer, and more natural poetry than that of Pope.

It is painfully evident that Lord Lindsay, with the best of objects in view, has allowed himself to become unduly fascinated with the ancient philosophies, and would re-import their principles into Christianity. The Second period of Greek philosophy is with him "the peculiar antitype and foreshadowing of Our Saviour and the Christian Church of the present dispensation." (p. 30.) How he would combine the two in a jumble of the Human and the Divine, will appear from the following strange juxta-position of names:—

"It is through the constitutional antagonism of the Imaginative and Reasoning, the Catholic and Protestant, elements of the consummate intellect, that the chariot of human progress advances to its goal—they are the wings of Thales and Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Thomas Aquinas and William of Occam, Bacon and Descartes, that elevate the human spirit, under the inspiration of Socrates and (to approximate the names with all reverence) of Christ to the gates of Heaven." (p. 197.)

This view of the relations of Philosophy to Religion, it is needless to observe, differs very widely from that taken by St. Paul in 1 Cor. i. 18—31. His way of getting over St. Paul's condemnation of "Philosophy, falsely so called," by remarking—"the qualification stamps the antithesis, true philosophy, with his approval," reminds us of the Jesuit's inference from St. Peter's words, "abominable idolatries,"—"So then, there are some idolatries which are not abominable."

After such a combination of the Human and the Divine together, as the above passage exhibits, we can hardly be sur-

prised to find Lord Lindsay admiring such men as "St. Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor," (p. 87), as he terms him; or speaking of the Virgin as "Our Lady," (p. 211); or extolling the Jesuits as men "many of whom have ranked amongst the noblest, the sublimest, the holiest witnesses of Christianity." (p. 145.) Indeed, his religious sympathies too plainly go more with the Church of Rome than with any form of Protestantism. Who can doubt this with such a passage before him as the following:—

"The Romanists alone, it is but justice to add, offer comparatively safe, though troubled waters for the believer's ship to ride in; retaining as they do, in spite of their fatal repudiation of the principle of Catholicity, a large grasp on primitive antiquity—holding all that we of the Catholic Church hold, (and much more besides of modern and corrupt addition), and thus secured from error on the great special fundamental truths of Christianity, lying, as they do, on the beach of their faith, like vast granite boulders (much hidden by the shells and sea-weed that incrust them) whereto, like the old Greek ships, they have moored the bark of St. Peter." (p. 167.)

It is the dreadful assertion of the principle of private judgment that condemns the Church of Rome in his eyes—asserted absurdly enough by her as the peculiar prerogative of the Pope. He declares that this is a "Romanist principle," and not a principle of the Church of England.

We are far from accusing Lord Lindsay of a want of loyalty to his own Church. He expresses everywhere the most unbounded admiration of her, and is as enthusiastic in her praise as any lover could possibly be in praise of his mistress—which of course depends upon his own conception of her beauty. She is an "imperfect but still a most lofty type on earth of what is perfect in heaven"—"through the vigorous constitutional antagonism of her contending elements, Social and Individual, Catholic and Protestant, Imaginative and Reasoning," she is "ever young, ever fresh, ever healthy, in the harmony that springs from immortal strife and progress." (p. 184.) Again:—

"Only the Catholic Church—only the English branch of it in our Western World—is thoroughly unmaimed, sound, and healthy, because based impartially on the rights of God and the rights of Man, on St. Peter and St. Paul, on Imagination and Reason, on Catholicism and Protestantism—soaring upwards from those columns of Hercules as an arch of triumph, spanning the skies—lovelier than Iris, the three mystic colours of the Trinity emblazoned on her brow, and the Bible her keystone—for the hosts of the redeemed to march through in their pilgrimage to Zion." (p. 192.)

With what gorgeous hues a theory will invest an object! But we must not forget that the secret of this magnificent conception of the English Church is, not that she takes the Bible as her only authority, but that she has repudiated "Private

Judgment" and retained the principle of what Lord Lindsay calls "Catholicity"—a principle which, in the form in which he puts it, as we have shown, she nowhere recognizes.

It is further to be observed, that it is not the Church of England *as it is*, but a "Church of the future," Lord Lindsay, like some others, has in his eye, as the realization of perfection. "Philosophy" is to give birth to this "Catholico-Protestant Church," in which all the opposites of Sense and Spirit, Imagination and Reason, Catholicity and Individuality, are to be brought into concord—a Philosophy which, our author says, "will hereafter, I believe, prevail on earth, to the effect of creating harmony in the Individual, concord in the Community, constitutional government in the State, and Christianity in the Church, the aggregate polity of mankind." (p. 137.) How this glorious ideal is already taking form and substance, we learn from another passage, where we read:—

"Lastly, in the third and present period of the English Church, ranging over the past hundred years, we have seen the two great armies of the Evangelicals and Puseyites (popularly so designated) wholesomely at work within the Church—the former springing up as Evangelists, Preachers, and Missionaries, partly from the seed of the ancient Protestant faith inherent in the Church, partly, and in great measure, through the influence of Methodism; the latter, as Apostles, Thinkers, and Doctors, organising, disciplining, and combining the scattered atoms of belief in the spirit and by the light of Catholicity—each of them representing one antagonist half of human nature—each leavening the other—and the two, collectively, working together in effective, if not conscious, concert, towards the realisation of Christianity in its coequal and harmonious consent and presentment of faith and works, of individual responsibility and Catholic unity, as equally binding on Humanity. The great names of William Wilberforce, of Alexander Knox, of Coleridge, of Isaac Taylor, and of Pusey, denominate the period." (p. 177.)

Such an anticipation just confirms the statement we made in our review of Stanley's "Eastern Church" in our August number (p. 610). "It is fast becoming the fashion to regard Nicene theology, the subsequent picture worship of the Greek Church, Romanism, and our own Reformation, as only so many phases of the same common Christianity—like the phases of the moon, different and yet the same—not as, the one corruptions, and the other restorations, of *the truth*. The consequence of this is, that error and truth run imminent danger of being so confounded, as not to be distinguished; the object of it appears to be to prepare the world for some new development of the same religion."

The Scepticism which Lord Lindsay is so anxious to arrest (and he can hardly be too anxious), is that new form of unbelief which threatens to stay the realization of this beautiful vision of the "ox and the ass ploughing together." We fear that

his theory of "Catholicity," however well intended, will have but little effect in retarding the progress of an irrational Rationalism, that puts the Word of God and human creeds in the same category. Unbelief has its origin in the heart, and not in the head. That is the reason that it is not curable by reasoning. The things of the heart can be truly comprehended only by the heart. When the heart has gone wrong, the intellect itself becomes obfuscated. Those who make Christianity a religion of the intellect alone, imprison it in an impenetrable sanctuary, round which they go knocking at every door, and find no entrance; they are at once believers and unbelievers; Christians in their hopes, but Pagans in their moral condition; for they have shut the door of the kingdom of heaven against themselves. Of these Sceptical believers the new Oxford School are striking examples. By rejecting all mystery in religion, they have involved themselves in all the darkness of mystery, without any of its light.

There are some things the knowledge of which, although it be imperfect, proves their revelation. For as the eye cannot pierce through the clouds, so neither can the mind penetrate into the secrets of Heaven. It is only when the veil of the clouds is withdrawn by a hand more than human, that the sight can extend beyond the moon, and, ascending to the stars, repose on the calm of the infinite ether, that emblem of omnipresent Deity, which, though it everywhere enfolds and supports man, baffles his senses, and is unperceived, except as it is viewed in its own infinity. To keep our eyes on the unfathomable above us, and not on the fathomable beneath us—in other words, to "walk by faith, and not by sight"—is the true way to keep ourselves safe from falling; for while the one plunges us into the dark and turbid waters of doubt, the other raises us above the regions of doubt into the clear cerulean of infinite certainties, where all lesser difficulties vanish and disappear.

It is a most singular fact in the philosophy of religion, or the Gospel, that the instant you render it what is termed "reasonable," it loses all its power; in which respect it is like that most wonderful little creature in the animal world, which, when it loses its sting, dies. Christianity has not left it to Infidelity to charge it with being folly; it has taken the charge to itself, and glories in it, because in its folly lies the secret of its marvellous superhuman wisdom. The mere knowledge of religion is in no case religion, any more than the knowledge of morality is morality. As there pass under our view the philosophies and religio-philosophic theories which have at different periods of the world's history exercised the ingenuity of the Learned, we are forcibly struck with the fact, that religion, with the larger part of great minds (so esteemed), has been a mere intellectual tournament—a mere palaestra of

mental gladiatorship, and not a thing of the heart. Such minds would make Truth accessible, like an Egyptian sanctuary, only through a long propylæum which opens out at last into a region of utter vacuity. In this respect the new Oxford Sceptics offer a wholesome warning to all men not to trust too much to acuteness of intellect, or to philosophy, for the attainment of truth and of rest.

That those who have adopted the Rationalism of Germany for their guide, do not see whither their principles ultimately lead, we can fully believe. It frequently requires generations to develop the consequences of a single principle. Their case illustrates the fact, that when we allow our minds to speculate, unchecked, beyond the legitimate limits of human reason, in matters of theology, we become the victims of our own theories, which carry us, by logical necessity, to conclusions at which we should have stood aghast had they presented themselves full-faced before us at the outset. But their not seeing these consequences does not make them at all the less responsible for their principles. Their guilt will assume the form of a positive personality in their intellectual descendants.

The only true way of dealing with a Scepticism such as theirs, it appears to us, is, not to put before them "a fine new nothing," to use Jeremy Taylor's words, in such a baseless theory of infallibility as Lord Lindsay has adopted; but to push them with the positive and undeniable facts of our condition, religiously considered, in this world, and in relation to the future; to press them to give us a better solution of it than that to be found, for example, in Gen. iii.; to urge them with the question, whether everything in the nature and state, both of the man and the woman, does not exactly correspond with that which is there professedly accounted for; to require them to say whether this quadrates with their notion of God's reckless infinitude of mercy, limited by no principle, and armed with no terrors of justice; to demand of them the solution of the problem, how God can be at once a just God and yet a Saviour without an atoning Mediator; and to meet their objection, that this is all a mystery, which, as Reason cannot comprehend, Reason must not admit, by reminding them that every fresh discovery, even in philosophy, only reveals a fresh and deeper mystery.

There is no cure for our intellectual pride like the felt sense of our own ignorance and moral impotence. Man ought not, indeed, to let his ignorance control his knowledge; but even Reason, when chastened into proper humility, teaches him that he is bound to accept of, and to be satisfied with, such proofs as the subject will only admit of. It is certain that if the problems of Humanity are not solved by Christianity, they never can be solved without it. "Happy then is he,"—to

sum up our own observations with a striking passage from one of our greatest ethical writers,—“Happy then is he who, recognising the limits imposed upon the speculative powers of man, refuses to chafe at them; and, instead of wearing his strength by fruitless efforts to shake the iron portals, or dashing himself against the walls of his prison, is willing to believe it possible that there are many things true which sound now like contradictions; and instead of being wise above what is written, whether in the volume of Revelation, or of Nature, commits himself to probabilities, where demonstration deserts him; and in the meantime awaits that glorious dawn which shall let in on the child of dust the light of eternity, and either clear up the mysteries which baffle him, or leave him contented with his ignorance.”

THE LATE REV. JOHN WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, M.A.,
VICAR OF HARROW.

A MONTH more, and the *Christian Observer* will have held on its way for sixty years. Among the names of its earliest contributors was that of a young man, a Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, who took holy orders in the year of its commencement. Closely connected with those by whom it was originated, he continued his interest in it through succeeding years, as its friend and helper, and for a time as its Editor. The name which appeared in the list of its earliest, has remained in that of its latest contributors; but is removed from amongst them now, and is placed at the head of this page with an affectionate sorrow, in which numbers will share.

John William Cunningham was born in London, January 3rd, 1780. He was the elder son of his parents, who had but one other son, now the Rev. Francis Cunningham, vicar of Lowestoft, who lives to mourn for a brother with whom he had enjoyed, from his earliest remembrance, an affectionate and profitable intercourse. The family, during his boyhood, lived at Paddington, and attended the ministry of Basil Woodd at Bentinck Chapel; sometimes going further, to hear John Newton or Romaine. Mrs. Cunningham was a woman of ability and piety, and possessed by an earnest desire to see her children walking in the truth. She watched for their souls; and her persistent influence has ever been recognised by them as the chief earthly source of the principles and purposes of their maturer years. That recognition will not wholly pass from the world, when it shall no longer remain in the memory of a surviving son. It is inscribed on the walls of Pakefield church, which stands high on the Suffolk shore—a conspicuous object to the coasting vessels on the German Ocean. If we repeat the inscription, written by her eldest son, we

do so less for its own sake than as an encouragement of which many a mother's heart has need :—

Could we forget a mother's tender tears,
Thy ceaseless watchings o'er our infant years,
One thought would bind us to the honoured sod—
Our dearest mother gave our souls to God.
If e'er aright we wish, act, hope, or fear,
Pressed to thine heart, we learned the lesson there.
If e'er the All-righteous Judge thy children own,
A mother's prayers have called the blessing down.

With all the anxiety that was felt about their education, one great mistake was made in the matter. John, a clever and lively boy, was removed, at the age of fourteen, from a school at Hammersmith to the house of a tutor in Sussex, who was a plausible but unprincipled man, and allowed his pupils in habits of idleness and dissipation. It was a happy change when the discovery of want of progress in study occasioned his removal to the care of another tutor, the Rev. H. Jowett, of Little Dunham, who was a good man, and in whose house he found companions who became the friends of his future years—Robert Chambers, and the two Grants, afterwards Sir Robert Grant and Lord Glenelg. In due time, he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, where his intellectual activity did not at first take that turn which would lead to success in a university career. Only in the last year of his undergraduate life did he apply himself with sedulity to the proper studies of the place. Then his natural quickness of apprehension and acquisition stood him in good stead; and he came out Fifth Wrangler, and was elected Fellow of St. John's.

Whilst at college, he lived on intimate terms with many men who have since been eminent; but was drawn more and more closely to those whose interest in religious subjects harmonized with the turn which his own mind was taking. Helps for spiritual progress were not wanting. He attended the ministry of Mr. Simeon, though he was not thrown much within the circle of his private influence. He often heard Robert Hall, and would express, in later years, the remembrance of the effect of his preaching, in the strong impressions which it gave him of the *dignity* of religion, and the *grandeur* of the gospel. But it was probably from another quarter that his serious feelings received at this time their most effectual aid. He was brought into intercourse with the mother of his dear friends, the Noels. It is often permitted to faithful women, as part of their unobtrusive ministry, to influence unsettled hearts in critical stages of their history; and thus voices which must keep silence in the churches, have often determined the message delivered by the voices which are heard there. One who is best able to speak of those distant days asserts that it was so in the present instance, and that John Cunningham met with no influence (outside his own home) which more stimulated him to decision for the cause and truth of Christ, than the spirit and converse of Lady Barham. A bible marked by her hand remained in his possession to the last.

After taking his degree, a certain time was spent in Edinburgh, whither the two Grants and others of his friends had removed, and where he found himself in the midst of an animated and intellectual

society. But the close of the year 1802 saw him in the very different scene of a country curacy. When he yet wanted a little of the canonical age, he was ordained by bishop North to Ripley in Surrey; and at the end of a year removed to the sole charge of Ockham, in the same neighbourhood. In this place he entered on the happiness of family life—a state which no man ever more enjoyed or adorned. He was married July 30, 1805, to Sophia, daughter of R. Williams, Esq., of Moor Park,—a woman of great personal attractions, clear intellect, and ardent character. His first child was born there, but was taken soon after it was given. Shortly afterwards he left that place, to take the curacy of Clapham, under the Rev. John Venn, where he spent several years in an atmosphere stimulating to his powers and congenial to his feelings. In his former curacies he had enjoyed that popularity as a preacher which might be expected to attend a young man who had great natural advantages, and who employed them to set forth the great doctrines of the gospel. At Clapham this popularity was renewed in a higher degree and in a larger sphere. He brought the fire of youth, a clear and lively intellect, and the faculty of ready and graceful language, to the support of the truths which were there maintained; and he received in return the blessings of religious companionship and judicious guidance, of a fuller apprehension of the gospel which he preached, and of association in those schemes of Christian enterprise and benevolence which derived so much of their life and sustenance from (what has been called) “the Clapham Sect.” Here stood, in close neighbourhood, the houses of Grant, Thornton, and Wilberforce. Mr. Cunningham, already the friend of some of their inmates, now became the friend of others; and there is no need to explain what manner of spirit and what manner of interests he found in the society in which his daily life was passed. Above all did he count himself indebted to the wise and good man whose fellow worker he was, and whose portrait he has drawn in the character of Berkeley, in “The Velvet Cushion,” in lines which are plainly taken from the life, and in colours which as plainly derive their glow from the heart. Mr. Venn’s picture always hung in his room; and it looked down upon his bed of death. To one who there raised his eyes from the unconscious countenance, and cast them on the print upon the wall, it seemed to speak eloquently of the rapid passage of generations, and of the seeming shortness, but real eternity, of that Christian affection which once bound the dying to him who was long since dead, and then bound the living to him who could no longer be detained.

In 1811 the vicarage of Harrow, the presentation to which had been purchased by Mr. Cunningham’s family, fell vacant, and he entered on the charge which he held for fifty years. His brother joined him as his curate, and for a time they worked together, holding cottage lectures in the hamlets, and visiting the distant and destitute parts of that extensive parish. Such efforts perhaps were carried on in what would now be thought an unsystematic way; but the ideas and habits of the pastoral care were then very different from what they are at present. The ministry and circumstances of religion in the place had been till then in a very low condition; and there were peculiarities in the parish, as the seat of a Public School, which at

that time would have made it a trying post to any man. In the case of the new vicar, the very name of an Evangelical awoke a bitter spirit of hostility in quarters where it could make itself painfully felt. Every act was watched, and every sermon criticised; and the whole ministerial life was carried on under the consciousness that occasions of attack were being sought. Parochial measures, which were acknowledged to be requisite, were opposed on the simple ground that they were Mr. Cunningham's plans, and that he was damaging the character of the place and of the school by aiming to introduce evangelical religion. "It is a happy thing," he would say, "to be called to preach the gospel, but it is no great pleasure to have to carry it every Sunday into such a stormy pulpit as mine."

Mr. Cunningham early obtained a considerable reputation as a writer. His first publication was an *Essay on the Introduction of Christianity into India*, which was followed by "*The World without Souls*," written at Clapham; "*The Velvet Cushion*," written at Harrow soon after Mr. Venn's death, in 1813; "*Sancho the Proverbialist*;" some pamphlets in support of the Bible Society, and on other subjects, some volumes of Sermons, and various poetical productions. In the last species of composition he indulged largely in his earlier years, and those who know his little poem on the Sabbath, beginning:

"Dear is the hallowed morn to me
When village bells awake the day," &c.

will think that he has left something that will last.

The turn of his powers is best shown in "*The Velvet Cushion*," which went through many editions, enjoyed an extensive popularity, and is still connected with his name. It had the merit of fitting into the thoughts of the time, and of giving a just and moderate estimate of subjects which were then generally the property of prejudice and passion. But even now it can scarcely be read without the feeling that it is not in the category of common books. It keeps us perhaps on the surface of things, yet over that surface there quiver, as it were, faint lights and shades of natural playfulness, of gentle pathos, and of serious purpose, which in their combination and proportions produce an effect altogether peculiar.

But in speaking of his literary work, that which he did for the *Christian Observer* is not to be forgotten here. Its first (permanent) editor, Zachary Macaulay, often found the benefit of his ready help, and other editors have done so too. In the year 1850 he became editor himself, and when, after eight years, he resigned it into the hands in which it now is, his active connection with it did not cease. The charge of such a publication was a heavy burden to take up at his advanced age; but it seemed to be made light to him by his settled habits of industry, his singular facility in correspondence, and his warm interest in the work itself.

During a great part of his life, Mr. Cunningham's advocacy rendered important aid to the Church Missionary and British and Foreign Bible Societies. He travelled and spoke in their cause, when they were struggling against the prejudices of the world and of the church. For this work he was peculiarly fitted by the candour and moderation of his own mind, and by his happy talent in the treatment of objec-

tions. His speaking was singularly ready, but never without substance; serious and dignified, but cheerful in spirit, and full of lively and unexpected turns of thought. The copy of a Minute adopted by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, Oct. 14, 1861, lies before us; and an extract from it will supply the best testimony to the estimation in which his services were held:—

“The Church Missionary Society owes much to his long and consistent advocacy. In the year 1818 he was nominated an Honorary Life Governor, the terms of his appointment stating that it was made on the grounds of ‘able and successful exertions for the Society which need not be recapitulated.’”

“In 1823 he preached the Anniversary Sermon from the memorable words: ‘Now is the prince of this world cast out; and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.’ Not to mention his interest in the abolition of West Indian slavery, his exertions on behalf of the introduction of the Episcopal and Christian Missions into British India, his cordial and ready help in founding and sustaining auxiliaries of the Society in the chief towns of England, he took a part in no less than nineteen of the Society’s Anniversary meetings between 1816 and 1848. His voice was last heard at the Society’s Jubilee, when he was selected to take part in the Special Meeting, as one of the links that bind the present to the past, and as a representative of those great principles on which the Society was founded, and which, under God, are the secret of its strength and vitality.”

It was during an absence from home on a similar service that death drew near to his doors. In the depth of a severe winter (1821) he went to Gloucester for the Bible Society, leaving his wife, as he thought, slightly indisposed. The cold became a pleurisy, and he returned to find her dying. It was a death-bed full of the consolations of the word. She spoke continually of sin, of Christ, and of peace. “The sting of death,” she said, “is gone; it is so wonderful, because I always had such a fear of death from my youth, but God has taken it all away: it is gone, my Saviour has washed me from all my sins.” Her last thoughts dwelt upon the words of St. Peter. (2 Pet. i. 11.) “Abundantly” was the last sound which was caught from her lips: “it is—ministered—abundantly—abundantly.”

It was the first of many mournings. Nine children were left, to whom their surviving parent rendered the care of a mother as well as of a father. Six of them in succession were called away. First, the eldest daughter died of a fearful fever. Then four other daughters, two unmarried, and two who were wives and mothers. But the heaviest blow of all was the death of the eldest son, Charles Thornton Cunningham, then Lieut.-Governor of the Leeward Islands: heaviest, because it came most suddenly, and perhaps because he had been most beloved. After the death of one of his sisters by lingering consumption, her picture was sent out to him. He had been anxious for its arrival, but was much agitated on receiving it. After removing the covering, he gazed on it for a moment, then went up stairs, and fell lifeless on the floor. It seemed at first for the poor father a crushing, irrevocable blow; but it was very meekly borne. Some days after he wrote,—“Where the Lord loves, he does not spare the *appropriate* chastening. I am sure I feel to the *quick* how much penalty I deserve, and how much amendment I need.” Some months later he could write thus,—“We are, thank God, all well; and, I hope I may add, happy. No events ought to interrupt the happiness of a soul that is in any degree authorised to hope that it is ‘accepted in the Beloved.’ I have been greatly struck with the spirit of peace in the letters of Newton. It

is a happiness in spite of a thousand heavy trials. I certainly never find that any other principles or style of religion lead to the same results."

Two years after this another sorrow came, in the loss of her to whom these words were addressed. Mr. Cunningham had married again in June, 1827. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Calvert, Bart., and sister of the present Sir H. Verney, M.P., of Claydon, Bucks. She died unexpectedly of a rapid illness in February, 1849. It was no common loss. All who knew her remember her as one whom it was good to have known. The power of conscience and the spirit of kindness were never more perfectly united. The love of Christ was in her heart, in her words, in her life, and even in her countenance. She was called from the home which she adorned; but the three children whom she left were their father's companions in his latter years, and, with the three who remained of his first family, watched by him in his last hours.

Thus, the life had its full share of sorrows; but it had also its full share of pleasures. The faculty of enjoyment was a remarkable characteristic of Mr. Cunningham's mind. "At our last interview," says a friend, "I remember his saying,—'Well, I still say it is a happy world after all. Happiness *preponderates*.'" With him, at least, it did preponderate. He had that foundation for it, which his own words lately quoted have revealed. The love of the Saviour, and the promises of the gospel, were always before him. But, in addition to this, he had great natural materials of happiness in his affections, his interests, and his tastes. His affections were warm and tender, and surrounded him with a circle of love, consisting not only of his children and nearest relatives, but of others who felt towards him almost as they did. His power of interest was singular both in extent and duration. "Men felt"—(we use here some words already published*)—"that they had come upon a living link between the present and the past, when they conversed with one, whose recollections of the past were so loving, and whose interest in the present was so fresh. It was wonderful that a mind, which had been so long in contact with this wearying world, should be still so free from weariness, and from the common tendency of old age to shrink into the narrow circle of self. It was wonderful that one, who had passed through such changes of the mental atmosphere, and seen so many different phases of opinion, should still observe with so much interest every new form of thought, and look round on the altered scene with so inquiring and candid an eye." He possessed in a high degree many tastes that minister pleasure; a sense of the beautiful in nature, in literature, and in all things; a love of children and young people; and a peculiar enjoyment of social intercourse, which, where he was present, was always of a higher tone than usual, ever tending to mental improvement and spiritual edification, and free from trivial topics and unkind judgments. "People," he said, "are too apt to put on the judge's cap—the black velvet of condemnation—and then there is an end of all pleasure in society." He hoped well of all; he found good

* "Departure into Rest;" a Funeral Sermon preached in Harrow Church, October 6, by the Rev. T. D. Bernard. Hatchard and Co.

where others could not; he delighted to approve and to admire. "How charming was his society!" says the same friend whose words we have quoted above; "I never left him without feeling a sort of *fascination*. And then, how much he taught me! and yet he never seemed to teach, but only to *listen*." We believe that this was the common impression of those who partook of his graceful and open hospitality; and the large connection which was thus established, seemed to call upon us to speak thus at length of one whose intercourse so many have enjoyed. But we must hasten to a close.

The condition of the parish of Harrow at the end of Mr. Cunningham's ministry was very different from what it was at the beginning. The Public School, of which he was a governor, and in the state of which he was always deeply interested, had undergone a change of character, on which he dwelt with continual thankfulness. Dr. Vaughan's administration had not only restored its numbers, but raised its spirit, and given it a kind of reputation which attracted to the place such a class of residents as the vicar wished to see around him. The more distant hamlets had been separated into two important district parishes; a third had been formed at the time of his death, and the church stands ready for consecration. The parish church enlarged, restored, and crowded, first-rate schools erected, parochial institutions of all kinds at work, schools and services in the remaining hamlets, the ministerial labours divided among three curates, and assisted by helpers in various departments of usefulness, enabled him to look round with thankfulness on the scene of activity over which he presided. No man could be more ready to acknowledge in all this the munificence and zeal of others, or be more grateful to God for the union and co-operation which made the latter part of his pastorate so different from those earlier days when he had scarcely a helper in his parish. He would sometimes contemplate a resignation of duties which required powers still in their vigour. But old age like his was a talent in itself, adding reverence to holy ministrations, and creating around him the spirit of kindly service and filial deference. Nor did he cease to minister, receiving his Bible classes at home when he could not go abroad, and preaching in the church till within a few Sundays of his death. His last sermon but one, on "The things which *must be* hereafter," left deep and sweet impressions on the hearts of some who heard it. "He seemed," said one, "to realize so fully the things that must be to the believer."

He was soon to know more of the things of which he spoke. The signs of approaching change were more and more evident. He went for a month to Eastbourne, and in three weeks after his return the end came. The companions of his last days, ever accustomed to see him happy and seeking to make others happy, were yet peculiarly impressed with the spirit of sweetness and serene enjoyment which marked him then; while there were at the same time many tokens that he felt himself on the verge of life, and that his mind was conversing more than usual in another world. Not only his own family observed it, but others who met with him. A clergyman who called upon him at Eastbourne writes as follows:—

"I see afresh the beaming look of his face, as we lately contemplated together the end of our labours, and the possession of our promised inheritance: and when prayer

closed our meeting, the good old man seemed lost to me for a time, as though his spirit were occupied in realms above mortal observation. I shall never forget that moment, or the parting that followed. Ministerial trials had depressed me, and it seemed as if God had sent me to his aged servant for comfort and encouragement to go forward."

On his return home he seemed revived, and everything was being arranged for his comfort in the winter. Yet, as if by a secret warning, he hastened some final arrangements, most of them acts of kindness, and took some farewells, which were yet too vague and distant to be painful. Then a slight ailment turned the scale of life. He went to his room with a greater sense of weakness, fell soon into a state of unconsciousness, lingered in it for a week, and passed into the presence of his God.

His parish followed his body to the grave, like one great family mourning for a father, and every mark of affectionate honour was shown in the place with which he had been so long identified.

The Christian Observer, with which he had been associated still longer, could not withhold its own tribute of regret. But "regret" is a cold word to be written by the hand which has been employed upon these pages, and which thus records the loss of a fatherly affection which never varied, and of a happy and holy connection which can never be replaced.

THE SO-CALLED "CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH."

The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets in the Catholic Apostolic Church. London: Bosworth and Harrison. 1861.

FROM the beginning of the work which has resulted in the erection of a gorgeous building in Gordon Square, in which services are carried on with all the pomp and ceremony of the Sistine Chapel, we have pointed out the tendency of the views put forth by the late Mr. Irving. Our pages were early open to the controversy concerning a supposed case of healing in the instance of Miss Fancourt, and upon fitting occasions we have always kept an open eye upon the doings of the people who assemble in that building.

For a long time, it is true, their doings were hidden from our eyes. It seemed as though they had ceased to work: the noise of unknown tongues was absent from our ears: the rumours of renewed prophetic utterance had died away. All that was known was that in a bye-street from one of the great thoroughfares they had a place of meeting, and that there they sought to show some fancied copy of Levitical rites and services. It has even been asserted that they are in the habit of repeating the sacrifices of the Mosaic law. This, however, is not true in the letter; it has arisen from the line of thought and of teaching in use amongst them, in which they constantly refer

to those sacrifices, as typical of Christian worship and Christian ordinances; and allude to morning and evening prayer as antitypical to the sacrifice of the lamb morning and evening.

For years they remained almost unknown. Few persons seemed to acknowledge the faith of which Edward Irving had been a herald. In company we knew nothing of them; they were absent from the platforms of our great societies; and though Mr. Drummond amused the House of Commons with his pithy and straightforward speeches, and was sometimes charged home with holding a high position among the believers in unknown tongues, yet, as a body of Christians, they remained in abeyance.

Almost suddenly, in a commanding situation, raising its roof so much above surrounding elevations that from a distance it is distinctly to be discerned, while in the neighbourhood it appears a lofty and beautiful building, rises a cathedral which must have cost sixty or eighty thousand pounds: and though it is still unfinished, lacking its spire, and some building towards the west, it is elegant in its design and execution, and more massive than any modern building with which we are acquainted.

We feel a degree of delicacy in affixing to those who worship therein that which they refuse as a mere nickname. They say that the name of Irving has been wrongly joined on to a work in which he held even a subordinate place and position; and while they contend that the Lord is working, they seem to endeavour to cast off any name, and to merge themselves in the vast indiscrimination—the Catholic Apostolic Church. Of course all Christian people belong to this "congregation;" and we do not deny it to them; but we wish there were some less vague term by which to designate these of whom we write; others have been content to live and die as men of the Church of England, Wesleyans, Plymouth Brethren, and such like; these alone contend that they will have no name; and that the epithet by which they are mentioned in the census of 1851 is not exclusive but inclusive of all.

Many years have now passed since all London was ringing with the clamour attending the "utterance in unknown tongues." We then took the part of showing that the gift of tongues, with which the apostles were endowed at Pentecost, was one by which they were fitted for their work as preachers of the gospel in foreign lands. This opinion was put forward and maintained as the answer to the claims of so-called prophetic persons, and as the mainstay upon which we must rely, if we would resist the pretensions of the movement. It is true that there has been a very great "development" since those early days. Whereas then the worship consisted of long scriptures, sermons, and extempore prayers, with singing of hymns,

the ministers engaging in the work in their ordinary clothes—now there is a set form of "Eucharist;" morning, evening, forenoon and afternoon prayer; all the ministers wear long cassocks, and those who are actively taking part wear what are called albs and chasubles, and kneel before an "altar," by the side, and in front, of which are lights burning. And again, whereas then all London heard of prophets and prophesying, now what they speak of chiefly are apostles, who, they say, have been "restored to the church," and are given for the guidance of all christendom. In fact, to the "apostles" is yielded deference as to a second Paul; from them doctrine is to be sought; by them instruction in every case of difficulty is given; they are the ultimate appeal in all things relating to "the church." So that an abject system of submission to teachers is inculcated, unlike anything to be found among the high church party, and more nearly resembling the authority claimed by Rome; though the result is appealed to as the proof of unity of faith and unity of spirit.

It cannot be denied, however, that amidst all this attention to form and ceremony, and all this denial of the right of private judgment, some of the great doctrines of the gospel are maintained and zealously upheld. Christ is set forth as the only refuge for sinners, forgiveness of sin through faith in His name is declared (although the sacraments are advanced to a most unscriptural position), and specially the hope of His appearing is the burden of their scheme. They denounce the present condition of Christendom as confusion and uncertainty, but they preach that all Christian men should take shame to themselves for this state of things, and lament it before God. They assert that the church ought to put forth miraculous power and gifts of healing now, as she did in the beginning; and they say that if the gift of tongues was needed at the commencement of this dispensation for the missionary work of the church, it is not less necessary now, on the same supposition. Their own view of this matter is, that speaking in tongues is a spiritual power and gift, in which the speaker is praying in spirit, but the understanding is unfruitful. "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men but unto God, for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries." (1 Cor. xiv. 2.)

It does not seem easy to follow out the development from such a state of disorder as we remember in Irving's days to the form of worship and line of teaching now maintained and asserted. That there has been such an advance seems to argue a high degree of teachableness and submission among the disciples and followers.

The question, whether the spiritual power among them is real or imaginary, is one of the first to be met and taken hold

of. Then the nature of that spiritual power may be tested and examined. If there be any such power, and it be not merely a fancy and a delusion, it must arise either from the spirit of man which is in him, or from the father of lies, or from the Spirit of the Lord; the tests for the solution of the question are furnished in the word of God. If it be of man, it will come to nought: if it be of the devil, its works and fruits must be evil: if from the Holy Ghost, we may not say anything against it. Of this, however, we cannot trace the slightest evidence.

It is not in Gordon Square alone that their worship is established; buildings have lately been erected or enlarged at Islington, Chelsea, Paddington, and other places in and about London; and in many places in the country we understand that the services are carried on, as at Bath, Bridgnorth, Liverpool, Nottingham, Brighton, and in many other towns. Nor is the faith confined to England. In Scotland there are places of worship, as at Edinburgh and in Dundee; in Ireland we believe they have footing in some chief towns. Some months ago the correspondent in the "Times" alluded to a preacher of the community as preaching at Florence; and we have ourselves met "believers" from Canada and the States. As to what may be the final issue of their religious views, we will not speculate; those who adopt them believe that they are being made ready peculiarly for the day of the Lord's appearing, and that in that day it will be known that the system has sprung from His will and power. Meanwhile may the prayer be constantly upon our lips, "That it may please thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred, and are deceived; we beseech thee to hear us, good Lord."

ON SOME PAPERS READ BEFORE THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

As an old subscriber and a constant reader of your valuable periodical, I gladly and thankfully express my thanks for its consistent and unflinching advocacy of gospel truth. I can turn to its pages from its earliest publication, and I invariably find the same sentiments of christian doctrine uniformly maintained and enforced. I need hardly say that I consider these views as thoroughly scriptural, and in entire harmony with the teaching of our Protestant church. The fact of the Christian Observer having never given an uncertain sound stamps it with a great additional value. How many and how varied have been the forms of religious error since its first Number was issued. It had then to deplore the spiritual deadness which charac-

terized the church evangelical. Truth shone out here and there as a bright light amidst all but universal spiritual darkness. The ministers of religion who boldly avowed and preached the truth as it is in Jesus, were comparatively few in number, although remarkably fitted by mental and spiritual endowments for the important work assigned them. In this Periodical they had ever a valuable, consistent, and yet independent advocate. Thank God, this state of the church has in a great degree passed away. Since this era, the Christian Observer has, in the discharge of its important responsibilities as an acknowledged organ of evangelical truth, been called upon to guard its readers against the open as well as insidious attacks made upon it. The sad deficiency of copies of the Holy Scriptures for the supply of the spiritual wants of the people, when providentially ascertained, resulted in the formation of that invaluable institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society. It received from the Christian Observer a warm and generous support. The attacks made upon it were met with great ability in the pages of this Periodical, whilst the danger apprehended by some as to the harm arising from the indiscriminate circulation of the Bible without note or comment was proved to be perfectly futile. Since then, the christian public has pronounced its verdict in the immense number of its supporters and the large amount of its funds. The same uniform support was given to the Church Missionary Society, and its just claims on the Church of England supported and advocated in its pages. These, and all other kindred institutions, as they sprang into existence, were hailed as instruments for good. Thus the Christian Observer has not been less the advocate of evangelical truth than it has been one of its most faithful and vigilant guardians, pointing out, as occasion rendered necessary, what was most calculated to promote it, but also carefully and judiciously warning its readers against attacks made upon it, however insidious and disguised. I stay not now to notice more in detail, as years rolled on, any minor errors or vagaries of public opinion which for a short time floated on the surface and then disappeared. It will not do to pass by the cautious and insidious development of the Oxford Tracts; how stealthily they prepared their readers for the reception and adoption of Romanizing opinions. Your readers were faithfully warned against their dangerous teaching, which resulted in not a few of the clergy forsaking the church of their fathers and fraternizing with the unscriptural church of Rome. Soon after this period, the public were astounded with the impudent assumption of the papacy, known by the term of the Papal Aggression. This piece of impertinence met with merited condemnation in the pages of the Christian Observer. Thank God, that which was intended as a deadly blow to our Protestant faith, and an insult to our beloved Sovereign, was overruled for good. The eyes of the public were opened to the real character and dangerous claims of the church of Rome; there was an awakening amongst all classes, and a more devoted attachment to our Protestant faith. The errors in doctrine, and the attempts made to revive obsolete ceremonies, inculcated in the Oxford tracts, have been followed by wide-spread opinions of a still more dangerous tendency, known by the name of Broad Church. The very name is significant of danger; and when these views are fully

carried out, they sap the very foundation of a Christian's hope, denying the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and ignoring or frittering away the great and all important truths of the Bible—the fall of man—the necessity of an atonement—the saving and converting influences of the Holy Spirit. These, and other all important truths, as revealed in God's word, are treated with a contempt and superciliousness which cannot be too strongly condemned, and which reached their climax and full embodiment in the heretical teaching of "Essays and Reviews." The review of this volume in the *Christian Observer* was marked with more than usual ability, and did most essential service to the cause of biblical truth. I wish now to draw your attention, Mr. Editor, to what I consider a subject of grave importance, and one which comes decidedly within the scope of your publication. I allude to "The British Association for the Advancement of Science." A year ago, at Oxford, opinions were broached in some of its sections diametrically opposed to the distinct statements of Holy Scripture. I allude more especially to the theories so pertinaciously reiterated as to the origin of man—a question which I think of the utmost moment, upon which the Bible is remarkably explicit. The views I refer to completely ignore the Mosaic account; they are every year more and more audaciously avowed, to the great pain and concern of many of the members of this valuable Association. Year after year this party assumes a bolder front, and, if allowed the latitude which it now assumes, will inevitably result in a secession of members. My object is answered, if I succeed in drawing your attention to the subject. I object not to any scientific research, where the word of God is not impugned and the plain declarations of Scripture set aside. It is most undesirable to make the meetings of the Association an arena for theological discussion; at the same time, I think it incumbent on its promoters studiously to avoid giving any currency to opinions and theories diametrically opposed to the authority of God's Word.

A LIFE MEMBER OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—The communication of an Irish Dignitary in your last Number (October) can scarcely fail to be highly interesting to many of your readers, who may not perhaps hold precisely the same views as he appears to do on some controverted points. Many of his remarks are both weighty and candidly conveyed; and the subject of unfulfilled prophecy cannot be too soberly or too cautiously handled.

The conflicting and irreconcilable conclusions drawn by contending writers from arguments on each side plausibly and ably wrought out,

but sometimes more elaborately speculative than convincingly solid, cannot but be, in many instances, severely perplexing to anxious but sober and persevering inquirers respecting unfulfilled prophecies, whether of the Old or the New Testament. This remark is applicable occasionally even to the late Mr. Faber, whom the Irish dignitary emphatically, and, as many will think, most justly, designates "the prince of modern commentators;" still more so perhaps to Mr. Elliott, whose very learned and extensive researches, while they surprise by their extra elaborate ingenuity, too often leave the diligent and calmly contemplative inquirer mournfully disappointed.

When, again, the mind reverts to the conflicting conclusions of such distinguished controversialists as bishop Horsley, Messrs. Faber, Elliott, and Birks, not to mention a host of less eminent speculators, in their several attempts to elucidate the very same portions of prophecy, fulfilled or unfulfilled, painful and really distressing sensations are often excited as to the benefit or personal edification to which these conflicting theories, studied and compared, may be conducive. They may well indeed suggest the thought of a vain endeavour to obtain and present an insight into matters which are not clearly revealed, and which may be among "the secret things which belong unto the Lord our God."

Let not these last remarks be misunderstood. The devout contemplation even of manifestly *unfulfilled* prophecy, cannot but be accompanied with much that is salutary and conducive to growth in grace; producing, as it is surely well fitted to do, deep humility, patiently waiting expectation, reverential and godly fear, together with an ardent longing for the glorious manifestation, in whatever way that manifestation may be realized, of our adorable Redeemer, when "unto them that look for him he shall appear the second time without sin unto salvation." Yet, on this very important subject, if, in accordance with the example of St. Paul, a quotation may be admitted from a heathen writer,

"——— Sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum."

Barton-upon-Humber;
Oct. 9, 1861.

JAMES KNIGHT.

2 KINGS XVIII. 25.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—I have long thought that the literal interpretation of the predictions concerning the restoration of Ephraim to his territory in Palestine, may not unfairly be considered as receiving a certain degree of confirmation from the special Divine interposition recorded in 2 Kings* xviii. 25: "And it was so at the beginning of their dwelling

* There would seem to be a striking connexion between this passage and what is recorded by Isaiah of the Assyrian invasion, and desolation of Moab. He

predicted (cir. B.C. 726), that, "Within three years, and the glory of Moab shall be contemned." (Is. xvi. 14.) And elsewhere he says: "The cry is gone round

there (the heathen colonists planted in Samaria by the king of Assyria), that *they feared not the Lord*; therefore the Lord sent lions among them, which slew some of them." May we not reverently think that the Lord thus seemed to signify to Hezekiah, and the pious Jews of that day, and to His church in all her generations, that, although He had righteously exiled idolatrous Ephraim into a far distant region, He still regarded Samaria as a part of His own *covenant land*, and would have even the *heathen colonists* of the mighty Assyrian conqueror acknowledge, from their personal experience of His awful power, the God of Israel to be still the Sovereign Lord of the territory which had been held by Ephraim. And does not such a miraculous interposition in some measure assist us in submissively and intelligently receiving the Divine assurance, proclaimed more than a century afterwards through Jeremiah, "My bowels are troubled for Ephraim; I will surely have mercy on Ephraim?" (Jer. xxxi. 20.) For why still treat the land as in some measure covenant land, if Ephraim is to be an outcast for ever?

Nay, from that time forward, the God of Israel apparently never utterly gave up Samaria to the heathen, so far as the public recognition of His sovereignty over the territory was concerned, until the days in which Vespasian and Titus desolated the Holy Land; when, be it remembered, He also, apparently, as utterly abandoned *even Judea and Jerusalem* to the Roman Gentiles. The devout and patient study of the Hebrew Scriptures may lead us to believe that He who, in the days of Titus, seemed to have finally annulled his territorial covenant alike with Judea and Samaria, will yet make it manifest that there was then no final breaking up of that territorial covenant, and that it has only been in long abeyance. "Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember; AND I WILL REMEMBER THE LAND." (Levit. xxvi. 42.)

In my letter on the Future Destiny of Israel (C. O. July, p. 525), I quoted Neh. ix. 36, 37: "Behold, we are servants this day, and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof, and the good thereof, behold, *we are servants in it*; and it yieldeth much increase unto *the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins*; also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we are in great distress." This may be further illustrated both from Nehemiah and Ezra. In the fifth chapter of the former, in which the people, with "a great cry," complain of their debts which had compelled them to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into bondage, while "some said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth," — others said, "*We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards.*" (Neh. v. 4.) And

about the borders of Moab. . . . For the waters of Dimon shall be full of blood; for I will bring more upon Dimon, *lions* upon him that escapeth of Moab, and upon the remnant of the land." (xv. 8. 9.) The population of Moab seems to have been so materially diminished, that lions

found their way from the neighbouring eastern territory into the land. They would thus be ready, when the Divine purpose should require them, to enter Samaria, as a temporary scourge to the heathen colonists in the territory of Ephraim.

in the same chapter the writer tells us: "The former governors that had been before me were chargeable unto the people; yea, even their servants bare rule over them." (v. 15.)

Again, we read in Ezra: "And now, for a little space, grace hath been shewed from the Lord our God to give us a little reviving in our bondage. For we *were* bondmen, yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia." (Ezra ix. 9.) The italics show that our translators inserted the word "*were*." They have made a slight mistake in doing so. The context clearly teaches that the present tense is required—"For we *are* bondmen." Perhaps one of the most important steps towards qualifying ourselves for the correct interpretation of the prophecies concerning the future of Judah and Ephraim is, carefully to acquaint ourselves, from Ezra and Nehemiah, with the actual condition of the returned Jews under the Persian kings.

CLERICUS G.

TRACTARIANISM AND ESSAYISM.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—It is a trite remark that extremes often meet; and in the effusions of superstition a close resemblance is sometimes found to scepticism, the former in some cases generating the latter.

I think we may notice this very strongly in the two evils which, in the course of the last thirty years, have afflicted the Church of England—Tractarianism and Rationalism. To impute any taint of *scepticism* to the former would, no doubt, by some persons, be considered altogether unjust and untrue; but yet there are undeniably to be found passages in the Tracts for the Times, and kindred publications, which savour not a little of that spirit. Allow me to call to the remembrance of such persons what is expressly laid down in No. 85 of the Tracts for the Times, page 113, viz., that there is, after all, but a slight balance of probability in favour of the truth of Christianity, the amount of which balance is given with something like critical minuteness, as being *three* to two: out of five given chances there are *three* in favour of and *two* against its truth, which is only allowing *half a chance* over and above an even balance in its favour; and in harmony with such a view, we find it stated in the lectures on Romanism and Popular Protestantism, by Mr. Newman, that "we have but probability *at most* to show, to lead us to accept revelation at all, *nay, to believe in the existence of an intelligent Creator*." (p. 69.)

Again, in No. 73 of the Tracts of the Times, it is *denied* that the Atonement is the central doctrine of the gospel, and that it was designed to make mercy towards our off-cast race consistent with the honour and holiness of the Divine government. (p. 29.) "In proof of these semi-Arian positions" (remarks Mr. A. T. Russell*), "the writer

* "Remarks upon Rev. Prof. Keble's Visitation Sermon, entitled 'Primitive Tradition recognised in Holy Scripture,' by the Rev. Arthur Tozer Russell, of St. John's College, Cambridge." Hatchard and Co., London. 1837.

of this tract very wisely keeps both fathers and reformers out of sight." (See Appendix, pp. 37—40.)

In that unhappy publication, Froude's Remains, vol. i. p. 326, we are informed that "anything that sets people agog is on our 'Romanizing' side. I deprecate a calm."

If "*anything*" that sets people agog be favourable to the "Union," and the Romanizers, how much they ought to be pleased with the "Essays and Reviews," and to feel obliged to their authors!

I am Sir, yours, &c.,

Timbridge Wells;

August 2, 1861.

EXAMINER.

THE TWO WITNESSES.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

TAKING the passage in the Book of Revelation by itself, it seems that there is not sufficient in their character, and the circumstances respecting them, for any satisfactory interpretation to be given as to their identity. However, it seems that there are other passages in Scripture, and in the Book itself, to lead to an elucidation. There is an evident reference in the passage to the prophecy in Zechariah, respecting the two candlesticks and the olive trees. Two witnesses are there spoken of, and these two seem to designate Joshua the High Priest, (being the representative of the Priesthood and Ministry in that day,) and secondly, Zerubbabel the Governor, who is to be considered the representative of the Church of God of that day. The two witnesses in the Revelation, then, must be in character similar to these two witnesses in Zechariah—the two in the Old Testament being a type of those in the New Testament; and if so, the two latter are to be taken as the Christian Ministry and the Christian Church.

This view seems to be confirmed by the passage in Revelation, chapter i., where the candlesticks and stars are the Churches and the Ministry. And in the last chapter of Revelation we read of two witnesses in the Spirit and the Bride, which say "come," the Spirit being the voice of God in the Ministry, the Bride the church of God in the world, prophesying for 1260 years against Popery.

Brighton.

R. B.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR.—As an old subscriber to your magazine, will you permit me a small space in your next number to ask from yourself and others a few hints on a subject of great importance at the present day? My son, who is at a large proprietary school, and will next year be going to Oxford, is anxious not only to make progress in his more direct studies

but also to be storing his mind with useful information on subjects generally interesting, and calculated to enlarge the mind, and have an indirect bearing upon his future work, should he be permitted to enter the ministry. Of course his reading must be various in its character, and often prove a recreation rather than requiring hard study, as his actual work already is more than he can well bear. As a parent, anxious above all other things that, if it please God to call him to the work of the ministry (as I hope), he should be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, I wish to learn from those competent to advise, what course of reading would be likely to prove most useful. It occurred to me that possibly, in these days of special danger to young men, such a subject might not be unprofitable in your Christian Observer; and I should be truly thankful if some of the most wakeful and prayerful, as well as learned men of the present day would kindly point out what plan they think it would be most judicious to adopt. I am supposing, of course, that a young man is decided in his principles. In a day like the present, when poison is insidiously introduced in almost every direction, and in all descriptions of works, there does seem the greatest need for caution; and, as a father, I am anxious to shield my child, as much as possible, from the dangers that beset his path, hoping, with God's blessing, that he will in after years be the better able to meet and grapple with the enemies of truth, whether under the form of infidelity or superstition. I should also be glad to have the opinion of really competent persons on the question of what is usually termed light reading. I repudiate it myself as most baneful in young persons; but a valued friend of mine, some time since, seemed to think such reading desirable, and I understood her to say that you also advocated it. I shall be glad if you will kindly aid this my endeavour in whatever way you think best, but especially that you will favour me with your own candid judgment on the whole matter.—I am, faithfully yours,

A LAYMAN.

October 19, 1861.

[“A Layman's” request seems very reasonable; yet he has set us a difficult task. What must be included under the head of light reading? Dr. Arnold, a great and good man, though sorely wrong on some points, was better qualified to judge than most of us, from his wide experience as the Master of Rugby. He says: “As I believe that the English universities are the best places in the world for those who can profit by them, so I think for the idle and self-indulgent they are about the very worst; and I would far rather send a boy to Van Dieman's Land, where he must work for his bread, than send him to Oxford, to live in luxury, without any desire in his mind to avail himself of his advantages. Childishness in boys, even of good abilities, seems to me to be a growing fault; and I do not know to what to ascribe it, except to the great number of exciting books of amusement, like *Pickwick* and *Nickleby*, *Bentley's Magazine*, &c. These completely satisfy all the intellectual appetite of a boy, which is rarely very voracious, and leave him totally palled, not only for his regular work, which I could well excuse in comparison, but for good literature of all sorts, even for history and for poetry.” We should be glad of further communications upon this important subject.—EDITOR.]

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Physico-Prophetical Essays on the Locality of the Eternal Inheritance, its Nature and Character, the Resurrection Body, the Mutual Recognition of Glorified Saints. By the Rev. W. Lister, F.G.S., Vicar of Bushbury, and Rural Dean. London: Longmans. 1861.—Some of our readers have written to us requesting a review of this volume, on which they desire to have the judgment of the Christian Observer expressed. We have taken it up repeatedly with the view of complying with their wishes, and laid it down again unable to proceed. It would be easy to say that the book is eloquent, the author pious, and the subjects interesting, (profoundly so to some minds,) and that it contains nothing contrary to the faith. But criticisms of this kind would satisfy neither our readers nor ourselves. There is scarcely a page of the book over which a discussion would be unnecessary, and not a few over which a stout battle might not be fought by intelligent and accomplished christian men. The conclusions are of necessity, in many cases, simply hypothetical. The probable truth of many *ifs* must be granted before the certainty of one *therefore* can be conceded. Yet the speculations are such as a christian may lawfully indulge. The writer often goes beyond "where holy scripture doth seem to take him by the hand;" but still he does so in a spirit which cannot be blamed. He raises, as of necessity he must, great conclusions on slender premises; for, after all, how little is revealed of the subjects on which he treats. But to the spirit in which his inquiries are conducted we have nothing to object. We have our doubts whether some of them are profitable in a spiritual sense, or whether the soul does not return from such excursions dispirited and fatigued,—Noah's dove upon the deluge of waters, but without even the spray of olive leaf. But minds differ; and we have no wish to make our own the standard. On the whole, we may venture to say that nowhere are the obscure and difficult questions on which Mr. Lister writes more safely and judiciously treated than by himself, and not often with more ability.

The Introduction of Christianity into Britain: An Argument on the Evidence of St. Paul having visited the Extreme Boundary of the West. By the Rev. B. W. Savile, M.A. Longmans.—The object of this work is to bring together, as succinctly as possible, the whole of the evidence which exists in favour of St. Paul having brought the light of the gospel to this country. It has been contended that there was not sufficient time after the Apostle's release from his imprisonment at Rome, as recorded by St. Luke, previously to his martyrdom, for him to have visited Spain and Britain, the extreme nation of the West. A chapter is devoted to that branch of the subject. Chapter ii. contains the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles generally, and it will be seen that a period of nearly ten years of St. Paul's life after his release from Rome remains to be accounted for, of which Scripture takes no notice. The succeeding chapter contains the

evidence of St. Paul having visited Spain and Britain after his two years' imprisonment at Rome, together with the time and place of his martyrdom. The author believes that he is thus enabled to prove, by a satisfactory catena of authorities, the Pauline origin of the British churches. The subject, always interesting, is by no means destitute of importance. The evidence, it is true, is chiefly inferential, but Mr. Savile has brought it to bear with much effect. The learned bishop Burgess of Salisbury was a strong advocate of Mr. Savile's position, and the reader will, we think, allow that, as the venerable bishop says, "there is at least as strong a presumption that St. Paul visited England, as that St. Peter ever was at Rome."

Lyra Sacra: being a Collection of Hymns Ancient and Modern, Odes, and Fragments of Sacred Poetry. Compiled and edited, with a Preface, by the Rev. B. W. Savile, M.A. Longmans.—The first division of *Lyra Sacra* contains a selection of the best specimens of ancient and modern hymns, brought together in as small a compass as possible for the purpose of comparison and reference. The ancient hymns commence with the hymn to the Creator, attributed to Eupolis, the pupil of Socrates, and composed nearly five centuries before the Christian era; they include many which were sung by the early Christians, and are brought down to the beginning of the last century. A few Latin hymns are added, the principal one being the traditional translation of the hymn sung by our Lord and His disciples the night before the Crucifixion. A short collection of Psalms follows, selected with a view to show their superiority over those versions commonly sung in our parish churches. Amongst the *Odes* are several that have never before appeared in print, including one by an unknown author on the Burial of Moses, bearing a strong resemblance in cadence and rhythm to the well-known Ode on the Death of Sir John Moore.

The Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV. Edited by Dr. Challice. 2 vols. Hurst and Blackett. 1861.—We cannot say that these volumes add much to our stock of real knowledge. They are gossiping and pleasant, if scenes may be called pleasant in which the chief actors are a melancholy, debauched, superstitious king, and his mistress Madame de Pompadour. Yet they are not without a moral; a moral so obvious, so often repeated, that it seems to have lost its effect—five words embrace it: Splendid vice is abject misery. The horrible profligacy of French morals appears in the short annals of Madame de Pompadour. She was the young and, in a worldly sense, the happy wife of an affectionate husband, in whom she placed the utmost confidence; as a proof of this, she informed him, and so she tells us without a blush, that she would never be unfaithful to him unless it were to become the mistress of a king. The king shortly after passed by her husband's mansion hunting. He was invited to alight, and the desired result soon followed; her husband seems to have been delighted with the arrangement, and her own mother died exulting in the advancement of her daughter, having now, she said, the last desire of her heart fulfilled. Such was domestic life in France a hundred years since. Who can wonder that a revolution heartless and ferocious beyond all example followed.

Ten Weeks in Japan. By George Smith, D.D., Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong. London: Longman. 1861.—The bishop of Victoria has given us his first impressions of an almost unknown land. His volume is lively, yet instructive. The instruction centres in this—that, after all, St. Paul was right: heathenism is everywhere only another name for whatever is most horrible, most degrading, most polluting to human nature. Travellers told us that Japan was an exception; travellers told our forefathers that the South Sea islanders were an exception. Even missionaries told us how kind and gentle were the Patagonian savages. In each instance, experience—dreadful experience, in some instances—has shown us the ignorance, and indeed the folly, of these credulous romancers. The heathen are everywhere such as they are described in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans—they are steeped in licentiousness. The gentle Japanese are not a whit better than the worst of them; and we have to thank the good bishop for making us acquainted with this fact, in a volume which, notwithstanding, is fit for general perusal.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

WINTER draws on, and the year seems likely to close upon the world in mist and storm. We have again to report peace and comfort, and comparative prosperity, at home; but beyond our own shores the prospect on all sides is even darker than ever. We are so used to hear of continental broils, that they make but little impression upon us. That martial law is proclaimed at Warsaw—that the university at Petersburg is closed on account of the real or apprehended disaffection of a few hundred students—that Hungary offers the obstinate barrier of passive resistance to her stern master—such things are heard without emotion, and soon forgotten; perhaps too soon. Our insular position has a tendency to promote selfishness. An Englishman need not be a worse patriot, and would probably be a better Christian, if he took more interest in the well-being of those other nations, which he is too much accustomed to look upon merely as pleasant fields of travel—recreation grounds, where he can spend his holidays.

We are disposed to regard as the most important event of the month, one which has scarcely received the slightest attention from those who profess to enlighten the public on political affairs. The island and adjacent territory of Lagos, on the West African coast, has been ceded to Great Britain by the native king, in a friendly spirit, and upon terms of fair remuneration. If our acquisition be wisely made use of, it seems impossible to overstate the beneficial results which may be expected to follow. It secures a free communication with Abbeokuta, its thriving missions, its incipient civilization, its capacity of yielding immense and almost inexhaustible supplies of native produce, when brought into cultivation under European skill and science. It will enable us to overawe the king of Dahomey, and in time

to put an end to his hideous immolations, and his abominable traffic in slaves. It will afford a more economical, and at the same time a far more effective, means of watching slavers, and so preventing the slave trade, than our expensive African squadron, with all its vigilance. Should Africa become a great cotton-growing and exporting country, Lagos in a few years will probably be its Liverpool, the emporium of its commerce.

A feeling of great uneasiness prevails in Manchester, and the manufacturing districts of the North, as to the supply of cotton. Mills are already working half-time for want of the raw material, and it is feared before the winter closes great distress will be felt. Those who are the best informed do not agree upon the question, whether, even excluding America, the supplies will totally fail. But should the distress be such as those who take the most unfavourable view of the case anticipate, a national grant or loan ought, beyond all doubt, to be cheerfully conceded. This may seem extravagant to some, and will be complained of by others as an interference with those great principles by which trade, in all its relations, ought to be controlled. But to be humane, and considerate of the happiness of others, is always politic, especially when they are our own countrymen, suffering from no fault of theirs, but from the inexpressible folly and wickedness of others. An armed resistance to the blockade of the American ports is suggested by some few; but the voice of England condemns it. Let it be considered not on moral grounds, but only as a question of finance and policy. It would unquestionably lead us into a war; and then the ten or twenty millions which, under the worst of all possible circumstances, it might cost us to feed the manufacturing population for a whole winter, would not be sufficient to bear the cost of war, with its preparations and outfit, for a single month. But we do not anticipate the necessity for such a measure, which nothing indeed but the utmost extremity would justify. We rather believe that the stock of cotton will enable the manufacturer to tide through the winter, and that with the spring large supplies will be poured in. Meanwhile the good conduct of the working classes deserves the highest praise, and must commend them warmly to the sympathies of every patriot and every Christian.

The tidings from America are melancholy; each side becomes more embittered. In the Northern States, the war upon the whole is not only popular, it has become a passion, a national frenzy; and the South, if less noisy in its demonstrations, seems no less stern and resolute. Each side has called into existence armies in strength scarcely inferior to those which Napoleon wielded in his Russian invasion. The border states see them encamped in sight of each other, and will probably soon be the theatre of events which we can anticipate only with the deepest sorrow. A great battle is again expected, but no one now believes that the most profuse bloodshed will ever cement the breach. Such an interference would no doubt be resented as an insult, but we could wish that England observed a day of humiliation on behalf of these our infuriate kinsmen across the Atlantic. But what the state cannot do every christian household may undertake in its daily ministrations before the throne of grace.

How appropriate just now is the petition of our Liturgy: "That it may please thee to give to all nations unity, peace, and concord!"

Many of our politicians are spending the autumn in speech-making to their constituents; a harmless recreation, if nothing more; and occasionally weighty thoughts find expression, and important suggestions are thrown out. On the whole, the tone is good; it bespeaks in favour of a greatly improved state of feeling in our higher classes. They talk as men who take a real interest in the well-being, and not unfrequently in the spiritual welfare, of their neighbours and constituents. Education, too, is much discussed, and the new Minute comes in for its full share both of praise and blame. Mr. Adderley, who was lately at the head of the Educational department in Lord Derby's administration, commends it as at least sound in principle; but, in general, it meets with but little approbation. However, it is postponed till March, and in the meantime all parties will be able to give it full consideration. It still appears to us well meant, though ill considered; and if it had been enforced at once, its effects would have been oppressive, if not unjust.

The National Society is celebrating its Jubilee. Ten years ago, it drove away evangelical churchmen by a display of arrogant high-churchmanship and exclusiveness which we are persuaded its present leaders heartily deplore. Our own pages bear witness to the violence and turbulence of its annual meetings at that time; and the descriptions came from the gentle pen of one whose faults, if he had any, were certainly not on the side of too much severity. An opportunity now occurs to heal the breach, and evangelical churchmen are quite ready both to forgive and to forget the past. Only let it be clearly understood that their return involves no compromise of principle. If the popish practices which then prevailed at St. Mark's training school at Chelsea were now, as then, sanctioned by the Board of the National Society, no reconciliation could possibly be effected. The Society is much wanted; and if government should change their system, and to any considerable extent withdraw their aid, it will again occupy an important position, and require the assistance of all churchmen.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE request of the writer of "the So-called Catholic and Apostolic Church" will be complied with.

THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

NEW
SERIES. } No. 288.

DECEMBER.

[1861.]

THE INCREASE OF CRIME, AND ITS LESSONS.

REMOTE ages have been lauded by the poets as times of innocence. We listen to their song, but we more than suspect its truth. We are too well assured that there never was an age free from secret vice, and open crime; since man began to multiply, and replenish the earth, deceit and violence have not been wanting. Still it will hardly be questioned that there are times when wickedness seems to glide or burst from its ordinary restraints, and to rush with more than usual audacity into frightful excesses. With every disposition to think favourably of our own times, we find it difficult to believe that this is not the state of things at present. How many have been the cases of fraud, outrage, and murder, within the last twelve months! With such rapidity has one instance of frightful crime succeeded to another, that we almost tremble to take up the next newspaper. Neighbourhoods have been startled by the most shocking murders; and a feeling of insecurity has, in some instances, pervaded a whole community. Not to speak of common misdemeanours, there have been violent outrages upon women, and revolting murders by husbands and paramours, in outbursts of rage or jealousy. Females have been brutally assaulted, not seldom by those who stood to them in the position of husbands, or natural protectors. What appalling instances of uncontrolled anger, of hatred and revenge, have occurred within the last few weeks! A tax collector is assassinated in broad day, and in the open street, by one whose goods have been distrained for a few shillings. Two military officers of high standing, in the midst of conversation, fall by the bullet of a soldier who had been sentenced to a fortnight's punishment for neglect of duty. Just before this, we had heard of a son who watched for and seized the opportunity of killing his own mother, because she withheld that which he wished to

squander, and the wretch then hanged himself. Still more startling came the news, that a father, in a high position of society, had attempted the life of his only son, while riding on horseback at his side. The feeling of sorrow has hardly yet subsided with which we read the story of that frightful conflict in Northumberland street between two married men over the object of their unlawful passion. The very mention of the Road mystery, and the cause of the death of the murdered child, is sufficient to awaken the deepest anxiety. About the same time, another event occurred, upon which, however, retribution quickly followed. And if the crime of the monster who, having murdered and plundered a lone woman, actually claimed the reward offered for his own apprehension, by artfully endeavouring to bring to the gallows an innocent victim, has faded from memory, it is only because so many other crimes of magnitude have thrown it into the shade. Last of all, a soldier at Chichester coolly seats himself upon a stile, and shoots an unoffending student, as he would in mere wantonness have shot a dog. Need we enumerate the infanticides that have taken place, some of them most deliberate and brutal; or harrow the feelings by an allusion to the merciless cruelty even of little children to each other? And what are we to say of the disclosure so recently made, when a poor infant two years old, the child of parents moving in the upper walks of life, was found at last among beggars, loathsome with filth and vermin, and injured for life in constitution; sent there, not by accident or misfortune, but because it was the heir to some thousands a year? Who can have forgotten those desperate attempts to throw off the fetters which previous crimes had imposed, made not long ago by the convicts in our jails, and the difficulty with which their violence was suppressed; or the murderous ferocity of the Eastbourne schoolmaster? And if these recent acts of open, audacious wickedness have excluded from view instances of gigantic fraud, and secret poisonings under the cover of medical treatment and affectionate solicitude, we have only to tax our memory a little, to perceive how many cases of the kind have occurred during the last two or three years.

Nor must another painful feature of the times be overlooked. Who can have failed to notice the numerous cases of suicide, concurrent with this increase of crime? cases arising, not from insanity, but from the indulgence of intemperance and lasciviousness leading to remorse and despair; or from a reckless impatience of control, or from disappointment and vexation, or from despondency under the trials and burdens of life, or, in many instances, from the dread of facing the consequences of unprincipled extravagance, or of a long course of gigantic fraud?

We are not disposed to think worse of our own times than of those now passed by. We are rather inclined to take a

cheering view of our progress as a Christian nation. We believe that, since the Apostolic age, there never were so many influences for good steadily working; while perhaps there never was more success, all things considered. But it must be confessed, that the numerous instances of unrestrained violence, of brutal, reckless crime, which have of late filled our newspapers, render it difficult to answer those who affirm, whether from a reference to facts or prophecy, that our hopes of better things are unfounded. And what renders this state of things the more perplexing is this: we had promised ourselves that, when education should be more widely extended, when knowledge should be more generally diffused, when art and science should have added their humanizing influence, there would be, if not a cessation, at least a very marked diminution, of violent and shameless crime. So sanguine, indeed, were the expectations of many, that they have maintained the safety of giving the elective franchise to all men of all classes, while some have declared in favour of the abolition of capital punishment, even in cases of deliberate murder. To minds buoyant with such expectations, these constantly occurring cases of crime must surely present a serious difficulty, if they weigh their import at all.

Those who cling to the idea, that men are swayed and governed simply by appeals to their reason, and who look upon education as the panacea for all moral disease, will probably reply, that these cases of flagrant crimes have occurred among the ignorant, who have not yet been reached by the ameliorating influences of education. Would that it were so; but facts contradict the assertion. Was it by the ignorant and uneducated that the secret poisonings and the gigantic frauds just mentioned were perpetrated? Were the actors in the Northumberland-street tragedy illiterate men? Can the case of Baron Vidil, the false entry in the Rugby Register, and the withdrawal of the Queen's Commission from a justice of the peace for debauchery and cruelty, be referred to such a source? What, again, is to be said of the disclosures in the Yelverton case? Look once more at the numerous actions for divorce or protection, on account of adultery and cruelty, and say whether they are only the uneducated who figure there. Nor are the base crimes of intemperance, seduction, and infanticide by any means confined to the lower classes.

This is unquestionably a painful subject, and these are distressing details. But we must not close our eyes upon them. We are deeply concerned as patriots and Christians. We have lessons to learn from them, and duties to perform. These things speak to us. There is a voice in crime, and we may not shut our ear to its cry. He who sung: "The heavens declare the glory of God . . . day unto day uttereth

speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge"—also tells us that crime has a voice, which speaks most distinctly to him who observes it and reflects. "The transgression of the wicked *saith within my heart*, that there is no fear of God before his eyes."

Let us follow David's example, and inquire what lessons the state of crime in our day is suggesting to us.

First, we may assuredly learn, that, however valuable an element in the reformation of our people education may be, it will not accomplish the abolition of vice, or of the vilest crimes. And we mean by education, not merely the art of reading, writing, and calculating; but all that is properly included in the term, the cultivation of the intellect, with moral training and moral discipline. None can esteem education, in its place, more highly than we do. But we must not attribute to it a power which it does not possess. There must be lying at the root of all social improvement the fear of God. The public offences of our days tell us distinctly that there must be personal religion as well as education, if men are to depart from evil. But this, it may be objected, we cannot give. True, we cannot; but it is not the less necessary; and the recognition of its necessity is not the less important. It is the gift of God; but it may be sought and obtained both for ourselves and others.

Again, the increase of crime bids us notice the growth of secularism amongst us.

It is not denied that there is much religious fervour and activity in our day. The leading journals sometimes speak of it as a religious age. We are thankful for the numerous proofs we have of genuine piety, and for the many evidences of a reverential regard for religion, for religious people and religious institutions, even among some whom we can hardly believe to be at all religious persons. But with all this there appears to be a growing and prevailing confidence in what is now called *secularism*. Men look at things altogether in reference to this world. They would detach religion from everything. They want only secular education. They have no objection to let others look at things through a religious medium; but they will not accept that position for themselves. They propose to divorce science and revelation. They have no objection to a weekly day of rest, nor to the old appointed day, if they may secularize it. They will accept the tables of the law at Moses' hands, if they may place the first of them among the antiquities of past ages. They believe that men will be more likely to recognize the necessity, and comply with the requirements, of the moral law, if you do not frighten them with religious ideas.

There can be no doubt that numbers of our countrymen, as

well as Germans, have this strong confidence in secular knowledge and secular motives, both as a power for reformation, and as a restraint on crime. Indeed, there are some who maintain, and boldly preach, secularism in a systematized form, denying all revelation, denouncing the Bible as a fiction and worse, and ridiculing the doctrine of a future life as a mischievous fable. They distinctly maintain that this world is all in all to a man; that there is no existence for him beyond the tomb, nothing to hope for, nothing to fear; and, to comfort him, they teach "the uselessness of prayer." And marvellous to say, these apostles of secularism maintain that their creed of unbelief, their denial of a future life, is the doctrine needed to make men good and virtuous, to suppress crime, and render the world happy. They have believers too; for though these teachers are disreputable enough, we are told that their lectures are attended by many among the working classes who cannot be induced to visit the house of God, and listen to the words of truth.

But how is it that, concurrent with this growth of secularism, whether systematized or not, we have this increase of flagrant reckless crime? We answer, let the thing be tested. Ask, if you will, the soldier who shot the officers, the men who murdered their wives or mistresses, the burglars, and the secret poisoners, whether, while doing these things, they believed in the anger of God against sin, whether they had before their eyes the day of judgment, and the fire that is never quenched. You would find to a man, that in this respect they were all practical secularists.

When anger, lust, revenge, or any violent passion, prompts a man to seek the gratifying of his wishes, or when suffering, despair, or the dread of shame, urge him to self-destruction, will he find anything in the creed of the secularists to restrain him? So far from it, it is here that he finds his encouragement to proceed. He is not unconscious that painful consequences may, and perhaps will, follow. He knows, or can calculate, the worst that can follow in this world, and he distinctly contemplates and accepts it: "It is only to be imprisoned for so many years; or, it is only to be hung; or, it is only a few minutes or hours of pain if I destroy myself." It is because he does not look beyond this world, or looking, persuades himself that there is no existence, and therefore no suffering there,—in other words, because he is a secularist,—that he can make up his mind to any unprincipled act that may seem to him a necessity, or a gratification, or a release from intolerable burdens. "There is no fear of God before his eyes."

Let in that fear, like the sudden ray of light, while he is contemplating the commission of such crimes; let the thought, "I must stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and answer for the

deed," present itself to his mind, as it does to the Christian's; and will he dare to proceed? He can persevere only by dashing aside that thought, and refusing it a moment's consideration. It is "by the fear of the Lord that men depart from evil." Remove that fear, and what is then to arrest the uplifted arm, to daunt the reckless will, to curb the violent passions? If men will be secularists, they must, when circumstances seem to require, and temptations urge with force, be unprincipled, selfish, violent, reckless.

But it will be asked, are religious people never guilty of crimes? Can we not retort upon you, and mention names well known in the religious world, who have been notorious offenders, aye, criminals and convicts? And are there not some among the saints unconvicted, but just as unprincipled and wicked as they? We venture to answer distinctly, No. There are among religious professors some who are practical secularists. Among those who profess belief in a future state, and would shudder to deny in words a judgment to come, there are many who yet never think of it, never allow their knowledge of this doctrine to exert any influence over their motives or their conduct. They never travel beyond the boundary of this world; they are not accustomed to inquire whether their intentions and actions are in accordance with God's will; and therefore, when temptations lure them to crime, they think as little of God and a future judgment as the professed secularist and the hardened infidel. Such persons, then, cannot fairly be classed amongst the saints, or adduced as specimens of religious persons. Really they are secularists, because "there is no fear of God before their eyes." The religious man may sometimes be deceived; he may be hurried on, by the force of strong temptation, to act without thought, or through infirmity he may fail to resist as he ought to do, and thus he may fall. But he cannot deliberately determine and do these sinful acts. "He cannot (thus) sin, because he is born of God." The grace of God moves and enables his renewed nature to struggle against that which is born of the flesh. The fear of the Lord is before his eyes, and holds him back from presumptuous sins. The Spirit of God abiding within his heart presents to his well-instructed mind considerations which check evil impulses, and bring into action the holy principles already rooted within. The tempted, struggling soul thus recovers its equilibrium, and gains the victory. How true it is, then, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;" that "the fear of the Lord is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death." This phrase is continually used in the Old Testament for genuine personal religion, probably because of its restraining influence upon the evil propensities of men. And if the love of God is the more prominent feature of true religion in the New Testa-

ment, this fear of God as a restraint upon evil is by no means overlooked.

The prevalence of crime loudly warns us not to sever religion from our instructions, nor, wherever it is possible, from our legislation. Let this be remembered by parents, guardians, and teachers, as well as statesmen. If you have the slightest regard for those whom you teach or govern, bear in mind that religion is to form the grand restraint upon their evil propensities, that which is to be their safeguard against temptation. The fear of God includes all the considerations which the secularist can urge. It enjoins that love to one's neighbour which worketh no ill. It recognizes self-love, in the very command which teaches us to love our neighbour as ourselves. It enjoins benevolence, patriotism, and public spirit: but it does infinitely more; it fills the soul with grander considerations than belong to this world, and supplies a motive for perseverance in well doing, and for patience under suffering, after all the motives of the secularist have been exhausted, and have left him to despair. Moreover, it qualifies and prepares the mind for the still more fruitful principle of love; that principle which develops the virtues of the Christian character, while this reverential fear acts as a restraint upon the vicious tendencies of the carnal heart. Thus, most beautifully do they intermingle their sacred influences in the formation of genuine purity of heart and life:—

“O let thy fear within me dwell,
Thy love my footsteps guide;
That love shall all vain loves expel,
That fear all fears besides.”

But to these serious considerations we must not forget to add others of a different kind. Violent crimes of outrage, self-destruction, and the murder of those dependent on them for existence, are often, in the poorer classes, the consequence of a moody, melancholy, and utterly dejected state of mind. For this, God only knows how far they are accountable. The dingy court, the stifling garret, the filthy atmosphere, the constant sight and sound of misery, have much to answer for. Or rather, let us be honest and speak out, the wealth and respectability of England, which permits these things, have much to answer for, in that they have so long permitted the existence of these things, not in some remote colony, but at their own doors. If we seldom revert to these secular matters, let us not be misunderstood. It is not that we are insensible to their importance; but we have a path and a work of our own. It has become the fashion to direct attention to these questions of what is now termed social science; and what others can do as well or better than ourselves, we leave in their hands; not because we are more indifferent than they, but because we have

a higher task, a nobler enterprise, in which they cannot assist us, and where, indeed, we find that many of them work in opposition to us. Yet once for all be it said, that if crime increases, flaming gin palaces, which magistrates may at once put down, and grim courts and wretched hovels, which landlords may at once improve, are, we believe, to an inconceivable extent its secondary causes. The first is, no doubt, the depravity of the human heart.

WRITINGS OF DR. HORACE BUSHNELL.

1. *Nature and the Supernatural, as together constituting the one System of God.* By Horace Bushnell, D.D. Strahan and Co., Edinburgh. Sampson Low, Son, and Co., London. 1861.
2. *Christian Nurture.* By Horace Bushnell, D.D. Strahan and Co., &c. 1861.

THE name of Horace Bushnell is new in England, but his works are already popular; and we are not surprised that they should be so. He treats of profound subjects, but he is an amusing writer. He is clear and forcible in argument, has a strong vein of humour, writes with feeling, and is fond of a paradox. The style of composition he adopts has its peculiar charms for those who are fond of passion and excitement. He is an American; and in respect of style, and in this only, of the Emersonian school. His prose is always in hysterics; bright as a sun-beam in one sentence, murky as a November fog in the next; and yet, even through the mist revealing the outline of something which, if we could but see it clearly, may be grand and beautiful. He is thoroughly master of all the follies and heresies of the day, both in philosophy and theology; and he bears down upon them with surprising force. Yet he often swims, for so great a soul, in shallow waters; and, like a sturgeon in pursuit of a shoal of herrings, knocks the spray about with his fins and tail, greatly to the admiration of little boys upon the shore. Horace Bushnell, therefore, is and will be popular for some time to come; especially with that increasing class of readers who are weary, and not perhaps without reason, of what is commonplace; think themselves intellectual, and yet mistake finery for elegance; and conclude that a writer has made some great discoveries if he has oddly linked together an unaccountable number of poetical and theological terms with those of natural philosophy. Such readers will be charmed to hear of "a sporadic regeneration:" of sin "maintaining the organic *nexus* of its aim:" of the "sublime palingnesses

of redemption :” of “a sure spring of solidarity and organic power :” of “an organic power of consanguinity.” All this wears an air of profoundness and originality, and, instead of deterring, it allures them ; especially when it is interspersed with a good deal of lively writing, many wholesome truths, and plenty of extravagance. It would be well if those who allow themselves to be carried off their feet by these mountain torrents, in which pure water, mud, and boulders are so curiously commingled, would consent to be instructed by the greatest teacher of rhetoric and reason now living. “It is chiefly,” says Dr. Whately, “in such foggy forms that the metaphysics and theology of Germany, for instance, are exercising a greater influence every day on popular literature. It has been zealously instilled into the minds of many, that Germany has something far more profound to supply than anything hitherto extant in our native literature ; though what that profound something is, seems not to be well understood by its admirers. What is abstruse and recondite they suppose must be abstruse and recondite wisdom ; though perhaps it is what, if stated in plain English, they would throw aside as partly trifling truisms, and partly stark folly.”

Not that Dr. Bushnell’s theology is either Neologian or German. We need not hesitate to say, that his intentions in both his works are good ; that he is a writer of force and originality ; and that when he fails, it is from that deplorable heat and extravagance, that fondness for what is termed by themselves “sensational writing,” which disgraces the periodical literature of America ; and which, we are sorry to add, is forcing its way into the religious literature both of America and England. We step aside to record our protest against it. It is becoming even amongst ourselves a vicious passion, and we observe with pain its advances in our popular biographies, our tracts and stories. In America it shows itself, as in Dr. Bushnell, in higher religious literature. However it may be defended it seems to us dishonest, or, at least, as near dishonesty as habitual exaggeration is to actual falsehood. We notice its inroads with alarm, and call upon all religious writers by their example to combine against it. No story is told by the class of writers to whom we refer without being overtold ; no anecdote is related without some tragical embellishment ; no appeal to the conscience is thought effective which is not at the same time a violent appeal to the feelings. If a name be wanted for it, it might be termed, the Cambric-pocket-handkerchief school. Even the pulpit feeds the infection. We lately asked one of our most effective public speakers what he thought of the most popular preacher of the day ? “Why,” said he, “his grand ambition seems to be to make people cry. Now give me an audience of two thousand people, and I will undertake to have

them all in tears at any given minute by the clock. It is nothing more than an easy trick." And we will add, a trick to which, the Holy Scriptures being our model, religious writers or preachers should not often condescend. There is in religion a sublimity of real pathos which will do its work. We do not envy the man who can read the last chapter of St. John, or Paul's farewell to the Ephesian elders, without emotion; and we can understand Dr. Arnold saying, that he could not trust himself to read aloud the story of Bunyan's Christian crossing the river, while the shining ones stood waiting on the further shore to welcome his spirit into the realms of light. But the constant forcing of strong emotion, or rather of pitiful and effeminate emotion, is a disgrace to solid literature, and still more to the high and sacred themes which are conversant about eternity. But we must return from our digression.

We cannot undertake to give an outline of Dr. Horace Bushnell's two works standing at the head of our review, yet we must attempt to give our readers some idea of their method and contents.

In the first volume mentioned at the head of this paper, he endeavours, and upon the whole with success, to show that there is a real distinction between the natural and supernatural in God's moral government; and not only so, but that the supernatural, in its highest sense, finds a legitimate place in the system by which God now governs the world; and further, that it is a necessary part of the divine system itself. Christianity, in other words, is not an after-thought of God, but a fore-thought. The world was made to include Christianity:—

"For this it has its design or final cause revealed; by this all its distinctions, laws and historic changes are determined, and reduced to a system. All this is beautifully and even sublimely expressed in the single word *consist*, literally signifying a standing together, as when many parts coalesce in a common whole. Hence," he remarks, "it is to be regretted that the translators, in the rendering by *Him*, instead of the more literal and exact rendering in *Him*, have so far obscured the significance, and obscured the beauty of a passage that, generally translated, is so remarkable for the transcendent philosophic meaning of its import."

Thus obtaining a solid intellectual footing for the supernatural as the essential complement of the natural; as included in and essential to God's plan or system of moral government, a solid and decided conviction is gained for those great practical truths which belong to the supernatural side of Christianity: such as the immortality, regeneration, justification by faith, divine guidance and prayer. The necessity for such an argument in behalf of the supernatural in Christianity, is felt, we are told, in our own country. We have a large, and, we

fear, rapidly increasing party, who have espoused the new infidelity :—

“ Not that rampant, crude-minded, and malignant scoffing which, in a former age, undertook to rid the world of all religion ; on the contrary, it puts on the air and speaks in the character of a genuine scholarship and philosophy. It simply undertakes, if we can trust its professions, to interpret and apply to the facts of Scripture the true laws of historic criticism. It more generally speaks in the name of religion, and does not commonly refuse even the more distinctive name of Christianity. Coming thus in shapes of professed deference to revealed religion, many persons appear to be scarcely aware of the questions it is raising, the modes of thought it is generating, and the general progress towards mere naturalism it is beginning to set in motion. Many, also, are the more effectually blinded to the tendency of the times, that so many really true opinions and so many right sentiments, honourable to God and religion, are connected with the pernicious and false method by which it is, in one way or another, extinguishing the faith of religion in the world. It proposes to make a science of religion, and what can be more plausible than to have religion become a science ?” (p. 4.)

But the evil, if not over-stated by Dr. Bushnell, is even greater in America :—

“ We undertake the argument from a solemn conviction of its necessity, and because we see that the more direct arguments and appeals of religion are losing their power over the public mind and conscience. This is true especially of the young, who pass into life under the combined action of so many causes, conspiring to infuse a distrust of whatever is supernatural in religion. Persons farther on in life are out of the reach of these new influences, and, unless their attention is specially called to the fact, have little suspicion of what is going on in the mind of the rising classes of the world,—more and more saturated every day with this insidious form of unbelief. And yet we all, with perhaps the exception of a few who are too far on to suffer it, are more or less infected with the same tendency. Like an atmosphere, it begins to envelop the common mind of the world. We frequently detect its influence in the practical difficulties of the young members of the churches, who do not even suspect the true cause themselves. Indeed, there is nothing more common than to hear arguments advanced, and illustrations offered, by the most evangelical preachers, that have no force or meaning save what they get from the current naturalism of the day. We have heard a distinguished and carefully orthodox preacher deliver a discourse, the very doctrine of which was inevitable, unqualified naturalism. Logically taken, and carried out to its proper result, Christianity could have had no ground of standing left,—so little did the preacher himself understand the true scope of his doctrine, or the mischief that was beginning to infect his conceptions of the Christian truth.” (pp. 13, 14.)

Now, we cannot afford, for any trifling faults, to lose a writer of Dr. Bushnell's undoubted ability, who sets himself with an honest purpose to maintain the essential truths of the Gospel

against such enemies, and at such a crisis. We should be glad to welcome him as a warm-hearted volunteer in this fearful warfare, of which we see the beginning, but who shall foretell the end? Who shall tell through what calamities it will conduct the world, and even the church, deceiving, if it were possible, the very elect, before the end shall come? Yet we are compelled to be suspicious of the weapons he employs. For he fights rashly; and many of his strokes will be more dangerous to the cause he espouses than injurious to the enemy he encounters.

In the very first chapter, (from which our extracts have been made,) and before he has fairly entered upon his work, there are some remarks upon the inspiration of Scripture, so vague, and so unguarded, that, if pressed to their consequences, they would leave, we fear, to the Bible no higher office than that already assigned to it by Roman and Romanizing theologians—namely, that of confirming truths previously learned elsewhere: the Romanists would say, from the traditions of the Church: Dr. Bushnell's disciple would, we fear, have to grope for them amongst the barren and cloud-bound regions of natural theology. He tells us, with much emphasis, that we are not to perplex ourselves with the question of an infallible and verbal inspiration. But he does not show us where we are to take our stand, nor on what ground we are resolutely to join battle. He sees no way, indeed, to gain a verdict in favour of the Scriptures, but to change our method, and begin at another point—

“Just where they themselves begin; to let go the minima, and lay hold of the principals—those great outstanding verities, in which they lay their foundations, and by which they assert themselves. As long as the advocates of strict, infallible inspiration are so manifestly tangled, and lost in the trivialities they contend for, these portentous advances of naturalism will continue.”

Now it may be true, that “there is a method of approaching the subject at once timid and pedantic,” but we are not at all disposed to yield the doctrine of infallibility on that account; nor to concede that, because “we cannot withhold the admission of here and there an interpolation, or that words have crept into the text which were once in the margin, or that because, after all, the words, syllables, and iotas of the book are still brought into question, its infallibility,” in any sense of the word worth contending about, “is logically at an end.” We still maintain the doctrine of a strict infallible inspiration; for none of these errors, nor all of them together, affect a single essential point of doctrine or practice. It might have been otherwise. The variations might have been so great in manuscripts of equal authority, or the uncertainty of the canon itself might have been

such, as to leave grave doubts on honest minds as to the real meaning of the book. But God has not permitted this. The book is His own revelation; and by that very supernatural though not miraculous exertion of His power, for which Dr. Horace Bushnell all along contends, He has handed down to us a volume, which we maintain to be, in every reasonable sense of the word, and for all reasonable purposes, an inspired, and therefore an infallible, record.

These difficulties, he admits, "are rather logical than real, and originate, not in any defect in the Scriptures, but in a statement that puts us in a condition to make nothing of a good cause, a condition to be inevitably worsted." It appears to us that the only difficulty arises from his own exaggerated statement of the question at issue, and from his own false method of reasoning. The matter may be stated simply thus: Religion must be derived from one of three sources. We may excogitate a religion as Plato did, supposing, which is very doubtful, that he owed nothing to the traditions of a patriarchal faith still extant among the heathen; and, if we have Plato's intellect, we may, perhaps, come in time to be as wise as Plato; no wonderful attainment, after all, in spiritual things, except as contrasted with the surrounding gloom. Or again, we may look round us on creation, and so ascend through nature up to nature's God. This is natural religion. And to what does it amount? It shows something of the eternal power and godhead of a great Supreme Creator. But does it clearly establish the unity of the Deity, His justice or His goodness? We doubt whether it proves any one of these. Not His unity, but at the best only a unity of design, such as might have resulted from the co-operation of the *Dii Majores*. We do not think it even goes so far as this. The Manichæan would be the true disciple of natural theology. He sees a good and a bad Divinity each by turns prevailing. A Deity of health and sunshine, clothing the world with light and beauty: but he sees, too, another power at work, veiling it with clouds, blasting it with storm and tempest, defiling it with moral evil, and steeping it in death. And he can go no further. Perfect unity, much less perfect goodness, and omnipotence carrying goodness into perfect action, cannot be thus made out; and here natural theology forsakes us. The third, and only remaining avenue, is inspiration. God may have made a direct revelation of Himself to man. We maintain that he has done so, and that the Bible contains this revelation perfect and complete. For we neither believe that it is subsidied by tradition, nor that it has been superseded by spiritualists of any class; of whom, indeed, in a grave argument, it is beneath us to make mention, had not our author felt it necessary to set us the example. But now, if the Bible be the source of divine truth, we must know what the Bible is, and what it means. That is, we must set out

from the very point from which Dr. Bushnell would scare us away. The difficulties which he starts are of no more importance than those with which the Sophists of old amused themselves. Was the Argonautic ship, after centuries had passed, the same ship which sailed on the Argonautic expedition, seeing that scarcely one of her old timbers now remained? Was her identity the same, or was it another vessel? Tell us what you mean by identity or sameness, and a simple Yes or No resolves the childish puzzle of these solemn triflers. So of Holy Scripture. What is meant by inspiration? What is the meaning of the words, sacred canon? What do you understand by such expressions as the integrity of the sacred text? The terms being defined, very moderate learning, and ordinary common sense, suffice to give the right answer. The volume is what it professes to be; and it would be so substantially, were emendations and various readings ten times more numerous and more important than they were ever alleged to be. Above eight hundred are alleged in the New Testament; but of these only four or five affect any point of doctrine, or any doctrinal fact; and in those few instances, the fact or the doctrine may be proved from other texts. According to Theodore Parker and his school Homer was inspired. If so, the *Iliad* is an inspired volume. In the proper sense it is a literal inspiration; for in the collocation of words, and even syllables, its great charm, nay its whole worth, consists. Now whatever other objections may be brought against Parker's theory, did it ever occur to any Christian believer to oppose it on the ground that there are various readings in Homer, or that there is here and there a whole line perhaps of doubtful authenticity? No christian writer ever attempted such a quibble. Had he done so, who shall describe the storm of indignation, contempt, and scorn, under which our new philosophy would have crushed him? We ask for the Bible no better treatment than common sense and ordinary fair dealing would demand for the *Iliad*, or any other book, on behalf of which similar pretensions are advanced; and we say, that the proof of the supernatural in religion, while it admits of confirmation from other sources, must originate in the book of God itself. In the next chapter, Dr. Bushnell speaks much more wisely: he repeats, apparently without being conscious of it, the substance of what Butler has said upon the childishness of attempting to get rid of the immediate agency of God upon the universe, by the use of such phrases as "the system of nature," "the laws of nature," and so on. And he illustrates Butler's meaning, and his own, by some good examples:—

"Thus," he says, "we sometimes speak of 'the system of nature,' using the word Nature in a loose and general way, as comprising all created existence. But if we accommodate ourselves in this manner, it behooves us to see that we do not, in using such a term, slide into

a false philosophy which overturns all obligation by assuming the real universality of cause and effect, and the subjection of human actions to that law. It may be true that men are only things determinable under the same conditions of causality, but it will be soon enough to assert that fact when it is ascertained by particular inquiry; which inquiry is much more likely to result in the impression that the phrase, 'system of nature,' understood in this manner as implying that human actions are determined by mechanical laws, is much as if one were to speak of the 'system of the school-house,' as supporting the inference that the same kind of frame-work that holds the timbers together is also to mortise and pin fast the moral order of the school. In the same manner we sometimes say 'universal nature,' when we only catch up the term to denote the whole creation or universe, without deciding anything in regard to the possible universality of nature properly defined. To this, again, there is no objection, if we are only careful not to slide into the opinion that natural laws and causes comprehend everything; as multitudes do, without thought, in simply yielding to the force of such a term." (pp. 22, 23.)

On the other hand, the supernatural, whatever it be, is that which is either not in the chain of natural cause and effect, or which acts on the chain of cause and effect in nature, from without the chain. Thus, if any event transpires in the bosom, or upon the platform of what is called nature, which is not from nature itself, or is varied from the process nature would execute by her own laws, that is supernatural, by whatever power it is wrought.

We must pass over several chapters containing speculations on many things, some wise, many questionable; not a few, we fear, of dangerous tendency, from the unguarded manner in which they are expressed and that monster weakness of the author's mind a constant disposition to startle us with a paradox or to inflict upon us a "sensation." There is one chapter on "the character of Jesus as forbidding his classification with men." The subject is not new; indeed, no writer on the evidences can pass it by; and Paley has treated it—"the originality of the character of Christ"—with even more than his usual ability. Still Dr. Bushnell has many remarks which are not only striking but original. We should say it was deserving of the highest praise, were it not for a certain degree of familiarity and irreverence, perhaps inseparable from the subject when treated as a matter of evidence, which however is always painful to a devout mind. He enters upon it in the right spirit. As no proof beyond the light is necessary to show that the sun shines, so Jesus proves himself by his own self-evidence:—

"The most conspicuous matter in the history of Jesus, is that what holds true in all our experience of men is inverted in him. He grows sacred, wonderful, divine, as acquaintance reveals him. At first he is only a man, as the senses report him to be; knowledge, observation,

familiarity, raises him into the God man, and this appears in the history without any token of art, or even apparent consciousness in the writers that it does appear. It appears because it is true. Probably, no one of the Evangelists ever so much as noticed this remarkable inversion of what holds good respecting men in the life and character of Jesus. Is this character human, or is it plainly divine."

He sums up thus :—

"We have now sketched some of the principal distinctions of the superhuman character of Jesus. We have seen Him unfolding as a flower, from the germ of a perfect youth; growing up to enter into great scenes, and have His part in great trials; harmonious in all with Himself and truth, a miracle of celestial beauty. He is a Lamb in innocence, a God in dignity; revealing an impenitent but faultless piety, such as no mortal ever attempted, such as, to the highest of mortals, is inherently impossible. He advances the most extravagant pretensions without any show of conceit, or even seeming fault of modesty. He suffers without affectation of composure, and without restraint of pride; suffers as no mortal sensibility can, and where, to mortal view, there was no reason for pain at all; giving us not only an example of gentleness and patience in all the small trials of life, but revealing the depths even of the passive virtues of God, in His agony and the patience of His suffering love. He undertakes also a plan, universal in extent, perpetual in time, viz., to unite all nations in a kingdom of righteousness under God; laying His foundations in the hearts of the poor, as no great teacher had ever done before, and yet without creating even a faction, or stirring one partisan feeling in His followers. In His teachings He is perfectly original, distinct from His age and from all ages; never warped by the expectation of His friends; always in a balance of truth, swayed by no excesses, running to no oppositions or extremes; clear of all superstition, and equally clear of all liberalism; presenting the highest doctrines in the lowest and simplest forms; establishing a pure, universal morality, never before established; and, with all His intense devotion to the truth, never anxious, perceptibly, for the success of His doctrine. Finally, to sum up all in one, He grows more great, and wise, and sacred, the more He is known—needs, in fact, to be known, to have His perfection seen. And this, we say, is Jesus the Christ; manifestly not human, not of our world—some being who has burst into it, and is not of it. Call Him for the present that 'Holy Thing,' and say, 'By this we believe that thou camest from God.'

"Not to say that we are dissatisfied with this sketch, would be almost an irreverence of itself to the subject of it. Who can satisfy himself with anything that he can say of Jesus Christ? We have seen how many pictures of the sacred person of Jesus by the first masters, but not one among them all that did not rebuke the weakness which could dare attempt an impossible subject. So of the character of Jesus. It is necessary for the holy interest of truth, that we should explore it, as we are best able; but what are human thoughts and human conceptions on a subject that dwarfs all thought, and immediately outgrows whatever is conceived? And yet, for the reason that we have failed, we seem also to have succeeded. For the

more impossible it is found to be to grasp the character and set it forth, the more clearly is it seen to be above our range—a miracle and a mystery." (pp. 249, 250.)

If the whole chapter were purged of its Americanisms, and reprinted as a tract, it could not fail to be of the greatest use to those who have learned to speak, with the neo-infidels, of the purity and dignity of the character of Jesus, and yet deny His Godhead.

The latter part of the work is directed very much against the infidelity of Theodore Parker and his associates; which differs, we regret to say, from that which is pampered amongst ourselves, only by its greater daring. Strange speculations are, however, intermixed; and there are some statements which even to Americans must already bear an embarrassed aspect. "The American revolution," we are informed, "followed by the federal constitution, fulfils the christian aim of Puritanism, and lays all claims and titles of legitimacy at the feet of human liberty and progress." If so, alas! for human liberty and progress, who have made so ill a use of their triumph; and alas, too, for the sovereignty of Christian ideas, if it rests on no more secure a throne than "the grand commercial apostleship," heroically set forth thus:—

"The grand commercial apostleship of steam and telegraph, hurrying the intercourse and shortening the distances of the ends of the world, fixes the superiority of the Christian nations, and prepares the speedy sovereignty of the Christian ideas."

Theodore Parker denies the supernatural; in his creed it has no existence. Dr. Bushnell must needs rush into the opposite extreme; he maintains that miracles and spiritual gifts are not yet discontinued; and falls foul of the Christian Observer, for what was written thirty years ago, when Irvingism made its appearance. He undertakes to defend the gift of tongues, and even professes his belief in them, quoting, though without acknowledging it, Irving's own description of them, in probably the most eloquent passage that he ever wrote, which appeared at the time, if we mistake not, in Fraser's Magazine. Committed to this folly, he plunges more deeply into the stream, and gives us several other cases which have happened in America,—gifts of healing, of tongues, and of what is termed clairvoyance; none of which will our readers thank us to refute. Let one general remark suffice. We have not the slightest reluctance to believe in the reality of miracles whenever they may occur, or by whomsoever they may be wrought; provided only they are accompanied with such evidence as that which attests the only miracles in which we have faith, the miracles of the Old and New Testament. We go further. We believe that miracles will again be wrought on earth; for we have several

intimations to that effect in Holy Scripture. Certainly there will be miracles wrought by Satanic agency; for so the Lord himself, and the apostle Paul, have forewarned us. There may, too, be miracles from heaven. But, in either case, *the miracle alone proves nothing*. It is to the miracle, *in conjunction with the doctrine*, that we are commanded to take heed. If we saw in our pulpits, for example, instead of a minister in a Geneva gown, a seraph clothed with celestial brightness, preaching "another gospel which was not another," we should hold that seraph to be "accursed." It would be our duty to warn his hearers to fly with horror from his presence, and to bless God for the homely instructions of their fellow mortal, who had felt himself a sinner, and taught his hearers the way of salvation through the blood of the cross. But at present we are in no danger from a superfluity of miracles. Should any be alleged which deserve the compliment of a calm investigation, the subject is always interesting, and it shall receive justice at our hands. Mesmerism and clairvoyance, spirit rapping and table turning, have had their day. What truth there is in them has already been assigned to natural causes; what we wait for is a miracle.*

* While we were writing the last few pages, we received the following letter, which may contribute, if not to the edification of our readers, at least to their entertainment:—

"To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

"Sir,—I well and painfully remember, about a quarter of a century ago, that your Observer opened a wide flood-gate for the rising deisms of the age, since known as liberalism, idealism, and coming to head and front in recent 'Essays and Reviews,' against which latter you have (with more ability than consistency) faithfully protested.

"The lamentable *deistical tendency* of the Christian Observer is thus alluded to in a recent work of Dr. Bushnell, (America,) on 'Nature and the Supernatural,' p. 366:—

"A great discussion was raised on Miss Fancourt's case, particularly between the *Morning Watch* and the *Christian Observer*; in which the *Observer* took precisely the ground of Mr. Hume, as respects the credibility of miracles performed now, insisting that henceforth, since the Scripture time, 'we must admit any solution rather than a miracle'! Little wonder is it that we have difficulty in sustaining the historic facts of Christianity, when the most Christian Evangelic teachers assume so readily the utter incredibility of any such gifts, &c."

"Permit me to add: 'and no wonder is it, we have the late *Essays and Reviews*.'

"Yours respectfully,

"OLIVER LYNDALL,

"One of the writers in '*Morning Watch*.'"

"50, Coltman Street, Hull;
14th Oct., 1861."

We turn to the second work, by the same writer, which heads our present article. It reminds us of the lines in the epitaph written in his lifetime for Burke,—

“ His genius was such,
You neither can blame him, nor praise him too much.”

Dr. Horace Bushnell, in his *Christian Nurture*, insists upon the duty of Christian parents to bring up their children on Christian principles, and on the right of Christian children to be recognised as members of the Church, when dedicated to God by believing parents in infant baptism; and on these points, if not original, he is often instructive and interesting. But he frequently overstates his case, and has met, it seems, with opposition; and now he falls into the besetment of most theorists, and like boys who holloa in the dark, to satisfy themselves they are not afraid, he becomes more noisily extravagant, and bolsters up his former oversights by assertions and arguments which must, if they have any effect at all, bring discredit even upon the important truths with which they are associated.

He seems to argue sometimes, as if a parent's piety might be transmitted to his child like a cast in the eye, or any other peculiarity in the constitution; and as he writes with that intensity which distinguishes his countrymen, both for good or evil, in all they undertake, the worst points in his book are brought out, reiterated, and enforced, in a way which to devout minds is peculiarly offensive. Occasionally his statements are decidedly unscriptural, and there is a dashing freedom in the style, and even a levity in speaking of the Supreme Himself in a few instances, which cannot be too much condemned. Our readers will recollect the views of the late excellent Mr. Budd, of Bridewell, on the subject of baptism. Many of his friends thought that even he drove his principles to excess. In the hands of Horace Bushnell, the same theory, but without the unction or the holy meekness of that excellent man, will become, we fear, a dangerous weapon. In short, there is a great part of his book which we cannot reconcile with the often-repeated declaration of Scripture, that every child of Adam is born a child of wrath, and that unless a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.

Cleared of extravagance, the ground which Dr. Bushnell occupies is that which the church of England—indeed, every section of the Catholic church, with one exception—has always taken up; it is that the children of believers, being dedicated to God in baptism, are to be regarded as the children of Christ. “The child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise.”—“In other words, the aim, effort, and expectation should be, not that the child is to grow up in sin,

to be converted after he comes to a mature age, but that he is to open on the world as one who is spiritually renewed, not remembering the time when he went through a technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from his earliest years." This is the broad statement, and it is, or rather it ought to be, the true one. But Dr. Bushnell is obliged to qualify it in the next sentence. "I do not affirm," he adds, "that every child may, in fact, and without exception, be so trained that he will certainly grow up a Christian." Thus qualified, the doctrine is not a novelty, now rashly and for the first time propounded, as some may be tempted to suppose. "I shall show you," he adds, "before I have done with the argument, that it is as old as the Christian church;" and he makes good the assertion in his 6th chapter, "on the Apostolic authority of Infant Baptism." There is much that is excellent here, and we the more regret that it should be found in connection with so much that makes the treatise questionable, if not dangerous, in the hands of an uninstructed reader. He says with regard to infant baptism, and truly says, that what we read in the New Testament of the baptizing of households, is positive proof that infants were baptized in the times of the apostles—baptized, that is, in and because of the supposed faith of the parents. The fact of such baptism is three times distinctly mentioned; in the case of "the household of Stephanus," of Lydia "and her household," and of the jailer "and all his." In answer to the assertion, that in all these three cases, for ought that appears, the households were made up of adult persons, who were baptized because they all believed, Dr. Bushnell forcibly replies:—

"The chance that this should be true of the only three households said to be baptized, and that there should be three households, as households were commonly made up in that time, in which there were no young children or infants, is not even one in a million, as computed by what is called the doctrine of chances. Besides, if it was a thing understood that infants were never to be baptized, it is important to observe that no such way of speaking could ever come into use. What Baptist could ever be induced, with his view of baptism, to say inclusively, and without some kind of qualification, that he had baptized the household of Richard or Mary? We need not stop, in this view, to ask whether certainly there were infants in any one of these households; the mode of speaking itself shows that baptism went by households, and that when the head was judged to be faithful, his baptism carried the presumptive faith and consequent baptism of all." (p. 98.)

Thus the children of believers were familiarly addressed as members of the church of Christ, even in the most exclusive, because most spiritual, of St. Paul's epistles, those to the Ephesians and Colossians. Therein they are formally included among

“the faithful in Christ Jesus,” to whom the apostle wrote. That they are thus spoken of by the earliest uninspired Christian writers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, the author of the Shepherd of Hermas, and others down to the time of Pelagius and Augustine, is beyond a question; and below this point it is needless to descend. If it be replied that there is no positive command on the subject, it is enough to answer, none was necessary. Dr. Bushnell goes further, and maintains that the very institution of baptism carried with it of necessity infant baptism, apart from any express mention of it:—

“The Jewish mind was so familiarized from custom with the notion of an inclusive unity in families, partly by the rite of circumcision, that Christian baptism, being the seal of faith, would naturally be applied in the same manner. Not to have made such an application would have required some authoritative interposition, some dike of positive hindrance, to turn aside the current of Jewish prepossessions.”

Instead of being obliged to adduce some positive command in favour of infant baptism, we have a right to call upon those who deny it for some positive prohibition. It is not reasonable that we should act on the defensive here; on what ground, let us rather demand, is infant baptism to be refused?—

“It is a point of consequence to notice that such as reject all these and similar evidences from the Scripture, on the ground that infant baptism cannot be rightly practised, because it is not directly and specifically appointed in the Scripture, do yet make nothing of their own argument in other observances familiarly accepted.....In the meantime, it will be found that the objectors themselves are admitting and practising, without difficulty, observances that have comparatively no specific authority at all. At the sacrament of the Supper, they use leavened bread without scruple, when they know that it was not used by Christ himself, and was solemnly forbidden at the festival He was there, in fact, reappointing for the Christian uses of His disciples in all future ages. Where, then, is the authority given for a change even in the element of the Holy Supper itself? The Christian's Lord's day, too, accepted in the place of the Jewish Sabbath, and that even against a specific command of the decalogue—how readily, and with how little scruple, do they accept this Lord's day, and let the ancient Sabbath go, when it is only by the faintest, most equivocal, or evanescent indications they can make out a shadow of authority for the change! ‘Direct proof! positive command! specific injunction!’ they say, ‘without these, infant baptism has no right.’ Where, then, do they get their authority for these other observances; one of them never referred to in Scripture at all, and the other so doubtfully, that infant baptism has, in comparison, the clear evidence of day?

“Lastly, it remains to glance at the evidences from church history, or the history of times subsequent to the age of the apostles. It has been the mood of Christian learning in the generation past—for the learned men have moods and phases, not to say fashions, like others

in the less thoughtful conditions—to make large concessions in the matter of baptism, both as regards the manner and the subjects. But a reaction is now begun; and it is my fixed conviction that it will not stop, till the encouragement heretofore given to the Baptist opinions is quite taken away.” (pp. 99, 100.)

If it be asked, who are the children entitled to infant baptism? we answer in the words of dean Nowell:—“None have a right to be baptized except the children of believing parents, since, as Isaac had, they have the promise. What hinders, since they have the promise, they should also have the sign, since the promise is greater than the sign?”

Dr. Bushnell has no difficulty in showing, from Baxter, and even from Calvin, as well as from the New England fathers, whose authority is naturally great on the other side of the Atlantic, that the children of believers baptized should be regarded as heirs of the parental faith, and presumptively included in that faith. We are induced to give a short extract from Dr. Witherspoon:—

“When the gospel comes to a people that have long sitten in darkness, there may be numerous converts of all ages; but when the gospel has long been preached, in plenty and purity, and ordinances regularly administered, few but those who are called in early life are called at all. A very judicious and pious writer, Richard Baxter, is of opinion, that in a regular state of the church, and a tolerable measure of faithfulness and purity in its officers, family instruction and government are the usual means of conversion, public ordinances of edification. This seems agreeable to the language of Scripture; for we are told that God hath set in the church apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, (not for converting sinners, but) for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.”

That many have grievously disappointed the expectations of the church, is but too true; and whatever other reasons may be assigned for this, there is a fearful amount of truth in the remark with which his chapter on Church Membership closes:—

“One great reason why the children of Christian parents turn out so badly is, that they are taken to be the world, and the manner and spirit of the house are brought down to be of the world too, and partly for their sake. Take them as disciples of Jesus, to be carefully trained for Him: prepared to no mere worldly tastes, and fashions, and pleasures, but kept in purity, saved from the world, and led forth under all tender examples of obedience and godly living; and it will be strange if that nurture of the Lord does not show them growing up in the faith, to be sons and daughters indeed of the Lord Almighty.” (p. 124.)

We have now gone as far as we can with Dr. Bushnell. From this point his theory is a mere chimera, extravagant and wild. He tells us of *the out-populating power of the Christian stock*, (the heading of a chapter); of *a sporadic piety*, and other ab-

surditities. The world is to be made a Christian world at last, by means of this out-populating power of the Christian stock. What this means, the author himself shall inform us :—

“ Now if it be true that what gets power in any race, by a habit or a process of culture, tends by a fixed law of nature to become a propagated quality, and pass by descent as a property inbred in the stock ; if in this way whole races of men are cultivated into properties that are peculiar—off into a savage character, down into a servile or a menial, up into civilization or a high social state—what is to be the effect of a thoroughly Christian fatherhood and motherhood, continued for a long time in the successive generations of a family ? What can it be but a general mitigation of the bad points of the stock, and a more and more completely inbred piety. The children of such a stock are born, not of the flesh only, or the mere natural life of their parentage, but they are born, in a sense most emphatic, of the Spirit also ; for this parentage is differed, as we are supposing, age by age, from its own mere nature in Adam, by the inhabiting grace of a supernatural salvation. Physiologically speaking, they are tempered by this grace, and it is all the while tending to become, in some sense, an inbred quality. Hence the very frequent remark—‘ How great a privilege and order of nobility to be descended of a pious ancestry ! ’ It is the blessing that is to descend to the thousandth generation of them that love God and keep His commandments.” (p. 131.)

The thousandth generation ! a generation is usually computed at thirty years ; so we have a Hindu period of thirty thousand years, during which the world is to last, that all men may see the working out and the glorious result of Dr. Bushnell’s theory of sporadic piety !

Into further particulars we need not descend. The second part of the work treats of the discipline of Christian children, and contains much wholesome advice, mixed up, as before, with much extravagance. Indeed, Dr. Bushnell is always tilting on the edge of this precipice ; he is always extravagant, or trying to be so ; always attempting a *sensation*, and not seldom does he show the want of a firm hold, and even of a clear conception, of the great doctrines of salvation. He is the prince of random writers, or he is the dupe of that mystifying school which has lately obscured some clearer heads than his. Take the following passage, for instance, with which we shall close our remarks. After enumerating some things, which, he says, are not to be taught, but carefully avoided, in the training of children, he adds :—

“ There are a great many other things which are not to be taught, for the reason that they cannot be sufficiently apprehended, and will only confound the understanding, instead of giving it light. These are to be taught, not formally or theologically, but implicitly, in a kind of child’s version, which the confessions commonly do not give. Thus depravity in Adam, the fall of the race, the atonement by Christ in any view that makes it a ground of forgiveness, regeneration itself

as a metaphysically-defined change in character—none of these can be taught as a doctrine for young children. And yet they can all be taught implicitly. Thus we may represent to children that we are all sinners, and that God is displeased with us whenever we do or think what is wrong; that we want a better and a clean heart, so that we shall love to do what is right, and that Christ came down into the world to give it to us; that when we feel sorry for wrong, He loves to forgive us, and that when we feel weak, and are much tempted, He will help us, hearing our prayer, and coming to us by His Spirit, to give us strength. Meantime we must not omit teaching that Jesus had a most dear love to children, took them in His arms, blessed them, loved them even the more tenderly because of the bad world into which they had come; and that breathing His own love into them, He was able to say that of such is the kingdom of heaven. Proceeding in this manner, let the call be to the child to become good, and to be always trusting Christ to make him so, and he will get the force, implicitly, of a whole gospel, in this very simple and summary version." (pp. 244, 245.)

Now, our own experience is, that the doctrines of the gospel cannot be stated, even to very young children, more simply, or more acceptably, than in the very words of Scripture. We say that it is scarcely possible to bring the doctrines of the gospel, the fall of man, the atonement of Christ, the necessity of Divine grace, and the work of the Holy Spirit on the soul, at too early an age before very little children. We maintain, that there is a wonderful congruity between the doctrine taught, and the capacity of the child to receive and comprehend it. The facility with which a child receives the doctrines which lie at the foundation of our faith, has struck us often as a very strong collateral proof of the truth of Christianity. We have known (what parent, what parochial minister has not known?) repeated instances in which the child has outrun the preceptor. The parent has been gravelling himself to bring some abstruse doctrine, the Trinity perhaps, or the two natures of Christ, or the work of the Spirit on the soul, before the child; and he discovers to his surprise, that the child has mastered it already. And why? Simply because he is a child. He entertained no doubts, he felt no difficulties. In a word, he received the kingdom of God as a little child. May the day come, when Dr. Horace Bushnell, and those who accept him as their leader, shall renounce their idle speculations, and, in the same child-like spirit, receive the sincere milk of the word, and grow thereby into a more manly faith, and a closer conformity to the features of their Divine Lord and Saviour.

PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE OF RUSSIA.

Travels in the Region of the Upper and Lower Amoor. By T. W. Atkinson. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1860.

Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East.

The Trans-Caucasus. Second Edition. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh. 1860.

Patriots and Filibusters. By Lawrence Oliphant. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh. 1860.

The Russian Shores of the Black Sea. By Lawrence Oliphant. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh.

THE politician, absorbed in the affairs of politics, and the Christian, the humble student of his Bible, meet at one point. They both fix their eyes upon the map of the world, watch the changes of nations, trace the rise of one state and the fall of another; the development of an empire in peace, its preparations for war; the changes, in a word, which are expressed by the balance of power. The politician who watches this balance with its tremulous movements, tries to keep it as steady as possible, or, at least during his own time, to ward off violent change. The Christian ventures to take a wider survey, with a calmer sentiment. Reviewing the past, he sees successive events subordinated to a supreme will; he feels sure that the clouds portending storms, which gather on the horizon, will, whatever be their immediate effect, work out a settled plan, and will prepare the way for the advent of a more glorious epoch. One country has long fixed the attention of both these observers; both the statesman and the Christian watch with anxiety the long and sure progress of the Russian empire.

Above thirty years ago, a new doctrine became popular in England, and was adopted as the creed of one of our political parties: that England might stand aloof from the movements and combinations of the other European nations. Isolated by its seas, as the United States are by distance, she could afford, it was said, to move in her own orbit, and look with indifference at the collision of other states, the invasion of frontiers, the preparations for contests, and the shocks of armies. Non-intervention was the doctrine of this creed; a doctrine which, in the last few years, has been adopted by the Manchester school, and which, as expounded by them, has received almost universal reprobation among politicians of every school, and among the people of England. Nor is this surprising; for no sooner was the dogma set forth as an item of political creed, than it was blown to the winds by events. There never was a period in English history in which England was compelled to interfere so

constantly, and on so great a scale, as after the period of our Parliamentary Reform. She interfered with Holland, and set up a new kingdom in Belgium. She interfered, on the east of Europe, with the Principalities on the Danube. She did the same with Russia and Turkey. She interfered in the north, on the shores of the Baltic, with Germany and Denmark. She interfered in the south, on the coast of Africa, where France had planted a colony and where Spain threatened Tangiers. Twice she interfered on the Syrian coast, blowing up with her cannon the walls of Acre, supporting the authority of the Sultan, and striking down the rebellion of his vassal, the pacha of Egypt. Again, after a diplomatic interference of twenty years, she has arrested by force the quarrels of the tribes that infest Damascus and Lebanon. She has interfered with France on the heights of the Alps, at Savoy and at Nice, by remonstrance and menace. She has interfered, in alliance with France, with Russia, and borne the weight of a conflict which Fox denounced as dangerous, and before which even the firmness of Pitt quailed. Not a Blue Book has been laid before Parliament on foreign affairs, any session since 1830, which does not give evidence of English interference in every part of Europe, in America, and in the East, by armies, by fleets, by money, by remonstrance, by ambassadors, by consuls and envoys, by protocols, conferences and arbitrations; now recognising the kingdom of Italy, where she throws down her glove to Russia, Austria, Spain and the Papacy; now in the Pacific, where she thrusts her fleets and armies into the heart of the Chinese empire and into the harbours of Japan; now across the Atlantic, where she confronts the United States on the shores of Columbia, and sweeps along the coast now threatened with blockade in the fight between the rival forces of the Union. Gavazzi was right when he said that England's influence was a non-interfering interference. It is time to admit the fact that there is no war, or project, or attempt at conquest, in any part of the world, which does not touch the interests, and therefore excite the attention, of England.

It is therefore a subject of direct concern to ourselves to notice the advances of Russia through various parts of her enormous empire. At the time when we were defeating her at the Alma, in the autumn of 1854, and compelling her to come to terms at Sebastopol, in the autumn of the succeeding year she was pushing forward her frontier in Asia, gaining an object on which her eye had been fixed for two hundred years, and rounding off her Asiatic empire by taking in a country as large as Italy and France united, occupying the banks of a river greater than the Rhone, the Rhine, or the Danube, with a course of 2800 miles, and watering plains of boundless capacity and wealth. As, on the one side, she had seized from Sweden a

territory commanding the Baltic, so now she has gained a far greater territory, opening to her the Pacific, and preparing for her harbours, not blocked up, as in the Baltic, by ice, but opening seas which will place her on the flank of Japan, and will send out ships to meet our fleets in the Chinese waters. From Norway to China the Russian frontier consists of provinces, all conquered since the accession of Peter the Great, which form a belt varying in breadth from 300 to 1000 miles, and in length reaching to 5000 miles. To the south, Russia has pushed forward this belt, as the Highland chiefs used to do, by elbowing their way outwards and driving off or swallowing up their neighbours. She has thus reached the Black Sea. In the latter end of the last century she pushed her way to the Dnieper, then to the Pruth, and the mouth of the Danube. She overflowed the pleasant shores of the Crimea, and engulfed in her dominions the marshy sea of Azoff. For a long time the river Cuban was her boundary towards Asia, and the brave Circassians, entrenching themselves in the rocks of Caucasus, kept that strong barrier, and held Russia back from Asia, and from the eastern shores of the Black Sea. That barrier has yielded in our days; yielded just after we had defeated Russia in the Crimea. The coast of the Black Sea, as Mr. Oliphant shows us, down to Souchoum-Kalè, is now in the hands of Russia; and whilst her fleets thus swept from the mouth of the Danube to the mouth of the Kerson, she had already pierced the other side of the mountain wall, where the chain of the Caucasus bends from the Black Sea down to the Caspian; and having traversed this, she overran and tore from Persia the provinces which make up the state of Georgia. Now she stands leaning her armed weight upon the Turkish empire in Asia and in Persia. This prodigious advance does not offer her even a halting place. No sooner had she pushed her frontier southward to the Sea of Azoff and the Don, than she pressed eastward to the Volga, and, conquering its wild tribes, she reached the Caspian at Astrakan, and, her eastern wall of the Ural mountains left far behind, she rolled her tide of conquest over the steppes of Asia, and over those more productive lands of the Turcomans, which offered her a grand opening for further advance. Nor was that the ultimate end of her designs. She had not only realized, but far exceeded, the dreams of Alexander of Macedon. The world of which Peter the Great planned the conquest was wider and grander than that seen in the vision of the Macedonian; and all the outlines of that vision, drawn in the fancy of the Czar, written in the traditions of his empire, and transferred to the archives of St. Petersburg, have been filled up, bit by bit, and generation by generation, by the ambition of his successors, and the genius of his statesmen and

generals. Before Peter the Great had carried his empire to the Black Sea, far less had reached the Caspian, his ambition flew beyond the Caspian to a spot in the heart of Tartary, which, seated on the Oxus, and, as Mr. Oliphant shows us, favoured by climate, was a resting place and an outpost to carry the Russian empire to the plains of India. If ever Russia was to reach, on the south, the defiles and mountains of Cabul; if it was to traverse, to the east, the mountain chain which protects Mongolia, and which, once traversed, would open a way to the Chinese empire, it was necessary to possess Khiva; for Khiva, fixed an oasis in the steppes and sands, and rich in produce and climate, would offer a halting place for refreshment to the weary armies which, descending from the Ural chain, should traverse the sandy deserts of the Sea of Aral, and work their tedious way along the wild shores of the Caspian, or up the waters of the Oxus. For southern conquest Khiva was essential. Khiva was discovered by Peter the Great to be a post of consequence, and in 1717 he sent a mission to its Khan to negotiate a commercial treaty. It is interesting to see with what patient tenacity this scheme has been pursued. Peter the Great failed. The Russian general, and the army which was despatched, were cut off; henceforth the mode of operation was changed, while the object remained. Those who succeeded Peter worked out his plans, and advanced step by step. Before the middle of the last century the empress Anne had filled up a part of the outline. Beyond the Ural mountains, stretching from the Aral sea northward, over the vast steppes which extend to the river Irtisch, southward again from the same sea along the Daria and the Oxus, are vast plains, many of them deserts of sand, on which, far apart, are scattered the towns of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, and further to the east, on the Daria, the towns of Turkistan, Tashkend, and Kokhan. The northern parts of these steppes are occupied by the Kirghiz, nomad tribes who wander with their tents, with enormous herds and flocks and a multitude of horses; they are governed by chiefs, their various clans subordinated to the loose supremacy of a sultan or khan. With the Kirghiz are, seated on the same plains, the Calmucks and the Bashkirs; and these various races, as also the three separate hordes into which the Kirghiz are divided, were engaged in perpetual and devastating wars. As they wandered about with their flocks from one pasture to another, along the banks of rivers, which are of great importance to them, with limits untraced and impossible to define, disputes were unavoidable, and the dispute could only be settled by arms. So, just as a hundred years ago when Russia first interfered, to our days when Mr. Atkinson was present at their conferences, disputes of boundaries have occasioned incessant wars. The three hordes into

which the Kirghiz are divided are of various strength; the little horde numbering 200,000 souls, the grand horde 400,000, and the middle horde 1,000,000. Mr. Atkinson describes the plains over which these tribes wander, and where, as in patriarchal times, they live in tents or youzts, and feed their flocks. From an eminence he saw one of these plains stretched below him, appearing boundless as the ocean, extending, in fact, 2000 miles in length, with a breadth of 200 miles, from the Caspian Sea to the Barluck mountains:—

“It was a scene never to be forgotten, causing me to stop my horse and look around in wonder at the desolate landscape to the southward. Herbage there was none; all appeared scorched up by the sun; some ten miles’ distance there was a broad tract of country, covered with a substance of dazzling whiteness; beyond was a lake some twenty-five or thirty miles in length and about fifteen miles in breadth; to the east, and at a great distance, the purple peaks of the Tarbagatai were visible.”

A description of one of the youzts, and of an aoul or chief who occupies them with his family, with his herds and sheep round him, may give an idea of the kind of life. The youzt is protected with a covering of felt, made from wool and camel’s hair, laid upon mats of reed, and this covering is a complete defence against the rain; though not unfrequently the terrific storms, which sweep with unbroken violence over these plains, upset the fragile edifice, bury numbers under heaps of sand, or destroy them in drifts of snow. Huge cauldrons, some within the youzt and some without, receive the milk of their flocks. Sour clotted cream, with the leaves and stalks of tea, with the addition of millet meal, form a rough soup, and the milk is turned into a sort of curd, which they dry and cut into cakes, and preserve for winter consumption. As they sell to the Tartar merchants horses, cattle, and sheep, they receive from them in return tea, dried fruits, carpets, and Chinese shawls and silks; and now amongst these wild tribes English manufactures have found their way, and would soon supplant all others, but for the frauds which disgrace the lower class of English manufacturers, who, by passing off worthless goods with the same mark as they affix to genuine goods, shake the confidence of a whole continent. A wealthy chief has 10,000 horses, many camels, horned cattle, and innumerable sheep. One tribe of Kirghiz, Mr. Atkinson tells us, had 2500 camels, 60,000 horses, 100,000 horned cattle, and sheep beyond calculation. Another tribe estimated their sheep at more than 250,000. A large part of the steppes are covered with red sand, perfectly sterile; others are the beds of lakes encrusted with salt; some are swamps covered with reeds, so thick and high that the traveller finds it impossible even on horseback to force a passage through them; other parts are dreary wastes of sand and

pebbles, on which nothing grows but stunted bushes of thorn, and a ragged plant that resembles the wild rose. These sterile deserts stretch far and wide, intervening between the pastures which lie along the streams; with the fleetest horse it occupies eighteen or twenty hours to traverse them. The traveller finds them to be an oppressive solitude. The wildest forest untrodden by man has movement, voices, and signs of life. The rustling of the leaves, the creaking of the branches, the whispers of the wind through the boughs and foliage, the cries of animals, the sounds and music of birds—these fill the ear and interest the mind. But in the arid desert there is a death-like silence; the flat plain of sand stretches without a change on every side; lying white under the burning rays of the sun, it reflects a painful glare. The horse, on whose strength of limb the traveller depends for life, flags as he plods on, under the sultry heat, upon sand which gives no spring to his steps. But when, after a ride of a hundred and twenty miles, the horse scents the pasture, his spirits revive, his ears are pricked, and he hurries forward to scenes which present to the eye of his rider a contrast to the plain he has passed. Suddenly on every side appear countless flocks of sheep. Then, as he draws nearer the youzts, he sees camels and oxen feeding; further on, under the charge of mounted herdsmen, are scattered vast herds of horses, and amongst them numbers of antelopes feed, who lift their beautiful heads, fix their bright eyes, and bound away over the steppes, hardly seeming to touch the grass with their feet. But to the traveller, as to these nomad tribes, there occur the same hazards and conflicts which troubled the days of Lot and Abraham;—several of the tribes live the life of robbers, and as marauders plunder their neighbours. The sight of Mr. Atkinson and his armed Cossacks led, as he approached the youzts, especially if they arrived at night, to a general alarm. In a moment, long before they reached the tents, the watchful dogs who slept round them sounded their challenge, as soon as the steps of horses were heard in the distance. The guard immediately appeared, mounted on their horses, and brandishing their battle-axes; while the watchful chief, catching the sound, roused his people, and summoned his men, who saddled their horses, seized their arms, and prepared to fight for their tents. These raids are as successful as they are frequent; and the robbers pounce upon the scattered flocks, and, while one party assail and occupy the men, another party drive before them numbers of horses, which they carry off as their spoil. In their marriages, as in their dangers, they follow the example of patriarchal times. The bride must be purchased by the bridegroom, and according to her rank and worth her price varies; horses and cattle must be given to her father. The funeral rites, too, present the gatherings and scenes of festivity

which used to accompany Highland funerals. The notice of the death of the khan or sultan is spread by swift messengers on horseback, who transmit the news from one to another, till, in an inconceivably short period of time, the tidings spread over an area of two hundred miles in diameter. The funeral of a chief, of which Mr. Atkinson was a witness, was attended by nearly two thousand persons. The deceased was laid out dressed in his best attire, his saddle, horse-trappings, and arms laid beside him; groups of men were busy slaughtering horses and sheep, which were boiled down in huge iron cauldrons, and served to the guests. One hundred horses and one thousand sheep were thus slain seven days before the funeral festival began; and after the body of the chief, placed on a camel, was carried to the tomb, the feasting was resumed and lasted many days.

In this life of activity, hazard, and adventure, the Kirghiz tribes are trained; and they thus acquire the habits of their life—endurance, courage, and love of danger. Russia, which has subjugated the same tribes in Europe, (for the Kirghiz of the Asiatic steppes are, in fact, Cossacks as well as those of the Don,) follows the same plan in her present advance, and carries out a uniform policy. The process by which she reduces them to subjection is described by Mr. Oliphant. To assail them by force, would be dangerous. To conquer them on their own deserts, impossible. Children of the sand, able at any time on the approach of an army to fly and remove their flocks to a distance, and thus to place between them and their invaders the width of an impassable desert, free and wild as their own horses, they laugh to scorn any direct attempt to subdue them. Russia has found that she cannot even keep them within her own territory, when she has them there, if they choose to depart. A population of Calmucks settled in Russia, disgusted with her exactions and restraints, emigrated from the banks of the Volga, and carried with them 28,000 tents, with their families and flocks. In vain did a Russian army hasten after them from Orenburg. They distanced the army in their flight. They had to pass through the three hordes of the Kirghiz Cossacks, who gathered to oppose their invasion. In vain; they baffled their warriors, traversed their steppes in safety, and advanced to the East. It was only when they fell in with the warriors of the Black Kirghiz that they suffered. Many of them were thus cut off. Half of the horde, however, succeeded in reaching the Chinese empire, and found a welcome and a settlement within its frontier. Taught by such experience, the Russians never attempt to subdue the Kirghiz by open arms. They adopt surer weapons—Tartar arts, subtlety, cunning and fraud. They set one tribe against the other, and offer to one or the other by turns their assistance in wars. This assistance is purchased by their giving hostages for their good behaviour, and thus some of their

youth are removed to St. Petersburg. Their chiefs are induced to vow a nominal allegiance to the emperor. The next step is to obtain permission for Russian caravans to traverse their country. These caravans in the outset are often plundered by the natives; but this gives Russia an available plea for further interference. They now demand leave to establish guards and outposts on the route of the caravans. In return for this, they build mosques, and present them to the tribes; they erect tribunals, which execute a sort of rough justice among them; above all, they offer them titles, robes, and medals, which gratify their barbarous vanity. The Cossack outposts, established to protect the caravans, soon erect a fort and mount guns. In a few years there are established outposts throughout the territory; the scanty guard has grown into a regular garrison, and the fortress has swelled into a town. So have arisen the places by which Russia holds the lines of march through Siberia and Tartary. First she occupies the Irtisch; then, as Mr. Atkinson shows, she presses southward to Ayagus, and reaches her last post. This post is only three days' journey from Kulja, a large city of China. Mr. Atkinson was witness, in the winter of 1850, to the process by which this post was established. Five hundred Cossacks, with their families, were torn from their comfortable dwellings in another part of Russia, and were sent late in August to construct houses in the desert, under the direction of an officer of engineers. Long before this could be done, the terrific winter burst upon them. It came with intense severity, and fell upon the helpless and unprotected families. Cold and storm did the work for which hardship, depression, and scanty food had prepared them. Hurricanes from the mountains to the north, drifting hail, masses of snow, laid more than half the unlucky colony first in the hospital, and then in their graves. This, however, was of no consequence to the Russian policy. It is over graves that she marches to conquest. In a few years the same traveller visited it, and found it settled. The humble outpost was now a strong fort, and the few huts had swelled to a town of 11,000 inhabitants. The Kirghiz, dispersed by winter, were unaware of the plan; but when, on their return to their pastures in summer, they found a fortress built, they brought their warriors to assail the garrison. But the Russians were prepared; their guns carried death into the savage ranks, and warned by this experience the rude warriors fled. Now, Kopal has a number of Tartar merchants settled within it, drives a thriving trade with the nomad tribes and with China, and from this last outpost of their empire the Russians have pushed their frontier two hundred miles to the south west; and on a river, with the command of water power, they have fixed a town which unites manufacturing industry with profitable trade.

It may be asked, what is the object of this enormous extension of territory? We answer, the passion of Russia is aggrandizement of empire; and the wild races which it adds to its territory contribute to this powerfully. The Cossacks of the Don and Volga are the most intrepid soldiers of the Russian army; and in the conflict with Napoleon, in his disastrous retreat, none harassed him more, or struck greater terror into the French ranks, than the Cossacks. Headed by their hetman, they hung in clouds on the retreating army, terrified the rear ranks with repeated charges, cut off stragglers, swept away the troops who remained to guard the retreat, and patient of cold, careless of hunger, indifferent to danger, they united the wild strength of the savage with the discipline of an organized army. Thus Russia turns to her account the passions which, left to themselves, would harass her frontier; and in place of the Kirghiz ravaging her domains, or interfering with her trade, she is enabled to incorporate them in her empire, to throw over them a loose but inextricable yoke; and terrifying them by artillery and soldiers, gratifying them by titles and medals, she subordinates them to her ambition. Drawing into her ranks tribes of every race and climate, she pushes on her extending frontier, and hurls her deepening ranks on the countries which fringe and limit her dominions. This system, conceived by Peter the Great, steadily carried forward by his successors, is indeed less rapid than the conquests of Tamerlane and Genghiz Khan, less furious than the Gothic invasion poured from the north under the conduct of Alaric and Attila; but it is far more durable. The torrent tears, but it subsides and passes away; the sea crumbles down the shore which limits it, and advances; but what it gains it never restores, and we look with alarm and despair at the slow but inevitable progress of these illimitable waters.

Another advantage Russia gains from the extension of her empire, and this to a military power is invaluable. Mines and metals are acquired by her; gold for her finances; lead and iron for her munitions of war. In her vast dominions of Siberia she has opened mines which have long been wrought for the government. When she advanced to the south, and ran her outposts along the Irtisch to Semipalatinsk, on the border of the Kirghiz steppe, and pushed forward two hundred miles further south to Ayagus, she forthwith set to work to explore the mineral treasures of these unknown deserts. In the Altai mountains she opened mines; but as other mountains rose before her to the west, these she explored with long research; and at length an important discovery rewarded her pains. Silver mines were found. The next object was to make them her own, and to obtain them without war from the rude Kirghiz, within whose territory they lay. These minerals were

distributed over a space of near twenty miles in length and eight in breadth; and when the shrewd Russian director of mines came to negotiate with the Kirghiz chiefs, he found that they were little aware of the treasures hid in their soil. But a river flowed near the mines, essential to mining operations, and this the Kirghiz were unwilling to sell, as it was of value to their pastures. The sight, however, of the shining roubles, with a gold medal, gold lace, and scarlet coat, and sabre for the sultan, with a bright-coloured flowing robe for each of the chiefs, were too much for their vain cupidity. The bargain was struck, and for £150 the emperor obtained mines of immense value, which are now pouring their treasures into the imperial mint. Thus Russia proceeds. Having opened a road for her caravans, and established Cossack posts, and, in strong points, forts to protect them, she sends forth her engineers, ransacks the soil, discovers and acquires its mines, fixes with quick eye on the points which command river communication, and which offer water-power for manufactures. She presents to the natives instruction in agriculture. If this be disregarded, as is generally the case, she transports a population from other parts of her empire and settles them as a colony. Of colonists she has every variety—the wild and daring Cossack, the patient and inventive Russian, the Calmuck, and the Tartar. Having settled the colony, and protected it from attack, she leaves it to its own resources, and to the progress of its own industry and its own growth in numbers. The native Russian is admirably fitted for this work. He is a complete contrast to the Frenchman. Dislodged from his own home, he submits without question to the will of the emperor, accepts his new lot, and soon fits into his place. With patience, great physical endurance, and mechanical skill, he makes himself at home, and acquires wealth and comforts. In the town of the Seven Palaces, at the very brink of the steppes, the Russians have built wooden houses, and grow all kinds of fruits; Tartar merchants gather around, who supply them with the luxuries of the East; and Mr. Atkinson found a Siberian merchant, with his hot-houses and green-houses filled with choice collections of tropical plants, in the heart of these deserts. The colonists are industrious; adroit and sharp are their rulers. Russia has succeeded beyond all other nations in one department. Her government at St. Petersburg is a vast training school for the arts of political rule. Young men are drawn from every rank of life and variety of race, are carried to the capital, brought up in the different departments, imbued with their traditions, then fixed according to their powers, and sent out to all parts of the empire to carry out the imperial plans. Travelling as men of science or artists, or going out as ambassadors or attachés, wandering as spies, penetrating as ex-

plorers, they inquire, learn, and amass information, which is sent forthwith to the Russian capital. Thus all facts and surmises are received and stored; not buried in the imperial archives, as used to be the case with the papers of the East India Company; but they are examined, sorted, and digested; and they suggest instructions which guide the officials who are sent to carry out the Russian policy. Thus equipped with complete directions, officers go forth to lead detachments, to occupy outposts, to be the governors of provinces or the commanders of expeditions. Forlorn and isolated outposts become points in a great system; and the man who is stationed there, watching his opportunity, does his work as effectually, in carrying out the outlines of the Czar and advancing the frontiers of the empire, as the governor of Siberia, or the Russian ambassador to the Porte. Mr. Atkinson found the tall and burly commander of Ayagus pushing forward Russian influence through the steppes, and sending forth officers to live among the tribes of the Kirghiz, whose duty it was to court the chief, and offer him, as marks of distinction, a medal or a gold-laced coat and cocked hat. Then, grateful and attached, he is summoned once a year to attend a council at Ayagus. From this he returns to his aoul a Russian vassal, proud of his new authority, which is the badge of his servitude, and eager to carry out the laws which his council pass, all of which increase the authority of Russia. He takes with him a young Russian who understands his language, nominally as his secretary, really as his master; and as this youth draws up all his papers, not one word of which the chief can read, but to which he affixes his seal, we see how the lasso, once thrown over the neck of the wild chief, will never relax its hold till the tribe is a part of the empire. Using thus the vanity of savages, and caressing the foibles of the human mind, the Russian subdues by skill. *Hæ tibi erunt artes.* Mr. Atkinson found one of the Kirghiz chiefs surrounded by the wealth of his race, and in the full possession of savage power; but the iron of mortified vanity had entered into his soul, for he had learnt that a chief, his inferior, had received a gold medal from the emperor, while he was undecorated. He entreated Mr. Atkinson to open his case to the great white khan, and beg him to send a medal.

We have thus hastily sketched the policy of the Russian empire, let us as hastily trace the results. Those vast countries beyond the Ural mountains, which lay unknown in the days of Peter the Great, stretching across Asia to the Sea of Kamskatka, extending from the river Aral to the Caspian and Aral seas, and spreading beyond the chain of mountains which separate Turkistan and Siberia from the steppes of Mongolia—see how they are crumbling away and sinking into the Russian empire. On the first stealthy approach of Peter to Khiva, he was de-

feated. At that time Russia knew nothing of the river Kashgar, beyond the mountains of Tartary; nothing of the vast territory watered by the river Amoor; had little hope of commanding the Caspian and Aral seas, nor of launching her fleet on the distant waters of the Pacific. Observe the state of things now. From Orenburg to Bokhara, far south of Khiva, caravans travel in sixty days. Another line of caravans passes along a route of 1200 miles, from Petropavalinsk to Bokhara, and another line passes to Tashkend. From the outpost on the steppes which we have described (the town of the Seven Palaces) there is now communication of trade to Samarcand, near Bokhara, on one side, and to Kokkan and Kashgar beyond the mountains, and to the country which opens to the wall of China. The Caspian Sea, in Peter's time a distant point far beyond the empire, is now a lake within it. Astrakan, a city strongly fortified at the north of the Caspian, at the south east a strong fortress built and garrisoned, overawe and command its waters. Craft loaded with merchandise navigate them under Russian protection, while this inland sea is ploughed by steamers filled with Russian troops. Interesting it is to remark, as we pass, how the wild Turcoman, who occupies the eastern shores of the Caspian, and spreads eastward to the Oxus, has not only been disarmed of hostility to Russia, but has helped forward her plans. The Turcoman's hatred of Persia has been turned to good account; and as the Turcomans were unable to build forts for themselves, they rejoiced to ally themselves with Russia, and to help her to construct the fort which they regarded as a menace to Persia, but which was, in truth, a bit and curb on themselves. Where now is the Sea of Aral? That too is within the Russian empire. Is that enough? It is but a step of progress. Russia plants a strong fort four hundred miles distant south on the Daria, and her steamers sweep along the course of that river, run within twenty miles of the town of Turkistan, and push forward to near Tashkend and Kokkan. In that direction Khiva alone stands independent. Physically an oasis, politically a fortress, rising like a fortified rock in the wide waste of the imperial waters, how long will she endure? That object, which first caught the quick eye of Peter the Great, has fixed the attention of Russia ever since. Last century she took advantage of the wars amongst the Kirghiz, patronised one of their chiefs, and led him to attack and take Khiva. But the usurper was driven off by Nadir Shah. Russia transferred her support to the son of the Kirghiz chief, on consideration that he would again make an attempt on Khiva. This effort failed. The Kirghiz were insubordinate, and Khiva stood firm. Russia made one attempt more by force. She sent out an army of ten thousand men, under an able general, to push their way to Khiva. But the natural difficulties were insurmountable; winter was at hand; the desert had to be crossed;

snowdrifts, famine, and drought cut off three-fourths of the army. Since that time matters have changed. Progress has been made from Orenburg to the Sea of Aral; the desert is no longer impassable; the Kirghiz are friendly, their souls are frequent, their help and pasture can be had; on part of the route Cossack posts intervene; when the route reaches the Aral sea, light steamers skim those once untraversed waters. At the mouth of the Oxus is a port. Far up the Daria, almost as far south as the latitude of Khiva, Russian steamers ply. In 1820, Russia resumed her efforts, by a mission under Mons. de Négri to Bokhara. Seventy-one days were occupied in the journey from Orenburg; and of the horses which carried part of the escort, fifty died of fatigue. Not daunted by this, Russia sent forth, in 1842, a mission to Khiva. This occupied seven weeks from Orenburg. For her intervention there is no want of excuse; for the Khivians attack caravans, and retain Russians as slaves. Hence complaint, demand, and reprisal. But the real object stands clear. Khiva is productive, its population two millions and a half, its tropical produce luxuriant, its productive area two hundred miles by sixty. Mouraviev, who commanded the expedition in 1819, has sufficiently set forth the end in view: "Masters of Khiva," he says, "many other states would be under our rule. The possession of it would shake to the foundation the enormous commercial superiority of those who now rule the sea!" It needs no interpreter to explain who is meant by this. The able author of the pamphlet prefixed to this article has shown the effect of the conquest on England. The frontier of Khiva extends for four hundred miles along the frontier of Persia. That country, which Russia has already touched at Georgia, and by her touch has paralyzed and endangered, would then be exposed to constant attack and ruinous wars. Russia would press upon her with all her weight from Astrabad to Herat, and diplomacy and intrigue would supply the intervals and prepare the materials of war. Persia once overcome, the power of the sultan in Asia would follow; and while our commerce across Asia would be cut off and arrested, our Indian empire would be drained of its resources and harassed by danger: vast armies, constant alarms, a wide frontier exposed to inroad, wild tribes pushed against it by Russian intrigue; missions into our dominions, spies intruded into our provinces: everywhere movement, menace, and prognostics of danger. Meanwhile Russia, conquering and overrunning Persia, would build her fleets in Persian harbours and launch them on the Persian Gulf. While these movements on our Indian empire would embarrass and disturb us, she is preparing for us a new assault at a distant point of attack. Not content with the Baltic, the Black Sea, and

the Persian Gulf, she approaches and commands the Pacific. Her progress there has been attended with fewer difficulties, and has, after long efforts and centuries of intrigue, reached its culminating point within the last few years. The conquests of Russia on the Amoor present an example of her system of forethought, sagacity, and unconquerable purpose. Two hundred years ago, the Russians, using as their pioneers the adventurous hunters, the Cossacks, found their way into the valley of the Amoor. The great rivers on the north, which traverse and water their Siberian territories, the Irtysch, the Obé, the Yenissy, and the Lena, useful in their course through Siberia, failed at their outlet; for their mouths are lost to use, because locked up by frost in the great Arctic ocean. But the Cossack hunters, pursuing their game in their search for furs, discovered a valley watered by a gigantic river, whose course, turned no longer to the north, but to the east, offered to them new hopes, better prospects, an approach to a milder region, and an outlet into a different sea. In 1643, the Cossacks, crossing the mountains, reached the Amoor, and following its course, descended to the Pacific. Reporting their success on their return, they resumed their adventures, and after repeated experiments the governor resolved to follow their guidance, and to choose a post which should command the great river. In 1650 he selected one abounding in wood and in pasture, and there planted a garrison. This invasion of the Flowery Empire was instantly resented by the Chinese; and after a two years' siege the Cossacks were compelled to evacuate the fortress and retire. But they made peace only in order to renew war, and their attacks continued for years with indomitable resolution and various success. While we were changing our dynasty and settling our constitution, Russia, intent on her object, was enlarging her empire. Stopped at times by treaties, but the treaties cast aside by her and cancelled, the patient prowess of Russian armies bore the full weight of the Chinese empire till the year 1728. Then a settlement was made which was supposed to be final. A boundary line between the two empires was drawn, from the Lake Baikal to the Sea of Okotsch. Thus was lost, apparently, the prize for which Russia had fought. The huge territory of Manchuria was left to the empire of China; and the course of the Amoor, with the exception of the part near the source, was preserved by China. But Russia, when forced to let go her hold, never drops or alters her aim. She waits her occasion. She had found, on the upper part of the Amoor, valuable mines, which for centuries she has wrought at Nerchinsk. She had learnt through her hunters how productive was the rest of the valley—a valley watered by a river which has a course of above two thousand miles, and has its outlet in the Pacific. It was a

country worth acquiring. Mr. Atkinson has described the valley which the Amoor waters. Near the river are meadows rich in pasture, sloping hills on which the vine grows luxuriantly. On the higher hills pathless forests; below groups of elms, maples, and acacias, scattered over the plains as over parks. Cork trees are there to remind the traveller of Italy; oak, elm, and poplar, to recal to him the fertility of England; a temperature favourable to man and tillage, neither too hot in summer nor too severe in winter; a population scanty and scattered, but gentle, patient, and docile. Cruelly oppressed by the Chinese, and alienated by long severities, it is prepared to receive new masters with open arms, and to hail them as deliverers and friends. These advantages fixed the attention of Russia and stimulated her desires. It is true that, from the northerly direction which the Amoor takes in the latter part of its course, it is locked up by frost from the beginning of November for six months, and is dangerous from ice for one month more. But expedients to remedy this abound. Nothing is more easy than for Russia to extend her dominion along the tributaries of the Amoor; and having fixed her outposts on these, and made it impossible for the Chinese to dislodge them, she will run her line of boundary south of the great valley, across to the Sea of Japan, and open harbours in a milder climate. Thus a navy will be constructed from timber in the forests of the Amoor; and from harbours which Russia is now preparing and guarding, she will pour into the waters of Japan, and spread her sails along the coasts of China. Already, notwithstanding the disadvantages of the embouchure of the Amoor, the Russians have fully fortified it. Martello towers defend the mouth; other towers have been raised on capes along the coast, and protect the Kastries Bay, which lies far south of the Amoor, and is only sealed by frost for three months. The large island of Saghalien lies close at hand, stretching southwards from the mouth of the Amoor, which will soon be added to the Russian empire; and the beds of coal with which it abounds will supply to Russia material both for manufacture, munitions of war, and a steam navy. Here too will be found abundant harbours untouched by frost.

Now observe how rapidly this enormous acquisition has been made by Russia. Up to 1854, a point on the river Amoor, which is about longitude 122, was the boundary of the Russian empire. That empire at the present moment extends to longitude 142. The governor of Nerchinsk had encouraged the Cossacks on the frontier to penetrate within the Chinese territory. Living by their rifles on the produce of the chase, they led an adventurous life, and brought back useful intelligence. The mines of Nerchinsk are filled with convicts who at times escape from them and flee into the Chinese territory. There

generally they have perished. One, however, contrived to join the wild hunters of the savage tribes, and to domesticate himself among them. Captured at length by the Cossacks, he brought to the governor such valuable intelligence, that he was released and induced to return into China. Informed by him, the government sent forth, in 1848, a small expedition along the Amoor; but those who composed it were destroyed. In 1854 the governor-general of Oriental Siberia took up the matter. The Chinese empire was then weak: harassed by the Tae-pings, endangered by us. Taking advantage of this, he organized a large force, and suddenly poured it into the coveted territory. There he chose, with practised eyes, a strong post, and then defied the Chinese. Within six weeks the object sought by the persevering aim of two centuries was won, and half of Manchuria was added to the Russian empire.

While we write, we regret to see that the author of one of these works, Mr. Atkinson, is no more. The information which he obtained, and of which his volume contains a part, is of great value—interesting to all who would ascertain with accuracy the plans and progress of Russia. It is, indeed, vain to predict its future. What may be the destiny of this great Northern Power, we may not attempt to divine. But if it might be permitted us to hazard a conjecture, we should say that Russia and England present the development of two principles which are in constant, though silent, antagonism, and which may one day be in open conflict. The one is the principle of ambition, aiming at material conquest, grasping vast territories, and comprehending them within the iron frontiers of an enlarging empire. Eager for trade, but only as the pathway to conquest; seeking wealth, but only as the sinews of war; educating her subjects, but only as her instruments; training them by discipline, but only in order to do her will; her objects are selfish, and her influence over men is hurtful. To organize their force, to cultivate their faculties, is a part of her policy; because thus mankind are fitted to serve. But to improve the habits of her subjected tribes, to cultivate their affections, are matters below her notice, as they do not contribute to her ambition. Hence liberty of thought is checked; freedom of conscience disappears; one religion, that of the emperor; one rule, his will. Trade is used but as the pioneer of ambition, and the caravan of the merchant precedes the tread of the army. On the frontier of the huge empire there is movement, and a line always advancing, which gains on the desert and subdues the savage. But it leaves him as it finds him, or only ruins him by cupidity and vanity. And, if at the frontier there is life, within the empire is decay. For an imperial despotism exacts servile obedience, and along with the astuteness of subserviency are found the meanness, falsehood, and corruption of slaves.

England has a different mission. To free the mind, to encourage civilization, to break the fetters which repress thought, to make her ships the pioneers of trade, and her armies the messengers of freedom,—this is her task. It is the duty assigned her by Providence, and which, however imperfectly, she has discharged. While she does it, she need not fear. For though the progress of Russia is great, the progress of England is more marvellous; and while the one pushes forward a frontier line, and grasps various nations and races of men, she imbeds within her frozen mass the sources of decay and causes of dissolution. By and by, that Alpine winter will end, and after its long hard reign a moral spring will make itself felt. Then comes the break-up of the empire. The mass begins to move, the uncongenial elements start asunder, the frozen bonds loosen, and the avalanche of insurrection and the flood of passion sweep the fabric into pieces. For, after all, great as was the genius of the Czar, and steadily as his schemes have been followed, He alone reigns who, from the place of His habitation, looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He holds the balance of power, and rulers and nations are but the dust in the scale. He taketh up the isles as a very little thing; He loveth righteousness and judgment; and spite of the devices of men, His counsel will stand. To His hands we commit this conflict and its issue; and we are sure that the combat between good and evil will have its rightful end.

REVIEW OF "TRACTS FOR PRIESTS AND PEOPLE."

- I. *Religio Laici.* By Thomas Hughes.
- II. *The Mote and the Beam.* By the Rev. F. D. Maurice.
- III. *The Atonement.* By the Rev. F. Garden.
- IV. *Miracles.* By the Rev. J. L. Davies.
- V. *On Terms of Communion.*
- VI. *A Dialogue on Doubt: Morality and Divinity.*
- VII. *Two Lay Dialogues.* By J. M. Ludlow.
- VIII. *[Evidences.]* By the Rev. C. P. Chretien, M.A.]
Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1861.

WE accept these Tracts frankly, and without suspicion. We willingly believe that Mr. Maurice and his friends are grieved and displeased by the *Essays and Reviews*, and have set themselves in good earnest to apply a remedy to the evil. As is usual with them, they disapprove impartially both of Messrs.

Jowett and Temple's views, and also of the views of those who oppose them. They take in this, as in most other controversies, a line which is peculiarly their own.

But we must bear in mind, that men may very sincerely dislike a book, and may wish that it had never seen the light, without being essentially of a different faith from its authors. About the year 1839, Messrs. Newman and Pusey were truly grieved and annoyed by the imputation of "leaning towards Rome," supported, as that imputation was, by the fact of the secession of some of their followers to the Roman church. They met the charge, not, as in the present case, by the issue of seven new tracts, but by a selection of passages from the "Tracts for the Times," intended to show that "to oppose Ultra-Protestantism, was not to favor Popery." They apparently made out their case; they almost proved themselves to be sound, though moderate, Protestants; and then, in the course of two or three years after, Mr. Newman and most of his followers themselves went over to popery! In like manner, while we give Messrs. Maurice, Davies, and Co., full credit for being really displeased with the "Essays and Reviews," it will be no matter of surprise to us, if, before three years are over, they themselves shall overpass and leave the Essayists far behind.

However, having these new tracts before us, it will probably be the fairest way of dealing with them, not to melt down their seven authors into one shapeless and undefinable mass, but first to give a rapid sketch of each of their productions, and then, in conclusion, to endeavour to point out their shortcomings, and to show how those shortcomings might be supplied, with reference to some perilous ideas which are widely spreading at the present day.

The first place in this new series of works is occupied by the most popular writer of the whole sect, Mr. Thomas Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown's School-days." His tract is entitled "Religio Laici." It is judiciously placed at the opening of the series; for, like everything else written by Mr. Hughes, it is frank, direct, and attractive in its style. The faults we are obliged to point out in it concern its substance, not its form. Mr. Hughes seems to us to rest his faith—the faith which he would recommend to his readers—on an unsound basis. And—which is a defect altogether fatal—this faith of his is not the faith of the New Testament.

He begins by describing and lamenting the growth of scepticism among the young men of the present day. He touches on the chief points dwelt upon in the *Essays and Reviews*, and then proceeds:—

"I wish to put myself honestly at your point of view. Let us, then, give up revelation altogether. It requires a greater effort than I am able to make; but I will do my best. Let the four gospels first sink

into mere legends, and then be lost like a decade of Livy. Let it come to be utterly denied that there is a Son of Man and Son of God. But let the idea of Jesus, as a beautiful and noble mythical personage, a name to be placed in the same category with, but perhaps higher than those of Vishnu, Balder, and Hercules, float down the stream of time, to have such effect on the hearts and wills of men as all beautiful and noble ideas will have, and no more. With our Lord must go all belief in a personal God; at least, I do not myself see how any such belief can then be held." (p. 14.)

Such being the kind of belief, or rather of unbelief, which Mr. Hughes ascribes to those whom he is addressing, in what way does he proceed to treat it?

Simply and merely by an appeal to *his own* wants, prejudices, and mental longings. Thus he says:—

"You have put out my old light, and some light or other I must have. What is it to be?" "Granted that you have shown me that what I held to be my knowledge of God is all moonshine; I tell you that I shall not give up thinking about a God for all that. I tell you that I shall make gods for myself, in my own image—in the image of devils." (p. 15, 17.)

Now, unquestionably, three fourths of the people of Northern Germany, and all those in England who follow Mr. Baden Powell, will answer, "What are your feelings or wants to us? You may have been brought up with superstitious notions, and you must now shake them off as well as you can. But, for our own part, we know nothing of these feelings. We want no other light in place of the Bible; and as for 'a personal God,' we know nothing of any such being, nor do we desire to know anything."

We see not, when Mr. Hughes is thus answered, what his reply is to be. Resting his case on his own wants and cravings, he is clearly open to the answer, "Speak for yourself; as for us, we disclaim all such feelings."

Mr. Hughes, however, has much more to say. He has "a faith," and he earnestly describes and dilates upon it. We will give some of his descriptions.

"I was bred as a child and as a boy to look upon Christ as the true and rightful King and Head of our race, the Son of God, and the Son of Man. When I came to think for myself, I found the want of a perfectly righteous king and head—a being in whom I could rest, who was in perfect sympathy with me and all men." (p. 18.)

"I read, and considered, as well as I could, the character of Christ, . . . I found that this was indeed He. Here was the head, the king, for whom I had longed." (p. 19.)

"He is revealed, not in the Bible, not in history, not in or to some men at a certain time, or to a man here and there, but in the heart of you, and of me, and of every man and woman who is now, or ever has been, on this earth." (p. 21.)

"God's kingdom Christ has opened to you, and to me, here. We, you, and I, may enter in any hour we please. . . . There are no conditions. It is given for the asking." (p. 32.)

"I tell you that if we would confess Him, and lay hold of Him, and let Him enter into, and rule, and guide us and the world, instead of trying to rule and guide ourselves and the world without Him, we should see and know that the kingdom of God is just as much about us now, as it ever will be." (p. 37.)

We are thoroughly aware that, as all this is the merest dream, so it will take hold of no one's heart. The persons to whom Mr. Hughes addresses himself will, in perhaps a few instances, try to follow his advice, and, after a few ineffectual efforts, will fall back discouraged. But, in the vast majority of cases, they will perceive in Mr. Hughes's discourse nothing but a maze of words; nothing which meets and satisfies any want of their nature. They will, in most cases, be ready to reply: "You tell us, that 'Christ has claimed for every man all that we can ask for and dream of; for He has claimed every one of us for his soldiers and brethren, the acknowledged children of His and our Father and God.' You say that 'He is revealed in the heart of every man and woman who is now, or ever has been, on this earth.' You add, that 'His Spirit is in each of us, striving with us, cheering us, guiding us, strengthening us.' We answer, that when we look abroad into the world, and see the cruelty and oppression which everywhere abound, the sensuality and selfishness which meet our eye on every side, we find a state of things wholly inconsistent with this universal knowledge of Christ, and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, which you so positively assert. Your pictures are unreal; they are not true."

But the grand fault of the whole of Mr. Hughes's scheme is, that it builds up a system wholly unlike that of the Scriptures, and therefore practically opposed to it. The Unitarians were always ready to admire and to accept Christ as a heavenly Teacher. Mr. Hughes gives Him a still higher title; He is our Guide, our Head, our King. But what both the Unitarians and Mr. Hughes seem carefully to avoid is, the name, the title, the description given to Christ in the New Testament:—"Thou shalt call His name JESUS (a Saviour), for He shall save His people from their sins." (Matt. i. 21.) "There is born unto you this day, in the city of David, a SAVIOUR, which is Christ the Lord." (Luke ii. 11.)

The grand themes of the Bible, sin and salvation, are wholly forgotten by Mr. Hughes. Not one syllable is there of man's real state before God, as a sinner, a condemned sinner, a sinner in danger of abiding under the wrath of God for ever and ever. Yet this is the portraiture, a true portraiture, which is drawn of the human race throughout the whole of the word of God. And the heart of man everywhere answers to this indictment:

"There is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not." (Eccles. vii. 20.) "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." (Rom. iii. 23.) Such is the state of the whole human race: a state of alienation from God. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." (1 Cor. ii. 14.)

Hence there was the most urgent need for a salvation, and for a Saviour, if the whole human race was not to become the prey of the devil and his angels. Man was "dead in trespasses and sins," and had no more power to raise himself out of this condition, than Lazarus had to come forth out of his tomb. He was "without strength," "having no hope, and being without God in the world." It was this dire necessity which brought down the Son of God. "He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor; therefore His arm brought salvation unto him, and His righteousness it sustained him." He came, indeed, to be a King, as Mr. Hughes rightly says; but it was necessary that He should first be a Saviour; and this Mr. Hughes has forgotten to mention.

An enormous aggregate of crime and guilt stood against man. The truth of God and the justice of God cannot be sacrificed. "He is a rock: His work is perfect: all His ways are judgment." (Deut. xxxii. 4.) Man often tries to regard God as "altogether such an one as himself:" as one who will not always keep his word; as one who will sometimes wink at sin, or be indulgent to it. But the absolute truth and justice of God are the corner-stones of the universe. Loosen these, and a moral chaos envelopes everything.

Hence a wondrous work needed to be done. The Father resolved to give His Son for the salvation of the world; and the Son, being of one mind with the Father, willingly gave Himself. Between a just and righteous God, and a world of sinners, there was, of inevitable necessity, a middle wall of partition: Christ broke it down. There was, from the very nature of right and wrong, war between a holy God and unholy creatures: Christ "made peace through the blood of His cross." (Col. i. 20.) He did this, as our great "Homily of Salvation" explains, by "paying the price of our Redemption, by the offering of His body and the shedding of His blood:" and, as that for Good Friday adds, "He was thus punished and stricken for the sin which He had not done," since, "without payment, God the Father could never be at one with us." Or, to cite still higher authority, "He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed." "The Lord laid upon Him the iniquity of us all;" and then, finding Him thus laden with iniquity, "it pleased the

Lord to bruise Him, and to put Him to grief," and to "make His soul an offering for sin." (Isa. liii.)

It is this substitution of Christ for the sinner, and the consequent "putting away of sin," which is "the Gospel." And nothing else can take its place. Cain would have found no fault with Mr. Hughes's "faith;" for it bears no likeness to that of Abel. But that "faith" will do nothing effectual for man's restoration; for it omits, and is silent upon, all the main facts of the case. It forgets man's ruin, and it, therefore, naturally forgets also his redemption. It says nothing of Christ as a Saviour, because it feels no consciousness of our need of salvation.

The second Tract of the series is by Mr. Maurice, who, by his comments on, and additions to, the third and sixth of the series, shows us that he is to the "Tracts for Priests and People" what Mr. Newman was to the "Tracts for the Times"—a sort of general editor, director, and manager. His own tract is entitled "The Mote and the Beam;" suggesting, that while the authors of "Essays and Reviews" may have a mote in their eye, the bishops and the eight thousand protesting clergy had better look to "the beam that is in their *own* eye."

This, the longest piece in the series, is chiefly taken up with Mr. Maurice's review of three Reviews. He replies to the *Westminster*, the *National*, and the *Quarterly Reviews* of the "Seven Essays." But he is evidently most angry with the last. Into this dispute, however, we cannot enter. We must content ourselves with giving Mr. Maurice's conclusion, which is thus expressed:—

"If, in the might of God, we do proclaim Christ's name; if we can say from our hearts, He has shown to us that will which created the heaven and the earth, and all the host of them,—He has shown us the will to which the wills of all emperors, priests, nations, must bow, or they will be broken in pieces,—we shall find a response to our words when we look for it least. Those who could not listen to us, or care for us, when we spoke in a lower, feebler tone, will feel that we know what they want; that this is a message which we did not invent. Naturalists, who did not care much while we argued with them about the story of Creation,—still less while we argued with them about all the evidences of adaptation which prove an intelligent Creator,—may listen to the strange news, that by the Divine word the order was made; that in Him is life, and that His life is the light of man; and may find in these mystical utterances the very meaning of Creation, that which contradicts none of their discoveries, but transcends them and harmonizes them; that which shows that Moses could only understand the order of the universe in reference to man, because he could only understand man in relation to God. And statesmen may perceive that another will than theirs has been guiding the nations, and is guiding them now, or that they must sink into absolutism or anarchy, and be utterly lost. And the people will feel that the High God has been redeeming them for his sons and daughters, and that

they are inheritors of a kingdom whereof there is no end. And Jews, Turks, infidels, heretics, may learn that the Head of the Universe poured out His blood for them as for us, and that in Him they can be one fold with us under one Shepherd. Priests of England! this gospel is committed to us. Shall we not humble ourselves before God, because we have proclaimed it so ill, and believed it so little? Shall we not own before Him that the infidelity of England is owing mainly to us? Shall we turn away from His voice, which is bidding us repent of our own iniquities, and think that we can do him service by casting stones at our brothers?"

We have here, again, what we found in Mr. Hughes's Tract, "another gospel," differing widely from that preached by St. Paul. The apostle, when he declared his message, began, first, by showing man's need of it. The gospel which he preached always rested on a plain declaration that man needed to be saved; that he was in fearful peril; and that hence salvation, by means of a substitute, a Redeemer, was indeed good news, "the gospel." And not until he had reached this point, that "all the world stands guilty before God," does Paul open out his good news, that God "hath set forth Christ Jesus to be a propitiation;" that "He hath made Him to be sin for us;" that "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, by being made a curse for us," (Gal. iii. 13); that thus "he purged away our sins," that "he was thus once offered to bear the sins of many" (Heb. ix. 28); or, in St. Peter's words, "He bare our sins in His own body on the tree, suffering, the just for the unjust" (i. Pet. ii. 24, iii. 13); and that thus, finally, "by His stripes we are healed." This is "the gospel," the perversion of which so roused the indignation of St. Paul. But, assuredly, it is not the gospel which Mr. Maurice declares in the above passage: for in that passage, as in Mr. Hughes's declaration of faith, we read not one word, either of sin—man's ruin, or of salvation—God's remedy.

The third Tract is by the Rev. Francis Garden. It treats of the Atonement "as a Fact and as a Theory;" and is closed by a few pages "by another clergyman," in which pages we either again meet Mr. Maurice, or else the best imitation of him that has ever fallen in our way.

The Tract, so far as Mr. Garden is concerned, is a curiosity. It treats of the Atonement, which is pre-eminently a scriptural doctrine, set forth authoritatively nowhere else than in the Bible. Yet, instead of going to the Scriptures for his "Fact and Theory," he goes anywhere and everywhere else; leaving the Bible declarations almost wholly out of view. At page 4 he begins with what he calls "the oldest theory,"—"that which represents the claim on us to have been the devil's, and Christ's suffering, blood-shedding, and death, to have been purchase-money paid to him." Then, at page 5, he passes on

to Anselm's theory, that of "satisfaction to God's justice." Then, at page 11, to Coleridge's, that the cause of our salvation is "a mystery into which we may not look, and which we must not dare to attempt explaining." This representation of the matter, Mr. Garden thinks, has "great wisdom and truth in it."

Finally, he seems to settle down in the belief or theory, that "sacrifice is the one governing view of Christ's work," and that sacrifice, in the words of Thomas Aquinas, "is something done to the honour due to God, and with a view of propitiating Him." (pp. 13, 14.)

Now, all acceptable sacrifice, in Scripture, is a representation of, and rests upon, the ONE SACRIFICE, "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." "Without shedding of blood is no remission." Mr. Garden, at page 15, tells us that "the general idea of sacrifice is that of a gift; or surrendering up to another's possession that which was, outwardly at least, in our own." This, it seems to us, was Cain's notion. And it might have been an admissible one in unfallen Adam; but a sinner is on no such footing with God. He has first to find a way by which he may come and appear before God. And this was from the beginning pointed out to man by God himself; to Adam, when he was clad in the skins of slain beasts; to Abel, to Noah; and finally to all Israel in the words, "The blood I have given you to make an atonement for your souls; it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul." (Levit. xvii. 11.) Not that "the blood of bulls and of goats could take away sin," but that it pleased God to appoint this "figure for the time then present," foreshowing the Great Sacrifice to be offered up on Calvary. Nadab and Abihu came before the Lord, like Cain, without blood, and they died. Then distinct instructions were given to Aaron (Lev. xvi.), not to appear in the Divine presence without blood. He must bring a sin-offering, and he must sprinkle of the blood upon the mercy-seat (v. 14). This is particularly noticed by St. Paul, in Heb. ix. 7: "Into the second tabernacle went the high priest alone, *not without blood.*"

How much better, then, would it have been, if Mr. Garden, instead of going to Anselm and Aquinas and Coleridge, for the meaning of the Atonement, had simply taken it from God's own word. Surely no mediæval or modern writer can give us clearer views than those which are afforded in those Scriptures which "were given by inspiration of God." St. Paul, our own apostle, the apostle of the Gentiles, distinctly tells us that he learned his message, the gospel, not of man, but by direct "revelation of Jesus Christ." (Gal. i. 12.) What comparison, therefore, can there be between the "theories" of Anselm or of Coleridge, and the heavenly teaching of St. Paul?

Nor can anything be more clear or full or distinct than that

teaching. He first shows how "every mouth is stopped, and all the world stands guilty before God;" how "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." And he then reveals "the propitiation;" how Jesus was "delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification;" how, "when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly;" and how, thus, "when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son." (Rom. v. 10.) To the Corinthians he explains, that "Christ died for our sins," and that "God made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." To the Galatians he says, that "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." To the Ephesians, that "we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins," and that "we, who were sometime afar off, were made nigh by the blood of Christ; for He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us." In fact, everywhere his language is, that Christ "made peace through the blood of His cross," and thus delivered us from the wrath to come.

Surely there is no room for doubt as to the purport of this teaching. Man is throughout declared to be in peril—to be in need of a Saviour. Christ comes from heaven to save him. And this He does by putting Himself in our stead; by being "wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities, and bearing the chastisement of our peace." He was "made sin for us," and viewed by the Father as one "upon whom was laid the iniquities of us all." In the light of this plain teaching of God's word, the awful mysteries of Gethsemane and Calvary become intelligible: they have a fearful meaning, a meaning which angels may well desire to look into. But reject the great fact of Christ's substitution for sinners, and those terrible sufferings become wholly unintelligible and unmeaning.

At the end of Mr. Garden's tract, as we have said, we find a few pages of "Comments by another Clergyman." It is scarcely possible to doubt Mr. Maurice's authorship of these few pages. At the close, the writer discusses a point lately noticed by Dr. Jelf, that the word "propitiation," used in our Articles, in the common version, stands, in the more accurate copy of 1562, "pacifying of God's wrath." Mr. Maurice is willing to accept the Latin phrase, but is wholly opposed to the plain English one. He closes thus:—

"I believe I should cheat my people of the message of reconciliation which God sent me to deliver to them—I believe I should confuse their minds about His nature and purposes to them—I believe I should not represent the Son as the express image of the Father, if I compelled the Divine words to undergo this violence. The words,

‘pacifying of God’s wrath,’ may convey the best and most blessed meaning to some minds. I would deprive no one of that meaning. But I must preach God’s gospel to sinners; and to me, and from my lips, this would be no gospel at all.”

We have already described the gospel which Paul preached, and which, as he tells us, he received, not from man, but from Christ himself. (Gal. i. 12.) He tells his hearers, again and again, of a “wrath of God,” a wrath which now burns, and which will hereafter “fall on the children of disobedience.” (Ephes. v. 6.) He speaks of a “day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.” (Rom. ii. 5.) And John had told us, long before, that “he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.” (John iii. 36.)

Must it not be man’s chief concern, then, to have this wrath averted from him? And to show how this might be done was the very substance of Paul’s gospel. He tells the Thessalonians of “Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.” (1 Thess. i. 10.) He tells the Romans, that “being now justified by His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him” (Rom. v. 5); for that “when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son.” And Timothy, that “there is one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.” It is, then, “the pacifying of God’s wrath,” which constitutes the very essence of Paul’s gospel; and we need not add how earnestly he deprecates the preaching of any other. Yet Mr. Maurice has got some scheme, which he terms “God’s gospel,” and from which “the pacifying of God’s wrath” is wholly excluded! If it is not the same—if it is utterly at variance with the gospel preached by St. Paul, then we must earnestly commend that apostle’s warnings, in the first chapter of his epistle to the Galatians, to Mr. Maurice’s serious consideration. He seems to imagine that one man may lawfully believe and preach “the pacifying of God’s wrath,” while another man may, with equal safety, disbelieve and deny it. But St. Paul appears to have a very different idea of the fixedness and certainty, the oneness of Divine truth, from that entertained by Mr. Maurice.

The Tract No. IV. is by Mr. Llewellyn Davies, on the subject of Miracles. It resembles all the rest in one main feature, that of an arrogant assumption. It seems to say, as they all do, from the first page to the last, “The writers of the Essays and Reviews are wrong: their opponents are still more wrong: we will show you the true *Via Media*.” Thus Mr. Davies, in his very first page, begins:—

“I propose to contrast the miracle-worship which pervades so many modern defences of Christianity, with that view of the acts called miraculous which the New Testament itself would suggest. Miracle-worship betrays itself in the assertion of the following prin-

ciples. It sets forth violations or suspensions of the laws of nature, as the ultimate grounds of our belief in a Divine Lord and Saviour of men. It magnifies such violations or suspensions, as more Divine than the laws of nature themselves, until it is in danger of forgetting that the laws are Divine at all. And it demands of men a faith in miracles, thus interpreted, almost more imperatively than it demands a faith in Him who wrought them."

Thus, while Mr. Baden Powell assails miracles as intrinsically incredible, Mr. Davies is content to admit that we have probably made too much of them.

But is this true? Has the church, generally, made more of miracles than Christ himself made of them? "John sent two of his disciples, and said unto Him, Art thou He that should come? or do we look for another? And Jesus answered and said, Go and show John those things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached unto them." When Mr. Davies accuses his brethren, in sweeping terms, of "miracle-worship," he was surely bound to adduce some proof that they had gone beyond the limit marked out in Christ's own words.

But, in truth, Mr. Davies seems sincerely to desire to take up a position about midway between truth and falsehood. Instead of following Christ in the plain assertion, that miracles, in connexion with holy teaching and a perfect example, proved a Divine mission, ("the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me," John x. 25), he talks thus:—

"The miracles of the Bible require to be explained and justified. It is a mere matter of fact, that 'suspensions of the order of nature,' instead of compelling men to believe something which they would otherwise refuse to believe, are a preliminary difficulty of belief. Our only hope for the scriptural narratives is, that they will justify themselves."

Now this is an unworthy shrinking from a plain duty, if it be not something worse. The signs and wonders wrought by Christ were the works of the infinitely wise God. Yet, appalled by Mr. Baden Powell's atheistical objections, Mr. Davies is almost ready to concede, that the use of those signs and wonders needs "to be explained and justified." He evidently doubts whether it was not an injudicious course of proceeding!

We propose, however, to look at this question of miracles more closely, before we conclude this paper; and shall therefore content ourselves here with saying of Mr. Davies's tract, that its hesitating, doubting, and half-hearted tone makes it more dangerous to an undecided reader, than even Mr. Baden Powell's positive profession of semi-atheism.

The Fifth and Sixth of the Tracts—whatever may have been

the purpose of the writers—assuredly have a most lamentable tendency ; namely, to set everything loose, and to leave every man at liberty to believe as much, and as little, of Christianity as he pleases. Thus, in page 8 of Tract V., we read :—

“We would further believe that a man may be a good Christian, and in lay communion with the Church of England, who was unable to accept all the historical facts of the Lord’s life, provided he accepted the spirit, and tried to act according to its teaching.”

Why should a man “accept the spirit, or the teaching,” of a history which he believes to be stuffed with falsehoods? No; “if we have not a Christianity based upon written documents,—*reliable* written documents,—we have none at all.”

Next, we are told that “the Church of England has never defined the word Inspiration.”

No, truly ; and it is needless ; for she comes still closer to the fact. With her the Bible is always “the word of God” (Art. xvii., xx., xxii., &c.) And this “word of God” with her is supreme ; whatever it commands is obligatory, whatever it forbids is sin. (Art. vi., viii., xvii., xviii., xxxiv.) Is not this a simpler course than any endeavour to “define Inspiration?”

Once more, at page 17, we are told, that “on miracles the Church of England says nothing !”

In one sense, indeed, this is true. The Church never dreams of defending or discussing miracles. She knows that a man who disbelieves miracles disbelieves every page of the Bible, and has no more right to call himself a Christian, than Voltaire or Thomas Paine. But in every page of the Prayer-Book, as in every page of the Bible, miracles are asserted ; and not one step can a member of the church take, without declaring his belief in them. Article II. asserts a miracle, so does Art. IV., so does the Te Deum, so do all the Creeds, and so do many of the Collects. A man may as reasonably call himself a Christian, while he disbelieves the mission of Christ, as while he doubts the truth of every page of God’s word, because in every page he finds a miracle.

The Sixth Tract is in defence of Doubt—the most needless task, surely, which any man in the present day could undertake. Far more reasonable would it be,—recognizing the existence of doubt in the visible church, as Satan’s peculiar temptation at the present moment,—to try to help men out of it.

The last of the series, No. VII., is the most original, bold, and useful of the series. Not that it lacks a plentiful infusion of the faults which pervade the former six ; but being directed against the atheism of Augustus Comte, it follows, almost of necessity, that we go, for the most part, with the writer.

Yet the faults of which we have just spoken in the former numbers mar Mr. Ludlow’s work also. We feel, as we did in

reading Mr. Davies's tract, that he fights a momentous battle with weak and ineffective weapons.

He drives his Comtean opponent into a corner, when he tries to set up "the immutable laws of nature" as sufficient to account for all phenomena, without any personal God. He asks—

"Are, then, law and order altogether sufficient to you for the explanation of all the facts of the universe?"

"No, they are not. There is a very puzzling element besides, which is, force. There is something that produces or evolves phenomena; there is some definite relation between them; according to that relation they arrange themselves in what I perceive as a certain symmetry. Thus, force and law, with order for the joint manifestation of both; these I find everywhere and in all things.

"My dear friend, how tight you shut your eyes not to see God! Why, your triad of force, law, and order, tells distinctly of a far higher triad—one of power, and justice, and goodness; which, when the human spirit once takes hold of them fully, reveal themselves to it as a personal triune God!"

Thus, so far as natural theology goes, Mr. Ludlow triumphs over the Atheist. But, when he essays to rise still higher, he unwisely quits the sure ground of "a written word of God," and prefers, like Mr. Hughes, his own consciousness, which is no ground for another man's faith. Thus he says:—

"I believe that there are three parallel idolatries which infect the Church in all ages and countries,—the idolatry of an infallible Man, which comes out specially in the Papolatry of Rome; the idolatry of an infallible Church; and the idolatry of an infallible Book, which is the special idolatry of us Protestants." (p. 3.)

The absurdity of the parallel is equal to its irreverence. The infallible man, the Pope, has not a shred of Divine authority for his pretensions, as Mr. Ludlow well knows. The idea of an infallible Church is refuted by Judas's apostacy, by Peter's fall, and by the declension of Demas, Diotrephes, and many others. But the Bible is God's revelation to man; and to liken it to the former two pretended infallibilities, approaches to profaneness. God, in speaking to man, speaks in no fallible language. If the Bible, as Mr. Ludlow's language implies, is not absolutely and entirely true, then the foundation of our faith is uncertain, and may be erroneous. If the Bible be fallible as a whole, then there is no word in it which *may not* be untrue. "If we have not a Christianity resting on a written document, we have no Christianity at all."

In place of this "infallible Book,"—an idea which he repudiates,—Mr. Ludlow prefers, like Mr. Hughes, *his own consciousness*. He says:—

"I affirm that the Being of God, His power and goodness; the existence of an evil spirit; the existence of a nature in man capable of

communication both with God and with the evil one; the reality of such communications; the struggle of the evil one against good, &c. &c., are facts to me of personal experience, no less certain than that of my own existence." (p. 16.)

To which the obvious answer of the sceptic is, "Speak for yourself; I know nothing of all this, and your fancies or 'experiences' can be nothing to me." To lay hold of men's consciences, to give them matter for reflection, we must place before them facts which they cannot but see. The wonderful rise and establishment of Christianity, under circumstances which would have ruined any system of imposture; the sacred books, their purity, their exalted morality, their wondrous histories, prophecies, and marvels; and above all, the plan of salvation which they reveal;—these are the means which the Holy Spirit most commonly uses to arrest men's attention, and to bring them to God. But if the very documents themselves are unreliable, then farewell to the hopes of the human race. Mr. Ludlow tells us, as we have just seen, of certain facts which, he says, are "of personal experience;" but among these we do not find the most essential of all, namely, the way of access by which a guilty sinner may appear before a Holy God. His "personal experience," so far as he gives it to us, has not made this known to him. Yet, without it, he is lost for evermore. On the other hand, the Bible makes this clear to us. But what if, as Mr. Ludlow thinks, the Bible is *not infallible*. Why, then, the Bible itself may mislead us; and what other resource have we remaining?

On the whole, then, these tracts, while they contain many valuable truths, are rather to be censured and lamented, than applauded. They never meet the sceptic boldly, foot to foot. If he denies the miracles, they "admit that the miracles of the Bible require to be explained and justified." If he questions the inspiration of God's word, they answer that the church only uses the word "in the largest and loosest sense." If he cavils at the incarnation, or the resurrection, they reply that "a man may be a good Christian who cannot accept all the historical facts of our Lord's life." Thus, at every point, they are ready to meet the infidel half way; as if a creed which is *half untrue* could have any claim on our respect or our belief. It is, perhaps, a natural feature of this timid policy, that they wholly forget or neglect St. Paul's injunction, to "take the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Probably no seven works on religious controversy could be found in the English language, in which all reference to Scripture is so carefully avoided. We have already noticed the singular fact, that, in one of the Tracts, even such a subject as the Atonement is discussed without any appeal to the teaching of God's word.

We ought not, however, to dismiss these little works without remarking on the appearance of three passages, in various parts of the series, which convey wholesome instruction ; and instruction hardly consistent with the general tendency of the teaching of their authors. The passages to which we refer, are these :—

1. Although the Fifth Tract seems to rejoice, that “there is scarce a phase of Christian faith which may not be held within the Church of England,” and to utter thanks, “that her statements are indeterminate,” “her limits so large or so vague,” Mr. Maurice himself recognises the important truth, that a church without settled doctrines would be a practical absurdity. He says, in Tract II. :—

“If we have no gospel to proclaim to men,—if we may not tell them that the Father has sent His Son to redeem the world, and that He has redeemed it, and that He is King of it,—I do not see what our creeds are for, because I do not see what our function is for, what our existence is for. Let us be emancipated from them by all means ; but let us be emancipated from our whole office.” (p. 69.)

Unquestionably, the whole message of Christianity is very simple, and very positive. It begins, “Thou shalt call His name Jesus ; for He shall save His people from their sins.” It continues, “Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead ; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name.” It ends, “Go ye into all the world, and preach this gospel to every creature.” The Divine mission, incarnation, death, and resurrection, of the Son of God, “for us men and for our salvation,” is the message entrusted to the church ; and if she fails to deliver it, she had better cease to be a church.

2. And the absolute necessity for the remedy thus provided, if man were “not to perish, but to have everlasting life,” is recognised in Tract III. :—

“There were barriers which the Divine justice placed between God and sinful man ; for perfect justice can never be on terms with sin ; can never call things other than what they are ; can adopt no legal fiction in order to treat the sinner as if he were not a sinner. Those barriers are broken down by Christ’s sacrifice.” (p. 21.)

This is another vital truth frankly recognised. It is this truth which explains the awful fact, that when Christ himself prayed, “Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me,” the answer was, “It is not possible.” Our sins had to be borne, and their chastisement to be endured ; and not until the prophetic words, “Thy rebuke hath broken my heart !” were literally fulfilled, and the Saviour, crushed under the weight, bowed His head and gave up the ghost, could the last words, “It is finished !” be uttered.

3. Once more. That peculiar phase of unbelief for which Mr. Maurice has already suffered punishment, is practically given up by Mr. Hughes, in the first of these Tracts. He says,

"Christ has told me that the only reward I shall ever get will be 'life eternal,' and that life eternal is to know God and Him. That is all the reward I care about. And the only punishment I can ever bring on myself will be, to banish myself from His presence, and the presence of all who know Him, to dwell apart from Him and my brethren, shut up in myself. That is the only punishment I dread." "But if we don't enter into Christ's kingdom now, and here, I can't see how we are ever likely to enter in in another world."

This is substantially the truth taught in Luke xvi. 19—31; Matt. xxii. 13, xxv. 46. The next day after we had read Mr. Hughes's tract, we heard a sermon from one of the secretaries of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, in which the same thought was contained:—

"Hell is wrapped up in this one thought—*being left to ourselves*. Give me a world, in any part of the universe, filled with beings all equally proud, all equally self-willed, all equally bent on lordship and dominion, and you give me all that is terrible in the idea of hell."

And Mr. Hughes rightly judges that there is no supplementary gospel; but that whoever neglects to enter Christ's kingdom *here*, has not the slightest ground for supposing that he will have a second opportunity in the life to come. "The wicked is driven away in his iniquity," and the sentence runs thus: "He that is filthy, let him be filthy still." *

These three admissions, therefore, we take to be of great value, appearing in publications of this particular class.

So far had we written of the first series, or Nos. I. to VII., of these Tracts. Just then, No. VIII., or the first of the second series, was placed in our hands; and we found in it a signal fulfilment of our opening prophecy. We said that, although Messrs. Maurice and Co. were doubtless displeased with the *Essays and Reviews* just now, it would not surprise us to find them soon following the writers in the same road, and probably overpassing them. And now, in No. VIII., we find ourselves quietly conducted to the very same point on which Dr. Temple, in the opening *Essay*, tried to land us.

The practical end and drift of Dr. Temple's paper was, that Scripture was "no outer law;" but that every man's own conscience must be the sole arbiter, both of the injunctions and doctrines of Scripture, and of all other questions.

Mr. Chretien, in this first number of the second series of

* Into the question of the place or manner of the sinner's future punishment, we do not now enter. It is sufficient to assert, with Scripture, its awful reality.

the Tracts now before us, leads his readers to exactly the same conclusions. His object is (like that of Mr. Maurice in No. II.) to undervalue and dissuade from the study of the evidences, and to induce men to rest their religious faith upon their own sense of right and wrong! Now, had he really preferred internal evidence to external, in the only true sense,—had he placed before us a man convinced of sin, sensible of his lost and ruined condition, and eagerly embracing the gospel as the only remedy,—we should gladly have agreed with him that this way into the paths of life was far better than by the reasonings of Paley. But Mr. Chretien's own words convey no such impression. He tells us:—

“A man awakes, perhaps, from a state of indifference, to a keen sense of injustice; that is, of a broken law. He sees about him, and feels within him, wrong, sin, and misery; and he knows that these things ought not to be. The world is out of joint, and he cannot set it right. He is thoroughly dissatisfied with something,—with himself, or with the world, or with both.” (p. 6.)

“Justice will rise up within him, strong against injustice; purity shall stand forth in him and before him, only the fairer for the foul forms beneath her feet. Mercy shall be seen stronger than cruelty; and right shall begin its triumph over wrong.” (p. 8.)

“Things press on you; and as they pause before you, or pass on, you say,—‘This is right—that is wrong—this cause must ultimately triumph—in that, injustice is at the root, and I see the seeds of ruin and decay.’” (p. 16.)

“Leading an incorrupt life, doing the thing that is right, and speaking truth from the heart, are far surer steps up the holy Hill, than reading, writing, or discussing books of evidence.” (p. 37.)

All this is quite a different thing from gospel repentance, and a personal appropriation of Christ's death and sacrifice. But what chiefly strikes us in this matter is the singular inappropriateness of these undervaluings of the evidences at the present moment. We are enduring a fierce attack from infidelity in a new guise. Men of learning, and official rank, come forward to cast doubt upon every fact and every doctrine of Christianity. The Pentateuch is declared to be a fiction; miracles to be intrinsically incredible; prophecies, either fancies or frauds. This is the attack *in front*. And just while the fight is going on, another party, on our flank, begins to cry out, “Give it up! Do not defend a worthless position. What are called ‘Evidences’ are of no real use; Christianity must, after all, be tried by ‘the rules of right and wrong.’” We make no charge of treachery; we have no doubt that Messrs. Maurice and Chretien are thoroughly sincere in their pleadings, and imagine that they are giving us good advice. But equally certain are we, that their ill-judged and perilous plan of defence is just as much a part of the grand temptation of our day, as

is the broad and open assault of the Baden Powells and Rowland Williameses.

But it is time that we gave some attention to a portentous fact, which is very plainly stated, more than once or twice, in this series of publications. We may have suspected it before, or may have met with some indistinct indications of it; but in these publications it is plainly avowed,—namely, that the fruit of the “Essays and Reviews” is the spread of positive Atheism.

Thus Mr. Hughes tells us, in the tenth page of his tract, that—

“That which has been called the ‘negative theology’ has been spreading rapidly, though for the most part silently. In the first instance it may have been simply ‘a recoil from some of the doctrines which are to be heard at church and chapel; a distrust of the old arguments for, or proofs of, a miraculous revelation; and a misgiving as to the authority, or extent of the authority, of the Scriptures.’ But, as was sure to be the case, the ‘negative theology’ could not stop, and has not stopped, here. Men who have come across these recoils, distrusts, misgivings, will soon find, if they are honest and resolute with themselves, that there is another doubt underlying all these, a doubt which they may turn from in horror when it is first whispered in their hearts, but which will come back again and again. That doubt is whether there is a God at all, or rather, whether a living, personal God, thinking, acting, and ruling in this world in which we are, has ever revealed Himself to man.”

Mr. Maurice follows with a like confession:—

“Think how, side by side with these theological debates, there has arisen in Oxford a new and sudden interest in physical science. Think what youths, not deep in either subject, have heard of the certainty of the conclusions in one of them, of its undeviating, unrelaxing progress! . . . Is there not reason here why so many of the most serious shrink from taking orders; why so many begin to fear that there is nothing solid at their feet; nothing that may not crumble to pieces if the light is let in upon it; why some profess boldly that the science of Nature is that which must absorb all others into itself; why many hold that man and God must alike be contemplated as parts of Nature, and subjects of laws which have established themselves.” (p. 6.)

Mr. Davies confesses the necessity which he feels of dealing with this state of things. He tells us that he finds that the miracles of the Bible are now used as reasons for rejecting the faith of the Bible. And he even yields to this fallacious argument, saying:—

“Why should I be compelled,’ a philosopher *may naturally plead*, ‘to receive as the proper and ultimate credentials of a revelation of truth given eighteen centuries ago, things which in the nineteenth century we should all agree to regard with suspicion and dislike, and which

would be at least a discredit and a hindrance to any truths which they were meant to recommend?' Such considerations oblige us in candour to admit, that the miracles of the Bible require to be explained and justified." (p. 5.)

"Some physiologists have been so engrossed by the laws of human existence which they themselves investigate, as to forget that there are other laws not less necessary to recognise, and have proclaimed that the science of the human body leads men inevitably to the lowest conclusions of materialism. Others, not so grossly materialistic, insist upon reducing human volition to a necessary and invariable sequence. Beginning with the laws which they know in the external world, they seek to construct a system of nature so vast that it shall include all that we mean when we speak of the freedom of the human will." (p. 39.)

And Mr. Ludlow, in the last number of the series, brings before us a disciple of Comte thus displaying his belief, or rather his unbelief:—

"I had to give up, first the sun's standing still on Ajalon, then the geological sequence of the first chapter of Genesis, then the verse of the three witnesses. . . . It was only by plunging deeper into science that I escaped utter shipwreck; and then I saw rise before me that form of absolute and infallible certainty which I had fancied to have seen enthroned on the pedestal of the Scriptures. . . . When once that light had come, the notion of a capricious wonder-working God became positively insufferable. . . . I see no longer any room for a God." (p. 12.)

Thus, from nearly all these writers we receive the positive testimony, that the real evil which we have to meet is Atheism; and that, however innocent the writers of the "*Essays and Reviews*" may have been of such a purpose, it is to this, as the final result, that all their speculations naturally tend.

As far as our own knowledge and experience extend, they serve to confirm this report. But this being the case, what do these "Tracts for Priests and People" do to counteract this ruinous delusion? We regret to be obliged to reply, "Little or nothing."

They all most perilously recommend a surrender of a large part of that ground which has for centuries been triumphantly held against the advocates of Atheism. Throughout these Tracts, an abandonment of "evidences" is counselled, and a falling back on "personal consciousness," and a proclamation of Christ as King. Thus, Mr. Maurice, in No. II., asks: "Is it not a miserable thing to hear men prelecting about the evidences of Christianity, as if *they* ever helped to raise a soul out of perdition!" (p. 21.) "If they have been resting their faith upon Paley's arguments, it is well that they should be led to suspect such a foundation." (p. 22.) And Mr. Davies complains, in No. IV., that "it is attempted to impose miracles, as if by Divine authority, upon the faith of men. Those who

will not believe them are denounced as atheists." "The truth concerning God, and His redemption of mankind, will commend itself to the hearts of men, without requiring suspensions of the order of nature to introduce it." (p. 33.) "We ought not to say that any operation of the Divine will, however miraculous, suspends the laws of nature; we cannot possibly know that it does, and why should we suppose it." (p. 45.) The fifth Tract tells us, that "there is a growing conviction that doctrines are a test of miracles; and so strong a faith is there in the perfection of order, that men would prefer, in all possible cases, to explain a miracle, and, when that is not possible, to refer it to some as yet unknown law." "On miracles the Church of England says nothing." (p. 17.) In fact, throughout the whole series there is the most evident desire to quit the old ground,—that on which Christianity has stood for eighteen centuries,—and to fall back upon mere impression, or "personal experience," which is indeed of the highest value to him who has it, but which can offer nothing to the sceptic. Mr. Maurice rightly describes the truths of the Bible as "the most wonderful message of deliverance to men." But he then asks, "Would it not be better to preach these, than to bring forward arguments to show why we have a right to preach them; upon what authority we hold them; why they are not to be disturbed?" Would Mr. Maurice argue thus in any other matter? If he carried to a poor man a royal letter conferring on him a desirable appointment, or a copy of a will entitling him to a large estate, and the man doubted the genuineness of the document, would he reply, "Do not let us talk about *that*: only look at the greatness of the benefit?" Could the man do otherwise than rejoin, "Yes, but I must first know whether this paper be really *true*, or whether it be a fiction?"

We feel, then, that any concession of that which is solid and substantial truth in this matter, is not only unwise, but criminal; and that many of the concessions made in these Tracts, however honestly intended, will operate for the encouragement of scepticism and infidelity.

In what way, then, it may be asked, ought the doubts and objections, which are now commonly heard, to be met? We think, boldly, and without finching. We are enjoined "*earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints*:" not bitterly; not vehemently; but *earnestly*. And we cannot conceive of an earnest defender, who proposes at once to give up half the ground. Let us make an attempt to explain how, in our view, the difficulties now current ought to be encountered.

1. We admit the truth of Mr. Davies's statement, that, in many quarters, the miracles of Holy Scripture, instead of being accepted as proofs of a Divine revelation, are held to be in themselves obstacles and difficulties in the way of belief. Men are

heard to say, as Mr. Davies reports, "Hardly any evidence would persuade us of the real occurrence of anything so unnatural as a miracle; we take the liberty to disbelieve the eyes of other men when they tell us they saw one; for we would not believe our own." (p. 31.) And they add, that the very fact of miracles being recorded in Scripture, brings the truth of Scripture into doubt.

Now, we should reply to an objector who said, "I would not believe a miracle if I saw it with my own eyes," in this way:—Sir, you mistake. You think that you would not believe it, but you judge rashly. Look at the facts of the case. Place yourself by the side of a general who is invading the land of Canaan in A.M. 2553. He asserts that he has a Divine command for what he is doing; but of this we will suppose you to be in doubt. All at once, he comes into circumstances which render daylight very necessary to him, and, acting, as he says, by Divine authority, he commands the sun to maintain its position, and to prolong the day for his purpose. You see the sun then, when the command is given, in its place in the heavens. An hour passes, and a second, and it remains still there. Three hours elapse, and four, and six, and the sun has not descended. We assume, remember, the position which you took just now, that you "had seen all this with your own eyes." You say, that you would not have believed it. We ask, how you would have achieved unbelief?

The question, observe, is not as to the mode or manner of the miracle. Whether it was the sun that stood still, or the earth; or whether neither was really arrested, but some atmospheric contrivance was resorted to; all this is nothing to the purpose. The question is, whether, at the word of a man, some wondrous work was performed, which produced to all around the effect which would be expected to follow from an arrestation of the heavenly bodies? The language in which the miracle is described, is merely the language still current among men. We still speak of sun-rise and sun-set, and of the sun's reaching the meridian, &c., knowing that our words are wholly inaccurate, and that the sun neither rises nor sets. All that the narrative substantially asserts is, that the sun, which on all other days appeared to descend below the horizon, on that day appeared to remain for hours in mid-heaven. In whatever way this was effected, it was a departure from the usual course of nature, and was a miracle. The question is, whether, if you had seen it, you would have believed it? To which we answer, that if you had stood by Joshua's side, and had heard him give the order, and had seen the sun's apparent motion arrested, you would not have been able to resist the conclusion, that a great wonder had been wrought.

Or, take another instance. About the year A.D. 28, you are

in a small ship on the sea of Galilee, and one of the whirlwinds of that country arises, and the waves become fearfully agitated, so as to break continually on the ship, until it is nearly filled with water. The sailors and passengers are in the utmost alarm, and imagine death to be at hand. A man who is quietly sleeping in the stern of the vessel, is awakened by their cries; he arises, and commands the wind and the sea to be still. In an instant the wind ceases, and the water becomes like glass. Had you been there, what would you have disbelieved? That it was an ordinary case of a gradual lulling of the storm and a gradual subsidence of the waves, is clearly contradicted by the wonder of the apostles, most of whom were fishermen, and who would have felt no surprise at such an occurrence. They gave testimony to a supernatural event. They saw, and bare witness, "The winds and the sea obey Him."

Once more. In the following year, A.D. 29, you are in a village near to Jerusalem, and perceive a little stir made by the arrival of a visitor from Galilee, accompanied by several of his friends. He goes straight to a house, which you find, on inquiry, to be a house of mourning; two sisters who live there having recently buried their only brother. Presently you perceive him issuing forth, accompanied by the sisters and other friends, to go to the dead man's grave. Arrived there, he tells them to open the tomb. One of the sisters hesitates, saying, that the corpse must be corrupting, since the man had been dead four days. But the visitant persists, and the stone is taken away from the tomb's mouth. He then exclaims, "Lazarus, come forth!" and the dead man instantly appears, bound hand and foot, and his face wrapped about with a napkin. Again we inquire—seeing all these things—and finding, on inquiry, that the man had really been dead four days, to the knowledge of divers persons who had been concerned in burying him; and that the visitor had not been in that place for many days previous, and had only within the last hour arrived from Galilee; how would you be able to disbelieve the fact?

But we will suppose that you are really incredulous, and refuse to admit more than this—that there is something strange about these stories, and that you must look further into them. Go, then, and investigate to the utmost the past life and labours of this man, who must either be a wicked impostor, or else a man clothed with remarkable powers.

You address yourself to some of his associates, and tell them of your wonder, and of your wish to learn more of a person who seems to be so singularly gifted. You ask, whether he has been in the habit of thus giving life to those who were dead? The answer is, "No, he has not very frequently recalled the dead to life; but some of us were present, about a year ago,

when, as he was entering the city of Nain, his compassion was excited by the tears of a poor widow, who was following the body of her only son; and he stopped the bier, commanded the dead man to arise, and gave him back alive to his mother. And it was but recently that he gave sight to a poor man who had been blind from his very birth. You may see him, if you please, and inquire for yourself."

You follow up the inquiry. You trace out this blind man, and receive his story from his own lips. You also find out his parents, and learn from them that their son certainly was entirely blind from infancy until a certain day, when he met with a man called Jesus, and came home in the possession of perfect sight. You take the man aside, and ask him quietly, "Tell me, what did he give you to spread this story?" "Give me," he exclaims; "why, I believe he is poorer than I am. And, as to the fact, you may ask twenty men around; ask the priests, ask my father and mother; everybody knows that I was stone blind from my cradle, and that in one hour I received my sight."

You return to his disciples with increased wonder. They tell you of the two occasions in which a few loaves were made sufficient to feed some thousands of people. They had seen him calm the winds and waves; walk upon the waters; raise the ruler's daughter; and cure many lepers. You ask, "And what is the object of all this? does your master mean to form a party, and set up a kingdom?" "If that was his meaning," they answer, "he might have done it long ago; for several times the people have been on the point of trying to make him their king. But he utterly rejects every thought of the kind." "What does he mean, then?" you ask. And they reply, "He declares that he has a message from God his Father, and that these wonders are performed to place it beyond a doubt that God is with him. He said on one occasion, 'The works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me;*' and on another, 'The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me;† and the same day, 'If ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in Him.'‡"

Now, having thus investigated the matter, how can you maintain your position of unbelief? Facts have come under your own notice,—facts have been narrated to you by men who could not be deceived, and who could have no motive for deceiving you; and where, then, does your incredulity take its stand? Had you beheld, with your own eyes, the arrestation of the sun in mid-heaven for several hours together,—or the calling a man out of his grave who had been dead four

* John v. 36.

† John x. 25.

‡ John x. 38.

days,—or the instantaneous ceasing of a storm and calming of the waters by a word,—your reply, that you would not believe your own eyes, would sound like, and would be, an absurdity. Nor would “doubt,” or “investigation,” have a much better aspect; the facts were broad, distinct, and unquestionable, and no investigation could alter their character. There is, in truth, no other question to be considered, than this, Did these things really occur?

Still it is objected by professor Powell, that “the entire range of the inductive philosophy is at once based upon, and in every instance tends to confirm, by immense accumulation of evidence, the grand truth of the universal order and constancy of natural causes, as a primary law of belief.” In the plainer language of Strauss, “The chain of endless causation cannot be broken; and hence a miracle is an impossibility.”

How does this principle, of the universal order and constancy of natural causes, lead to a rejection of miracles? Christians believe, that, not quite six thousand years ago, God prepared this earth for man’s habitation, placed him upon it, and warned him that death would be the consequence of the transgression of a particular command. We believe, also, that, in consequence of that transgression, death has laid hold of the human race, and that “in Adam all died,” or became dying men. Thus, in fulfilment of a Divine threat and warning, hundreds of thousands of millions have died; and we can imagine no natural event more certain than this, that every man, woman, and child whom we look upon, will, in his or her turn, die. But we also believe, that He who made this law, nearly six thousand years ago, can, whenever He pleases, suspend it; and that, by such suspensions, two men, Enoch and Elijah, or three, if we include the Saviour, have ascended to heaven, in human bodies, without that separation of soul and body which we generally call death. And we demand, what there is irrational in such a belief? Admitting that the Divine Maker’s hand has impressed upon this earth and its inhabitants traces of a law of universal application, why are we to reject the belief, that He who *made* has the power of *varying*, as He pleases, the working of this great machine? We are wholly unable to perceive, why a belief in the existence of Law should operate to exclude the Lawgiver from interfering, whenever He chooses, with the work of His own hands.

This great fact, of “the universal order and constancy of natural causes,” is not a discovery of yesterday. It lay at the foundation of all Sir Isaac Newton’s calculations; yet it never for one moment disturbed his faith in the miracles of Holy Writ, or in that primary miracle of all—the creation and settlement of man upon this earth. If “the immutability of natural laws” be indeed inconsistent with the occurrence of a

miracle, how did it happen that this inconsistency never once occurred to such men as Newton, or Bacon, or Pascal, or Locke?

One enormous error, or omission, vitiates all these theories of Messrs. Strauss, Combe, Powell, and others, as to the "immutability of nature's laws." They look at *one series* of facts only, although there are *two series* distinctly apparent in every such case. "The grand truth of the universal order and constancy of natural causes" touches *only material things*. But material things are not the only things with which we have to do.

Throughout the whole of God's word, we have a second and totally distinct series of facts, namely, the facts of the spiritual world; and the laws which regulate this part of God's creation Mr. Baden Powell has not professed that he has been able to reduce into a system.

Hence the practical question, which is well put by Mr. Moorhouse,* is, May there not be such a connexion between the spiritual and material worlds, that the forces of the former may produce variations in the ordinary phenomena of the latter?

It is clearly impossible for any of Strauss's followers to establish a negative in this matter. And hence Mr. Moorhouse justly argues:—

"We find that the spiritual and material are actually connected in the nature of man, and that in this nature the spiritual does interfere in the sphere of the physical. And should we not therefore expect, from the analogy of our experience, that in the vast arrangements of God, whose characteristic is, that He is a Spirit, the material would ever be made subordinate to the spiritual; and that since One Ruler orders all events, according to one infinitely wise plan, there might occur periods in the historical developements of God's designs, when, according to His eternal purpose, it might be well that the material should bend to the spiritual, and thus at once indicate the existence and supremacy of the latter?"†

2. The admirers of Mr. Powell, however, will remind us, that these spiritual facts, and, in short, all the "supernaturalisms" of the Bible, creation, miracles and all, are discredited, and passed over as unworthy of notice, both by Mr. Powell himself, and by a whole sect of "nature-worshippers." Thus, in the *Essays and Reviews*, Mr. Powell wrote:—

"It is now acknowledged, under the high sanction of the name of Owen, that 'creation' is only another name for our ignorance of the mode of production;‡ and it has been the unanswered and *unanswerable* argument of another reasoner, that new species *must* have originated

* Four Sermons before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. James Moorhouse, M.A., 1861.

† Ibid. p. 30.

‡ This statement Professor Owen has subsequently denied, and that in most positive terms.

either out of their inorganic element, or out of previously organized forms : either developement or spontaneous generation must be true."

We have here merely a reproduction of the absurdities of Mr. George Combe's *Vestiges of Creation* ; in which book we were told, twenty years ago, that—

"Life is believed by many men of science to spring occasionally, even now, from inorganic elements ; and it is generally admitted by that class of men to be in itself a simply natural phenomenon."

And the author proceeds :—

"For the history, then, of organic nature, I embrace, not as a proved fact, but as a rational interpretation of things as far as science has revealed them, the idea of progressive developement. We contemplate the simplest and most primitive type of being, as giving birth to a type superior to it ; this again producing the next higher, and so on to the highest.

"The sum of all we have seen of the psychical constitution of man is, that its Almighty Author has destined it, like everything else, to be developed from inherent qualities, and to have a mode of action depending immediately on its own organization. Thus the whole appears complete on one principle. The masses of space are formed by law ; law makes them in due time theatres of existence for plants and animals ; sensations, disposition, *intellect*, are all in like manner developed and sustained in action by law."*

In all this we hear not one word of God's own account of the matter. Moses is passed over without notice, as a witness wholly unworthy of attention. The writer's main object is, to get rid wholly of the history of Creation furnished in the book of Genesis, and to place in its room, "not any proved fact," but what he deems "a rational interpretation of things," in other words, an hypothesis !

But he gets rid of more than the book of Genesis. Along with the history of Creation, he gets rid of the Creator also. With a pretended reverence, indeed, he speaks every now and then of "the Almighty Author," and of "the operations of God ;" but to what are those operations confined ? In the Bible, we are told of a personal God coming down upon this earth and fashioning it anew, about six thousand years ago, "breathing into man's nostrils the breath of life, and so making him a living soul." The author of the *Vestiges* dismisses all this as an old fable, not worthy of notice, and suggests as "a rational interpretation of things," that "the organic world rests on the one law of developement." First came nebulae, then worlds, then the lower order of beings, then the higher, and lastly, "sensation, disposition, intellect," in short, man ; but each order of beings developed, *not created*. Where, then,

* *Vestiges of Creation*. Tenth Edition. Pp. 175, 179, 304.

is God's place in the whole series? Clearly, only as the first originator, the giver of this law, which has ever since been fulfilling His will. But when did this commencement of the mundane system take place? No geologist, we believe, will assign a more recent date than 500,000 years ago; more probably 1,000,000, or even a far longer space. And since that far distant commencement, according to the author of the *Vestiges*, the "Almighty Author" has been working wholly and exclusively by two immutable laws: for inorganic things, by gravitation; for organic, by developement. All other kinds of operation, by miracles, creation, or any personal interference, are excluded, as inconsistent with the notion of permanent law!

This is the latest and most refined species of atheism, and bears the impress of a fallen archangel's skill. The old and coarse kind of atheism, the fool's cry of "No God!" had been worn out. Even in Lord Rochester's days, he was obliged to confess, that "after a long familiarity with infidels of every class, he had never known an entire atheist, one who fully believed that there was no God." A century later, Emerson tells us of the conqueror of Europe, that one fine night, on deck, amid a clatter of materialism, Napoleon pointed to the starry heavens, and said, "You may talk as long as you please, gentlemen, but who made all those?" And a freethinker who has but recently departed, Theodore Parker, wrote:—

"The belief in God's existence is natural, not against nature. It comes unavoidably from the legitimate action of reason and the religious sentiment; just as the belief in light comes from using the eyes; and a belief in our existence from mere existing. Hence the knowledge of God's existence may be called an intuition of reason."*

Thus it was admitted by infidels and sceptics themselves, that an avowed and crude atheism was an outrage on the natural consciousness of man. Hence, a disguised scheme of atheism was needed by the Evil One; a scheme which should profess to own the existence of a God, while it practically threw Him to an immeasurable distance. To this necessity we owe the *developement theory*, the advocates of which are willing to admit an "Almighty Author," if they may limit his operation to the first origin of the system of nature thousands of ages back, and may maintain that since that far-distant period the universe has known nothing but "a series of eternally-impressed consequences, following in some necessary chain of orderly connexion, however imperfectly known to us."

One obvious objection is taken to this theory at the outset by Mr. Hugh Miller, who observes, that—

* Discourse on Religion, p. 12.

"If during a period so vast as to be scarcely expressible by figures, the creatures now human have been rising, from globules, until they have at length become the men and women whom we see around us, we must hold either the monstrous belief, that all the vitalities, whether mites, or fishes, or reptiles, or birds, or beasts, are individually and inherently *immortal*; or that human souls are *not so*!"

This startling difficulty is sufficient of itself to make any reasonable man pause. But the one fatal objection to all "development" theories is, that they are utterly opposed to all the known facts of the case. All the insight into the earth's structure that geologists have been gaining for the last half-century, combines in one decided protest against any such dreams as these. Some twelve years since, the *Edinburgh Review* justly said, "Geology, not seen through the mist of any theory, but taken as a plain succession of monuments and facts, offers one firm cumulative argument against the hypothesis of development."*

Let us try to illustrate this truth. Imagine some dreamer or impostor inventing a story resembling Dean Swift's *Travels of Gulliver*, and then trying to make his followers believe that his Strulbrugs and Laputans, and Brobdignagians and Lilliputians, had actually existed in some former age of the world. Geology would immediately interfere and shatter the whole story to atoms. The Lyells and Murchisons and Owens would immediately reply, "We know, full well, what sort of creatures peopled this earth in the ages before Adam. We have, in our museums, specimens of the animals of the Palæozoic period, of the Permian and Triassic, of the Oolite and the Cretaceous; of the Eocene, the Miocene, the Pleiocene, and the Pleistocene, which last is the most recent before the creation of man; and among all these we find no trace of your wonderful races of people. As to the ages from Adam downwards, you do not pretend to place them there; hence, your whole story is an outrageous fiction."

The same reply, and in equally indignant language, may geology make to the development theory. If the lowest kinds of creatures were developed from inorganic elements, and then grew by progressive steps upwards, from the frog to the crocodile, from the rat to the dog, from the monkey to the man, *would not geology know it?* Her investigations have reached back through long vistas of milleniums, until they arrived at the period when life was not. But in no one of all these periods, at no stage of its investigations, does geology ever fall in with "development." Thousands of fishes has it found; but not one of them all, developing into an alligator. Myriads of reptiles; but none in the process of becoming deer or oxen.

* *Edinburgh Review*, No. clxv. p. 62.

As to the creature that was "developing" into a human being, not a glimpse of it has geology ever obtained; she declares, therefore, with all her voices, and with the strength derived from her tens of thousands of fossil specimens, that "development" may be found in the books of dreamers, but that not a trace of it can be found in nature.

This "rational interpretation of things," then, as Mr. Combe calls it, is one of the most utterly irrational theories that ever scepticism spawned. Any honest and reasonable man begins an inquiry by collecting all the facts of the case, and then examining their respective relations, and the bearing which they have on each other. But the Combes and Baden Powells begin, carry on, and complete their inquiries, by a careful exclusion of the two main sources of information! We have the word of God in Scripture; we have the works of God in geology. To the first, neither Mr. Combe nor Mr. Powell make the slightest reference. From the second, they carefully pick out only those two or three scraps of evidence which may be supposed to favor their hypothesis,—excluding fully nineteen-twentieths of the results of geological research. Mr. Hugh Miller has eloquently described these results in one of his finest passages. More than a million of years ago, he tells us—

"Nature lay dead in a waste theatre of rock, vapour, and sea, in which the insensate laws, chemical, mechanical, and electric, carried on their blind, unintelligent processes. The *creative fiat* went forth, and amidst waters that straightway teemed with life in its lower forms, vegetable and animal, the dynasty of the fish was introduced. Many ages passed during which there took place no farther elevation. . . . When the fiat again went forth, and *through an act of creation*, the dynasty of the reptile began. Again, many ages passed by, marked, apparently, by the introduction of a warm-blooded oviparous animal, the bird,—when again the fiat went forth, and *through an act of creation*, the dynasty of the mammiferous quadruped began. And, lastly, after the further lapse of ages, the elevatory fiat went forth once more *in an act of creation*; and with the human, heaven-aspiring dynasty, the moral government of God, in its connection at least with the world which we inhabit, took beginning."*

With this view, we take leave to say, all the labours and researches of Cuvier, Lyell, Murchison, Buckland, Owen, and others, entirely harmonize. The written word of God, and the "records of creation," ineffaceably inscribed on ten thousand rocks, all tell one story; and he who disbelieves it must be a man of more arrogance than wisdom. But surely, such a dis-

* Miller's "Footprints of the Creator," p. 293. In our January number we showed the entire consistency of these discoveries of Geology with the statements of Moses. In the first chapter of

Genesis, the earth "*brings forth grass*," and the moving creature, and fowl, and the beast of the earth; all of which had existed ages before, and then God proceeds to *create* man.

believer ought to be able, when he questions a case so proved, to advance in favor of his own hypothesis an amount of evidence exceeding that which in the other case he deems insufficient. Do the Combes and Baden Powells do this? So far from it, they are obliged to admit that all they can offer is a vague something, which to them (having resolved to reject the idea of creation) seems to be a reasonable probability. The words of the *Vestiges* are :—"I embrace, *not as a proved fact*, but as a rational interpretation of things as far as science has revealed them, the idea of progressive developement." We say, that this is *not* a "rational interpretation" of things; we say, that of "creation" we have abundant records, both in God's word, and in the rocks through which geologists have been for nearly a century searching. But of "developement" we have not the slightest evidence; and to be unsupported by evidence, is to be refuted by facts. Why do all geologists agree, that man lived not upon the earth until the present, the human period, and that this period began only a few thousand years ago? Because the rocks prove it. Why do they assert, that for many ages there was neither vegetable or animal life on this earth? Because the rocks prove it. Why do they all concur in the belief, that after the azoic period, when life was not, came a period of prolific vegetation, with mollusca, and afterwards fish? Because the rocks say so. Why are they all satisfied, that, after a long period, came in the age of enormous reptiles; then, birds, and long subsequently, the quadrupeds? Because the rocks testify to these facts. And, just as they assert with perfect confidence, that during all these hundreds of thousands of years, there were no human beings, so do they maintain, that there was no "developement." And the reason for their confidence is still the same. The facts of the case have been transmitted to us by the durable, ineffaceable evidence preserved in the crust of the earth; and any other evidence than that which is contained in God's word, or that which is found in the face of nature, *there can be none*.

But what a predisposition to atheism is manifested in the fact, that, confessedly *without proof*, men choose to invent schemes and theories of developement, which can only support themselves for a single moment, by throwing out of sight God's own word, and by refusing to look at the results of geological investigation. In truth, this predisposition is the whole key to their strange conduct; they "do not *like* to retain God in their knowledge." So was it in the beginning. More than three thousand years ago, Job described the *wicked*, as saying unto God, "Depart from us, for *we desire not* the knowledge of thy ways." And in the last century, Dr. Bentley remarked, that "a man might easily rob, perjure, debauch, or drink himself into atheism; but to *think* himself into it was not

so easy." The same remark holds good in all ages. If we meet with a man who has an evident hankering after atheism, we may reasonably suspect, that, if old, he is indulging in unlawful gains; if young, in unlawful pleasures. Every such man has a natural bias in favour of any scheme which throws God to an immeasurable distance, and makes his interference in human affairs clearly improbable. He who cannot but shrink, when he hears the words, "Know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment," is inevitably predisposed in favour of any scheme which tells him that God has not interfered in the affairs of the world for some millions of years, and probably will never interfere again.

But such a God is not the God of the Bible, nor is He a being whom men can either love or fear. The God with whom we have to do is One who is "about our path, and about our bed, and spies out all our ways,"—One to whom Abraham's servant could pray, "Let the damsel who shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also, be she whom thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac," and to whom David could say, "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness." One to whom every sparrow is known, and who, in the person of Christ, could say to his servant, "Go to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up, and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money." Is this God a fiction of priestcraft?—is the whole Bible a romance?—and have we clergymen of the church of England who will dare to say so? To Mr. Baden Powell we can no longer put any question, but of Dr. Temple and Mr. Jowett we are entitled to ask, "Does not Mr. Powell's Essay teach unbelief of the whole of the narratives of Scripture? And did not you, being ordained ministers of the church of England, procure, put forth, and assist to circulate its impugnments of God's own word? Nay, are you not still doing so?"

But to conclude: This, the peculiar temptation of our time, will pass away, we know, as Tractarianism has passed. It will pervert and ruin, as Tractarianism perverted and ruined in its day, many individuals, but it will not arrest the progress of the Gospel. When Mr. Jowett was a vehement Tractarian, he could speak of an "expiring evangelicism," and he seemed really to believe at the time, that the faith of Bradford and Hooker, and Newton and Scott, was rapidly dying out, and that the Newmans and Wards were about to become the apostles of an English Catholic church. That dream is over; the Newmans and Wards are gone, but the church of England remains unchanged.

So is not Mr. Jowett. By a rapid transmutation, he has been converted from a believer in false miracles, into a disbeliever of true ones; from one who thought that the church believed too

little, into one who considers that she believes too much. And in all this, he is only the type of a class, the evidence of a prevalent temptation ; but amidst these transformations, while individuals fall, and in some cases rise not again, the work of God is not stayed. Even externally may this be seen. Casting the eye back through a brief twenty years, to the days when Tractarianism came in like a flood, is not a large progress of Gospel truth visible ? A very hasty and cursory comparison shows us, a church not *less*, but *more*, earnest ; efforts, both at home and abroad, increasing ; a larger number of pulpits proclaiming the same truths which Paul, and Augustine, and Luther preached ; a constant growth of zeal, growth of exertion, growth of charity. The enmity of the Pharisees failed to arrest the progress of the Gospel, nor will the opposition of the Sadducees prove more successful. There is but one truth, but one cause, but one Leader, that will finally triumph. And as we believe that no further or worse temptation than that of this modern Atheism remains behind, we indulge a hope that this full and final triumph cannot be much longer delayed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

High Boding Rectory, Dunmow, Essex ;
29th October, 1861.

SIR,—The perusal of the article in this month's number of the *Christian Observer*, entitled "Clerical Education at Cambridge and Oxford," has recalled to my mind some thoughts, which first presented themselves to my mind some years ago, and which I now ask your kind permission to submit to your consideration. You may be aware that, some time since, a successful effort was made to raise funds for a bust of the late reverend and honoured Mr. Simeon. This memorial of his worth now stands in the University Library at Cambridge. Along with many others I was applied to for a contribution to the fund. My reply, however, to the gentleman who wrote to me was to the effect, that a bust would be but a poor memorial of such a man. And I suggested that an effort should be made to establish a Professorship for the purpose of preparing young men for the ministry, as an appropriate testimonial to the name of one who had been such a good minister of Jesus Christ.

The reply was, that such an attempt would be hopeless. And possibly I was in error in thus seeking to connect such a scheme with such a name. But now I would again ask, Why should not such a plan be attempted on its own intrinsic merits, (if it has any,) and on the ground of the acknowledged deficiency in Church Education at Cambridge ?

I do think that, after all, the University is the place for the best preparatory training, if only the means be applied and the machinery set in motion. We have there a "Public Orator;" why does he not give lessons in public speaking? Would not lectures on this subject, occasionally illustrated by speeches on missionary or other topics, such as those which clergymen are often called upon to make, be more useful than the mere power of writing a neat Latin address and learning it off by heart. Yet, in my day, the Public Orator, when called upon to speak to some resolution at a public meeting, after proceeding "without book" for a few sentences, suddenly came to a stop, and had to fumble in his pocket for the remainder of his speech, which he then read. Here was a name and office simply thrown away, in a place where it might be of the greatest benefit, and might help to remove the stigma which now lies on so many of the clergy, who can with difficulty express their thoughts in public so as to produce an impression.

If a Professorship of Pastoral Theology (to borrow an Oxford title) could be founded at Cambridge, with a sufficient salary, the services of a thoroughly good and efficient parish minister might be secured: a man proved by trial to be a faithful and eloquent preacher of the cross, whose sermons, sometimes written and sometimes not so, should be models of divinity, of earnest and affectionate address, and of good delivery. He should be a diligent visitor, and acquainted with the various details of parochial machinery. Attach to this Professorship the charge of a parish, say, the largest and poorest in Cambridge. Let his students be his staff of helpers, district visitors, Sunday-school teachers. Let them practise the delivery of lectures in cottages and school-rooms, and read portions of the Liturgy under the *ear* of the Professor. The composition of sermons would of course form a part of the system. Instruction in dogmatic theology might be left in the hands of the existing Professors, to be tested by an *improved* "voluntary" examination. A few months' training of this kind would, I think, be a blessing to many a young man. I can only say for myself, that I have reason to thank God that I had some practice in parish work *before* entering the ministry. But I feel that advice and correction as to delivery of sermons, and opportunities of speaking on general topics under a master of elocution, would have been a great advantage.

I beg to remain, yours faithfully,

EDWARD MAXWELL, Rector.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—Would you think it worth while to hint to the writer of the article on Mr. Cunningham, that on one point his information is not quite correct. He states that "only in the last year of his undergraduate life did he apply himself with sedulity to the proper studies of the place." Now, if he will take the trouble to refer to the records of St. John's, I think he will find that, at the annual College Examination in 1799, Mr. Cunningham was *second* of the Freshmen,

the late Earl De Grey being the *first*, and the difference not great. It is bare justice to the memory of Mr. Cunningham to refer to this point, that as no part of his undergraduate course was he regardless of the poorer studies of the place.

I trouble you with this in the hope that a hint from you may prevent the repetition of an erroneous statement.

Believe me, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

AN OLD CANTAB.

[NOTE.—We have certainly heard our departed friend say, that he never worked at College till his last year; and, no doubt, his words have been construed too literally. His meaning must have been, that till then, he was never conscious of hard *fagging*. He laboured with an astonishing facility what most young men acquire only by dint of much hard labour; and then, no doubt, he went to college, from the hands of such a tutor as Mr. Jowett, well prepared. We thank "An Old Cantab." for setting us right; and seize the opportunity to warn our young readers against the foolish vanity, not peculiar to freshmen, of supposing either that any work postponed to the last term can be well done, or that honors, in the University or elsewhere, really worth having, can be obtained at any cheaper rate than that of downright, hard persevering labour. Later in life, we know that one of Mr. Cunningham's idle days would have been a day of moderate toil to many a man who thinks himself by no means an idler.—EDITOR.]

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles and on the Epistles. By John David Macbride, D.C.L., Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. J. H. and J. Parker, London.—If Lectures such as these were delivered in all the colleges, Oxford undergraduates would have less reason to complain of the want of biblical instruction. Coming from the pen of a profound scholar, and an able divine, though a layman, they are neither difficult, nor do they carry upon their surface the air of great learning; for Dr. Macbride has attained the wisdom that knows how to condescend. He gives the results of much study and great experience, but it is done with so much simplicity, that only those who have engaged in similar pursuits can be fully aware of the real depth of the stream on which we seem to be carried so easily. It is a volume not only of great value to the young theological student in his preparation for Orders, or in the actual work of the ministry; but it may be read with great advantage in families, and introduced where we believe such works are much wanted, and highly prized, in schools or seminaries of the higher class. And in making this remark we do not except those in which young ladies are educated. Johnson has remarked, in his biography of Dr. Watts, upon the great praise due to a mind of superior powers which condescends to write for the sake of children. Why should not an

Oxford professor, of profound learning, employ his pen in the instruction, not only of those intended for learned professions, but at the same time of those who are no less keenly alive to the importance of such studies, and whose influence will probably be as deeply felt in the more limited circle in which their lot shall be cast? The volume has been published for some time, and we regret that a work of so much value should have hitherto escaped our notice.

The *Rev. J. D. Hales, Incumbent of St. John's, Richmond*, has printed a sharp and rather angry pamphlet, to which he gives the title, *The Bible, or the Bible Society?* The grounds of his quarrel with the Society are by no means new; and we must add, that his mode of writing is by no means courteous. He blames the Society for distributing the Italian versions of Martini, De Saci, &c. Now, it is a fair and open question, whether this ought to be done or not; but the controversy might surely be carried on without angry and irritating words, such, for instance, as these: "If the Bible Society would only *make the experiment* for a year or two of sticking to the truth, it would have abundant evidence that it has been misled by evil counsellors, &c. &c."

Mr. Hales has confounded two questions which are perfectly distinct: the duty of the Society, in preparing its own versions, to take the utmost care that the original shall be correctly rendered; and the propriety of circulating amongst Roman Catholics their own versions, knowing those versions to be not only imperfect, but on some points notoriously incorrect. On the first question there can be no difference of opinion. Upon the second, which Mr. Hales confounds with it, we are not prepared to accept his conclusions, or to admit the justice of his censures. When queen Elizabeth would have suppressed the "propheasings," or itinerant preachings, on the plea that so many of the preachers were ignorant men, archbishop Grindal took leave to remind her majesty that "half a loaf was better than no bread." If the Italians will read no other version than their own, is it better to leave thousands in utter darkness, or to place in their hands a volume which, with all its faults, and we are not disposed to palliate them, is substantially the word of God? If the Romish priest will read only the Latin Vulgate, even believing, as he is bound to do, that this Latin translation is more perfect than the original, and in fact inspired, shall we refuse to give him the volume which has been made use of, as we know, to the conversion of many a Romish priest? We do not rudely condemn those who, with Mr. Hales, would reply, that under no circumstances should a Romish version be distributed; but we do not agree with them. Better an incorrect or a garbled Bible than none at all. Half a loaf rather than no bread. To say that this is doing evil that good may come, is simply to beg the whole question at issue. To say that it is playing into the hands of the Romish priesthood, is to maintain a proposition the correctness of which may be very safely left to the determination of the Romish priests themselves. Generally ready to accept the smallest favours of this kind, they have shown no sense of gratitude to the Bible Society for its Italian Bibles hitherto. To say that God will not bless such proceedings, is to maintain that which, we happen to know by some very striking instances, where the Douay version has been circulated amongst Roman Catholics, both here and in Ireland, is contrary to the fact.

At least, we think, in a controversy of this kind, angry denunciations and insinuations of wilful falsehood may very well be spared.

The Bible its own Witness; or, the Inspiration of the Scriptures proved from the Books themselves. By the Rev. Joseph Ridgeway, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Tunbridge Wells. John Colbron, Tunbridge Wells.—This little treatise is written with the object of proving the Inspiration of the Scriptures from the Bible itself and from concurrent history. The arguments are so clear and simple, and the proofs so conclusive, that it can scarcely fail to convince any reader, however slight his attainments, of two truths of the most vital importance, namely, that a divine revelation exists, and that our authorized English version of the Scriptures is, with one or two trivial exceptions, a correct translation and an accurate rendering of the original. It is almost superfluous to remark, that the first of these questions, namely, the existence of a Divine Revelation, has at different times agitated the minds and engrossed the attention of almost every people under heaven, most of them concluding that there is, or has been, revelation; some, that a written revelation exists; and many, that they possess that written revelation, or true copies of it. By common sense reasoning on the Scriptures and their history, Mr. Ridgeway arrives at the conclusion that a written revelation does exist, and that we possess an almost perfectly accurate copy of that written revelation. A few extracts from this work will suffice to show that the design of the author is well carried out. Having pointed out the probability of a revelation, he continues:—"Let it be observed, in the next place, that the mode of communication which, according to the Christian Scriptures, God has selected for the purpose of making known His will to man, is precisely the one which is most convenient and best adapted to our necessities.

"How does man communicate with man? Is it not by words—words spoken or words written? This, then, is the mode which we are informed God has adopted. He has condescended to speak to us, to teach us by His word. 'Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken.' There is no difficulty in understanding the awe and terror which overcame the children of Israel when they heard the voice of God speaking to them out of the midst of the fire, and when they said to Moses, 'Speak thou with us and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die.' That was their entreaty; and in compassion to the weakness of man, God has adopted a mode of communication better adapted to his necessities. He has spoken to men by the mouth of men, 'Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' Nay, there has been something more wonderful even than this. Could we conceive the possibility of God himself becoming man, dwelling in human nature, and as a man speaking with man, that would indeed be the perfection of Divine communication; and this is precisely the mode which the Christian Scriptures inform us has been adopted.

"Whatever men desire to be accurately conveyed to posterity they invariably commit to writing, in order that, by the multiplication of copies, the possibility of tampering with the original may be precluded. Now, this is precisely the mode which these books inform

us has been adopted; and in this determination of divine wisdom they have their existence."

After pointing out the great antiquity of the Scriptures, and the comparatively modern date of other pretended revelations, Mr. Ridgeway goes on to prove that the Scriptures, as we now possess them, are the original and authentic records. Let us take the following extract:—

"During the latter part of the last century, or the commencement of the present one, the manuscripts of the sacred Scriptures, preserved in the various European libraries, were diligently sought out for the purpose of comparison; and Kennicott was enabled to examine no less than 581 Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament, while Professor Rossi raised the remainder to 680. Claudius Buchanan found amongst the black Jews of the Malabar coast the famous Indian manuscripts now deposited in the Cambridge library, consisting of thirty-seven skins, dyed in red, on which the sacred writings had been inscribed by different hands. The appearance of this Indian manuscript attests, beyond doubt, its great antiquity. Of the New Testament no less than 674 manuscripts of the Gospels have been found extant, 200 of the Acts, 256 of St. Paul's Epistles, and 93 of the Apocalypse."

All the labours of the most earnest critics and collectors of manuscripts have failed in discovering one variation which was of sufficient weight to cast a doubt upon any passage which had previously been regarded as certain. Having thus arrived at the conclusions, that there is not only revelation, but a written revelation, and that we have a sufficiently accurate copy of what is reasonably accepted as being the only true written revelation, Mr. Ridgeway proceeds, by the following line of argument, to show that it is impossible that these books, the Scriptures, could be untrue:—

"Has the structure of this book been sufficiently considered? For there is in it a peculiarity well worthy of attention. It is a history as well as a revelation; and then, the truths of the one and the facts of the other are in a very remarkable way interwoven. But it should be observed of this history, that it is all contemporaneous history; it is professedly written for the use of persons who had actually witnessed the events which it records, and to whose personal knowledge it appeals in verification of its correctness. They are not posthumous history, that is, historical accounts compiled long subsequently to the transactions they relate. They take it for granted that the parties in whose hands they were first placed, as they came forth into light, were cognizant of the facts which they contain, and they appeal to them as in a position to authenticate them. If such a people or generation never had existed, these books never could have obtained currency—never have been admitted into circulation. The people in whose hands they were first placed would have found themselves unblushingly called upon to corroborate statements of which they knew nothing, and to avouch that as true which they knew to be false. The events recorded are not frivolous and unimportant, but events of the most startling character; of such a nature, that if they had ever occurred at all, every rational person of the particular people or generation amongst whom they were said to have taken place must have known of them; events of supreme national importance."

We would call special attention to the above extract, on the subject of the Bible being not only a revelation, but also a history, and, moreover, a concurrent history. This work will amply repay perusal, and although brief, and anything but pedantic, has evidently been composed with much thought and ability, and appears to us satisfactorily to prove the Inspiration of the Bible from the Bible itself.

Turning from graver matters, at least from larger books, our readers must permit us to notice the *Almanacks* of the Christian Knowledge Society for 1862. Besides the Churchman's Almanack, mounted on rollers, and fitted for the study or the vestry, and in various other shapes and sizes, there is a Cottager's Penny Almanack, with a text for every Sunday, and a great deal of pleasant and useful information. Nor would we overlook the Children's Almanack, very nicely got up, with a text for every Sunday, as well as other days for which we have a collect. Here, too, there is a great deal of useful information, such as a child likes to read, and above all a coloured title page, and vignettes for every month. It is a very suitable present when the school breaks up. Almanack literature, at least, has not been stationary since the days when Moore prophesied to credulous dupes, or Zadkiel inundated our cottages with his trash.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

WINTER is upon us with premature severity, and our prospects for the working classes are but gloomy. The operatives in the cotton manufacture are scarcely employed half their time, and the number of the unemployed increases from week to week. It is not only the want of the raw material that stops our cotton mills; it is said that all the markets of the world are glutted. Had there been no civil war in America, our manufacturers would have been obliged to suspend their operations from the want of a demand for the fabrics they produce. We need scarcely say that cotton being now the staple manufacture of England, all other branches of industry are affected by it; and, in consequence, want of employment and the depression of trade is beginning to be felt in every manufacturing town; while the influence of these adverse circumstances may soon be expected to show itself in every country village. We do not write thus in any desponding mood. Our condition has often been far worse, and our prospects far more discouraging. If the poor can be led to exercise a little forethought; if the gentry and clergy will at once explain to them, at such social meetings of working-men as may easily be collected in almost every parish in town or country, the real state of the case as regards themselves,—the necessity of self-denial, the absolute duty of abstaining from the foolish and hurtful luxury of spirituous liquors, and, as far as possible, from intoxicating drink of every kind; they may prevent a wide spreading misery, and confer social benefits which will be felt long after the pressure of the winter shall have passed away. Nor would such an office, though not strictly ministerial, unbecome the ministers of Christ. When Paul was in the storm, he

did not disdain to give excellent advice as to the management of the ship and the conduct of the crew ; taking care, however, to remind them at the same time "whose he was, and whom he served." It is at such times indeed that the faithful minister of Christ often makes the first discovery of his real strength, and learns how strong a hold he has upon the confidence even of some of his most *ungainly* parishioners.

Of our home politics we have happily but little to relate. It is an old remark, that when the State is most prosperous its history is least interesting ; and with the exception we have noted, England must be described as a happy, and certainly, compared with other countries, as a prosperous land. Whatever the result of the American civil war or its duration, our manufactures will, no doubt, revive, and our difficulties will not be without their use in compelling our merchants to seek for new markets and new fields of enterprise. No great questions distract us. We are in a contented state of quiet and moderation. The borough of Finsbury, which is vacant in consequence of the decease of its late member, goes a-begging for a candidate, and hitherto her suit has been in vain. We infer not so much that seats in the House of Commons are not an object of ambition, as that even liberal members will no longer submit to the dictation and interference of *liberal constituencies*. There is some agitation for a reform in parliament, but it meets with little encouragement from any man who rents a house of the value of ten pounds a year ; and this includes the vast majority of that class of artisans whose information, intelligence, and independence really qualify them to judge of their own interests or those of their associates. Parliamentary reform languishes, because the House of Commons represents the people, and this but too faithfully in some respects. If it is apathetic upon great questions of vital importance ; if it is opposed to some measures which regard to God's honour and the welfare of the State alike demand ; if it endows Maynooth, permits the desecration of the Lord's-day, does little or nothing to provide wholesome dwellings for the poor, or to place the incentives to vice and drunkenness out of their reach ; it is because in all these instances the majority of the constituents are, we fear, just as apathetic as the Parliament itself.

A public meeting of the University of Oxford was held in the Sheldon Theatre on the 22nd instant, to promote the establishment of cheap public schools, for what was there styled the lower middle class ; but, in fact, to promote a great school or college, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Woodard, of Shoreham, which has hitherto been conducted at St. Nicholas College, Lancing, Sussex, in connection with a College at Hurstpierpoint, and a school at Shoreham. It is now proposed—indeed, this meeting "pledged itself"—to assist "the Society of St. Nicholas College in erecting a public boarding school for the lower middle class on the site obtained near the Balcombe Station of the London and Brighton Railway." It is intended to be on a great scale, and to accommodate a thousand pupils. Several bishops, and all that was of chief weight in the University, were present. The report in The Times informs us, that the theatre was filled in every part with an audience composed of either sex. The members of the University present, who mustered in

great force, appeared in academic costume. The resolutions were carried unanimously, and it seems with vast enthusiasm. Dr. Jenne, the Vice-Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Gladstone,) and the Bishop of Oxford, were the chief speakers. Of the plan itself we say nothing. Upon an episode which occurred we shall make a few remarks. It should be mentioned, that, as the meeting was assembling, an anonymous handbill was circulated, warning them against certain Romish practices said to be encouraged among the youths of St. Nicholas College. It was thus alluded to by the Vice-Chancellor in his opening speech:—

“A few moments before entering that room he had been asked to permit the circulation in his College of the paper which he held in his hand. His reply was, that he could not permit its circulation in his College, where it could not be refuted, but that he would bring it himself before that meeting. It was a paper, be it observed, without a printer's name, and without a signature. But he confessed he rejoiced that it had been brought there. They all remembered the great robber in Virgil, in whose cave, the moment the track to it could be discovered, and daylight could be introduced into it, nothing was to be found but rage and smoke, and a monster easily to be slain. The paper to which he referred stated that the attention of members of the University and others about to attend that meeting was called to the following facts:—‘1. Confession is encouraged among the boys at these schools. Many influential clergy in the neighbourhood withhold their support from the schools on this account. 2. Crucifixes are distributed among the boys on leaving the schools. The following statement can be supported on oath:—Some three years since a young friend of mine, who was being educated at St. John's College, Hurlspierpoint, lodged in my house during an illness. He wore a crucifix, some four inches in length, made of silver, and suspended by a ribbon round his neck. He declared that he, in common with his companions, had it given him at the above-mentioned College.’ The able projector of that scheme of education was now before them, and would probably scorn to answer that handbill; but in that case, assuredly, silence, in opposition to the usual proverb, would imply the most emphatic dissent. Moreover, they had also among them a right reverend prelate who had once filled the office which he himself now held, and who certainly had no leanings in the direction indicated by that handbill. That right reverend prelate had largely supported, and had taken under his own superintendence, the institutions now recommended to their notice. That was surely enough to dispose of that unhappy paper.”

It appears clear to us, and would have done so had we been less assured of Dr. Jenne's high character as a Protestant divine, that for his own part he utterly disbelieved the statement, and introduced it only that it might be publicly refuted. But it was not refuted; and until this be done, and that too in the most unequivocal manner, we shall brave the displeasure of the Sheldon Theatre and its thousand enthusiastic undergraduates, and tell them plainly that such an institution is utterly unworthy of the countenance of a Protestant University.

The Times, we see, writes in favour of the scheme as a whole; yet it is not blind to that “excessive clerical supervision” which, if per-

sisted in, "will be absolutely fatal to its success. Some error of this kind," it adds, "must probably have been at the bottom of the vague charge of confessional practices so cavalierly treated by the Vice-Chancellor and the Bishop of Oxford. Such imputations, unfounded as they may be, ought to be directly contradicted, as well as ridiculed; for it is difficult to conceive a slander better calculated to damage a place of education in the eyes of the middle classes." We hope it may prove to be a slander; but at present it stands uncontradicted.

Of America we would gladly say nothing. We are aware that our pages are read, both in the North and South, with a degree of interest which cannot but be flattering to ourselves; though at present, we fear, they are equally distasteful to both parties. The storm of passion howls, and the waves run high; and to men in such a state moderate counsels always appear unfeeling and impertinent. The North is angry because we do not espouse their cause; for their cause, they say, is that of the constitution and of the slave. On the constitutional question few in England are disposed to enter. It is enough to say, that the secession of the South does not appear, to the great majority of our countrymen, to justify their being treated as rebels; nor, in fact, has the North dared to treat them as such. But this is a question which has not yet been brought officially before our government. With regard to emancipation, the North claims our sympathy, because it is fighting the battle of the slave. Would that it were so, and that it had been so from the beginning of this unhappy war. England, as one man, would have thrown her sympathies into the Northern scale. But what are the facts? While the Federalists are loud in their professions of zeal for Negro liberty on this side of the Atlantic, their conduct on the other belies them. The voice is Jacob's, but the hands are Esau's. General Fremont, in Missouri, offers liberty to the slaves who join his camp. The President at once disowns the act of the General, and follows it up with his abrupt dismissal. Mr. Secretary Seward, whose delicacy does not forbid his threatening England with an invasion of Canada, is afraid to interfere with the constitutional rights of the slaveholders of the South. An armament has been equipped at New York to seize on the Southern ports. We write on the 25th, and the news has just reached us of its successful landing at Port Royal, between Charleston and Savannah; but its instructions are to respect the constitutional rights of the rebel states,—that is, to protect the slaveholder. The only argument we have heard in defence of this policy is, that the North has no power to interfere in a question which can be dealt with only by the whole Union. The only answer it requires is, that rebels have no rights. If they are rebels, not only their slaves, but all their property, is forfeited; and nothing but an act of grace can make it theirs again. If they are not rebels, the case is still more clear. The Northern states are then dealing with belligerents, and might long since have made their own decision. They might have given the Missouri compromise, the Dred Scot decision, and all their degrading concessions with slaveholders, to the winds, and declared the Northern states as free to the Negro as Canada or Great Britain. They have not done this; and if they have lost much of the sympathy and the respect of England, they themselves have been to blame.

Yet we cannot throw ourselves into the cause of the Confederates. We can respect their courage, we can appreciate the manliness which disdains bombast, and leaves others to mark the wisdom of its Fabian policy, and the moderation of its official language. But the blight of slavery remains. The time must soon come, beyond a question, when the Confederates will be admitted into the great family of nations; but from England, while their slavery continues, they will never have a cordial embrace. We do not expect them to release their 4,000,000 negroes all at once; but even now they may prepare the way. Three things they may do tomorrow. They may forbid the separation of negro families; they may prohibit the use of the lash; they may facilitate the emancipation of the slave, by allowing him to purchase it by working at over-hours, or placing a small portion of time each week at his own disposal. If this were done at once, the feeling of all England, which now respects their chivalry, would ripen into a warmer friendship. For the determination of England is, if possible, to be the friend and ally both of South and North, and with their internal discords to have no concern.

In France a financial crisis has occurred; just such a one as introduced the revolution of 1789. A deficient harvest, and a bankrupt revenue, then placed M. Neckar at the head of the finance; a deficient harvest and an unfunded debt of forty millions sterling, contracted on the sole responsibility of the Emperor, places M. Fould in the same office in 1861. In some respects the task of the latter is the more difficult. There is no longer a States-general to convoke. No fresh taxes can be thought of now. He is "to conjure the difficulty," we are told. Neckar and his friends used the same language; but Neckar had not to contend with an imperious will and an absolute master; nor had he to provide for an army of 650,000 men, and a fleet in magnitude and costliness the rival of our own. Before the year closes we shall be better able to judge both of the Emperor's sincerity, and of the probable issue of M. Fould's financial scheme for retrieving France from the verge of national bankruptcy.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

CANTABRIGIENSIS did not send his letter till the end of the last month, and the interest of it has now in some measure passed away.

B. is received. He defends his former proposition in answer to *Clericus G.* and others; namely, that the prophecies regarding the restoration of the Jews have a spiritual and not a literal accomplishment. It is evident that a controversy on this point, once opened, may be almost interminable, and the space at our disposal obliges us to refrain from entering upon it. In literary warfare we have observed that the combatants in general bring their heavy artillery into the field at first; and the fire of small arms that follows seldom affects the issue of the fight. We are willing on most subjects to give both sides a hearing once; but after that our readers, we believe, are better pleased to have the subject left to the decision of their own judgment.

We must request all our Correspondents to study brevity as much as possible. Our present Number contains a sheet more than usual, and yet we are obliged to postpone many contributions which are of considerable interest at the present moment, though a few months hence, in this changing world, they may have lost their value.

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